

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE:

WITH A LIFE OF THE MARTYROLOGIST, AND
VINDICATION OF THE WORK,
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VOL. I.

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Jo. foxus Salute et pace in Christo, sine fine.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

THE PREFACES,

&c. &c.

BY JOHN FOXE.

AD

DOMINUM JESUM CHRISTUM

SERVATOREM CLEMENTISSIMUM,

EUCARISTICON

JOHANNIS FOXI.

CONFECTO nunc opere, quod tuis primùm auspiciis ac voluntate aggressus, summe et adorande Jesu, idemque Servator clementissime, inchoavi, quodque demum beneficio ac favore exegi atque absolvi, præter omnem certam opinionem et vires meas : superest itaque pro officio meo, ut animula hæc, ceu pro votivâ tabulâ, gratias, si non quantas debeat (utinam enim id possit) at quantas queat maximè, munificentissimæ tuæ persolvat Majestati; quæ tam miserum homuncionem, vel syphar potius hominis, in laboribus tot tantisque istis, qui vel asellum quemvis ἀχθοφόρον possent conficere, tumultuantem, benigno successu ac solatio tam clementer suffulserit. Quanquam autem de operis difficultate nihil hic causari attinet, quæ vix æstimari à multis poterit; tua tamen non ignorat omnipotens Majestas, hujus quaecunque sit negotii confectio, quibus quamque non ferendis curis, vigiliis, molestiis constitit; quibus nullo modo pares futuri essemus, nisi faventis gratiæ tuæ numen affluisset, ac sese quodammodo admiscuisset operi. Quidni enim fatear ac tester ingenuè, quod re ipsâ experti sumus? Persensimus enim, peneque oculis ipsis conspeximus, singularem excelsæ dextræ tuæ ἐνεργειαν non modo in successu negotii provehendo, sed in vitâ etiam spirituque inter labores conservando. Tui igitur muneris est, clementissime Jesu, quòd opus tuis susceptum auspiciis huc usque provectum sit. Nos vicissim, quod nostri sit officii, gratias clementiæ tuæ, cum nostro privatim, tum publico quodammodo ecclesiæ tuæ nomine, agimus. Vel hinc enim cernimus quanti causam martyrum tuorum æstimes, quando eorum illustrando nomini tantâ faveas propensione; quanquam verò, si nulla hic extaret eorum recordatio, non possent non omnibus modis esse illustrissimi, quorum sint nomina vitæ tuæ libro inscripta: et tamen voluit hoc modo tua declarare Majestas, nobisque innotescere hominibus, quàm honorificum sit pro tui nominis gloriâ fortiter dimicantes occumbere, quorum tu vitam à cinere ac rogo sic vindicas, sic causam tueris, sic dignitatem illustras, ut eandem cum gloriæ fenore abs te recipiant clariorem, quàm si ipsi nunquam alioqui perdidissent. Habet siquidem peculiare hoc sibi militiæ tuæ ratio, longè à mundo hoc diversum, quod in castris tuis militantes sive vivant, sive moriantur, multò clarescant à funere felicius, quam si vixissent maximè.

Sic Cranmerum videmus, Ridleum, Latimerum, Johannem Hooperum, Bradfordum, cæterosque ejusdem decuriæ pugiles, quanto majore occubuisse cum gloriâ in acie tuâ depugnantes, quam si, relictâ statione in quâ erant collocati, salutis ipsi suæ causam tuam postposuissent. Quæ enim gens, quæ natio, quæ temporum vetustas, quæ hominum posteritas, eorum non cantabit laudes, non virtutem agnoscet, non magnitudinem admirabitur? Quis Wiclevum unquam, aut Cobhamum, natum fuisse existimasset, nisi tuâ in causâ tam

Auxilium
Christum
in concin-
nando hoc
opere.

Felix ac
gloriosum
pro Chris-
to mor-
tem oppe-
tere.

egissent strenuè? Quanto honori illud Hussio Bohemensi, nostroque Tindalo fuit, quòd vitam in evangelii tui causâ perditam, magis abs te recipere, quàm ipsi retinere maluerint? Spectemus è diversâ parte adversarios tuos, quorum tam multas esse constat cædes, injurias, crudelitates adversus tuos, multaque item occultè et scelerè ab iisdem perpetrata, quæ nunquam sperabant fore palam: et tamen quid unquam in angulis et tenebris ab illis est designatum tam occultè adversus ecclesiam, quod non in apricum produxit tua producetque providentia? Atque ita produxit, ut unde ipsi laudis sibi conceperunt animo opinionem, inde summum sibi-ipsis dedecus pepererint et contumeliam, quam nec vitâ effugere, nec morte unquam finire poterint. Quis Guisos, Boneros, Storios, Gardineros, tanquam execranda hominum nomina nunc non novit? non exhorret? quis eorum facinora obliteret dies, aut sepeliet memoria? Et quid hos in tantâ multitudine hostium tuorum recenseo? Cui unquam prosperè cessit tuo rebel- lare numini, aut hostium se ecclesiæ tuæ profiteri? Papæ nomen quàm erat aliquando in his terris celebre et gloriosum? Nunc quid putidius, quid pro- brosius? Cardinalitum fastigium cœperunt primò admirari homines, multâque prosequi reverentiâ: sic monachorum et nonnarum collegia suum quondam habebant plausum apud plebem simplicem et credulam. At postquam spretâ veritate tuâ cœperunt grassari contra te, tuorumque homicidæ fieri, eò tandem sunt prolapsi (exceptis paucis quos tua exemit gratia) ut reliqua fæx nihil aliud jam esse præter vocabula quædam ad ignominiam relicta videatur.

Hæc nimirum, sanctissime Domine ac Deus noster! justissimi iudicii tui sunt præludia, ex quo haud difficile æstimare sit, quidnam in altero illo expectaturi sint, quos in hoc ipso seculo, hoc est, in suo ipsorum regno, tantâ accumulis infamiâ et dedecore. Sed omissis his, ad sanctos tuos redeamus martyres, quorum nomine meritò à nobis perenne velut sacrificium laudis et gratiarum tuæ debetur, simul et habetur, bonitati. Primum, quòd in ecclesiæ tuæ causâ dimicantibus tam fortem et alacrem spiritum omnibusque tormentis majorem adversus parridas papistas subministrasti. Deinde quòd et nobis in illorum desudantibus historiâ propitius ad eò clementiæ tuæ favor affuerit. Debetur et hoc privatim meo quoque nomine singulari tuæ pietati, quòd vitam toties alioqui nutantem in hac tantâ, quantam tu solus novisti, laboris immensitate conservatam tuo volueris beneficio. Verum illud imprimis omnes debemus pariter effusissimo tuo in nos amoris, quòd beatorum martyrum tuorum, quos mundi hujus ad flammam et cineres adegerit perversitas, causam et innocentiam, velut è cinere recollectam, in lucem denuò notitiamque ecclesiæ tuæ revocare ac patefacere dignatus sit. Etsi enim dubium non est, quin in supremo illo iudicio tuo, quum virtutes cœlorum movebuntur, omnis eorum adamussim excutietur causa ante tribunal tuum, est tamen aliquid hîc quoque in ecclesiâ tuâ causam ipsorum, facta, vitæque virtutes cæteras non ignorari. Tunc autem ad illos uberior gloria, ad nos interea major redundabit fructus, quando ex ipsorum rectè factis, integritate, innocentia, fide, ac patientia constare pote- rit, non quid ipsi solum fecerint, sed quid et nobis eorum sit exemplo faciendum.

Sed hîc rursus, dulcissime Jesu! opus est benigno favoris tui præsidio. Nos enim qui filii martyrum tuorum sumus, quosque maximè majores nostros imitari conveniebat, nunc nihil ferè parentum tenemus, præter vitæ solam hanc, quam suo partam sanguine reliquerunt, libertatem: quâ etiam ipsâ nimium abuti- mur intemperanter, ut jam periculum sit, ne non filii modò martyrum, sed ne fratres quidem ipsorum haberi mereamur. Quantum enim intersit discriminis, quàmque prorsus disconveniat ordine toto nostra consuetudo ab illorum vestigiis et disciplina, pudet profectò referre. Sed quid ego tibi referam, cujus nihil non perspicit Majestas ac intuetur, quanto illis studio ac curæ fuit amore tui cætera quæque adeoque seipsos ad vitæ etiam contemptum abdicare, mundum cum omnibus desideriiis flocci facere, voluptates tanquam nugas spernere? Nec sinebant pericula undique imminetia opibus congerendis, multoque minus honoribus cumulandis vacare. Contrà verò, nostra nunc vita, studium, om- nisque adeo contentio, quid nisi mundum spirat, quid aliud quàm perpetuum quoddam fluxarum rerum, opum, ac honorum aucupium videtur et ambitus? Ac illi quam præclare secum actum putassent, si vel vivere modò licuisset. Ideoque multi fuere eorum, qui Mariæ reginæ facultates et possessiones omnes adusque extremum assem obtulerunt, dummodo solam ipsis remitteret consci- entiam. Et quæ nos tanta hæc habendi intemperies exagitat, quibus nec unus nec mediocris victus possit esse satis? Sine modo, sine fine, opibus, sacerdotiis,

Papæ
nomen
nunc pro-
brosum.
Cardina-
lium, Mo-
nacho-
rum, No-
narum,
nomina
ad igno-
miniam
nunc re-
licta.

Deplora-
tio nostro-
rum mo-
rum et
tempo-
rum.

Quanta
degenera-
tio nostro-
rum nunc
homi-
num, ab
exemplis
superio-
rum mar-
tyrum.

censuique dilatando inhiamus. Quanto ambitu amicos fatigamus et inimicos, non ut vivamus solùm, verùm ut sublimes vivamus et honorati? De fide, de mansuetudine eorum, tolerantia, simplicitate, ac patientia incredibili, quid dici satis potest? Quantâ constantia, quâ animi alacritate perpessi sunt quicquid infligebatur, vindictam omnem Deo remittentes, cui et causam commendabant? Nulla vis eos adversariorum dejicere, nec minæ frangere, non ludibria movere, non pericula, non tormenta ulla consternere, nec delinire blanditiæ potuerunt.

Componamus nunc nostram cum his mollitiem. Sed pudor prohibet. Nam quæ tam levis nos tentationis aura afflare possit, quæ non illico præcipites ac transversos rapiat in avaritiam, in fastum, voluptates, turpitudinem, vindictam, et in quid non malorum? Quæ tam levis objici poterit injuriola, pro quâ non cælum terræ miscemus, mariaque turbamus ab imo? Ex quo in promptu est colligere, quantum ab eo absumus, ut mortem simus unquam tuâ causâ subituri, si quando res martyrium flagitet, quum nec affectus quidem istos tuo amputare jussu velimus. Quapropter ut martyrum quidem illorum causâ gratias agimus nomini tuo sancto; ita nostrâ vicissim causâ deprecamur, ut qui largitus sis ipsis vincendi facultatem, nobis itidem pia eorundem exempla imitandi felicitatem aspires, sicque ecclesiæ tuæ affulgeat tua gratia; nec ubi seducti hujus mundi illecebris, socordiores ipsi in retinendâ evangelii tui victoriâ, quàm illi in comparandâ strenui, videamur. Postremò, quoniam historiam hanc tuo nutu ac voluntate aggressi, in eâ re operam studiumque posuimus, quo facta gesta que sanctorum tuorum, sanctissime Jesu! ad nominis tui gloriam et in commodum ecclesiæ publicum emergerent, adde nunc labori fructum, simulque historiæ tutelam in te recipias magnopere petimus; cui et opus ipsum totumque me ipsum, quem tot modis tuæ misericordiæ debeo, toto corpore et animâ totisque viribus commendo, dedico, consecroque: cui omne cadat genu, omnisque vox et lingua confessionis gloriam per omnes ecclesias tribuat personetque! Amen.

Necessaria precatio.

TO THE

RIGHT VIRTUOUS, MOST EXCELLENT, AND NOBLE PRINCESS,

QUEEN ELIZABETH,

Our dread Lady, by the Grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of Christ's Faith and Gospel, and principal Governor both of the Realm, and also over the said Church of England and Ireland, under Christ the Supreme Head of the same, etc., JOHN FOXE, her humble Subject, wisheth daily increase of God's Holy Spirit and Grace, with long Reign, perfect Health, and joyful Peace, to govern his Flock committed to her Charge; to the Example of all good Princes, the Comfort of his Church, and Glory of his blessed Name.

CHRIST, the Prince of all princes, who hath placed you in your throne of majesty, under him to govern the church and realm of England, give your royal highness long to sit, and many years to reign over us, in all flourishing felicity, to his gracious pleasure, and long lasting joy of all your subjects. Amen!

When I first presented these Acts and Monuments unto your majesty (most dear sovereign, queen ELIZABETH, our peaceable Salome!), which your majesty's rare clemency received in such gentle part, I well hoped that these my travails in this kind of writing had been well at an end, whereby I might have returned my studies again to other purposes after mine own desire, more fit than to write histories, especially in the English tongue. But certain evil-disposed persons, of intemperate tongues, adversaries to good proceedings, would not suffer me so to rest, fuming and fretting, and raising up such miserable exclamations at the first appearing of the book, as was wonderful to hear. A man would have thought Christ to have been new-born again, and that Herod, with all the city of Jerusalem, had been in an uproar. Such blustering and striving was then against that poor book through all quarters of England, even to the gates of Louvain, so that no English Papist, almost in all the realm, thought himself a perfect catholic, unless he had cast out some word or other to give that book a blow.

Whereupon, considering with myself what should move them thus to rage, first I began with more circumspect diligence to overlook again that I had done. In searching whereof I found the fault, both what it was, and where it lay; which was indeed not so much in the book itself (to say the truth) as in another certain privy mystery and working of some; of whom John of Aventine shall tell us in his own words, and show us who they be: "*Quibus*," says he, "*audiendi quæ fecerint pudor est, nullus faciendi quæ audire erubescunt. Illic, ubi opus, nihil verentur; hic, ubi nihil opus est, ibi verentur*," etc. Who, being ashamed belike to hear their worthy stratagems like to come to light, sought by what means they might [work] the stopping of the same. And because they could not work it *per brachium seculare*, "by public authority," (the Lord of heaven long preserve your noble majesty!) they renewed again an old wonted practice of theirs; doing in like sort herein, as they did sometimes with the Holy Bible in the days of your renowned father of famous memory, king Henry the Eighth: who, when they neither by manifest reason could gainsay the matter

contained in the book, nor yet abide the coming out thereof, then sought they, by a subtle devised train, to deprave the translation, notes, and prologues thereof, bearing the king in hand and all the people, that "there were in it a thousand lies," and I cannot tell how many more. Not that there were in it such lies in very deed, but that the coming of that book should not bewray their lying falsehood, therefore they thought best to begin first to make exceptions themselves against it; playing in their stage like as Phormio did in the old comedy, who, being in all the fault himself, began first to quarrel with Demipho, when Demipho rather had good right to lay Phormio by the heels.

With like facing brags these catholic Phormiones think now to dash out all good books, and, amongst others also, these Monuments of Martyrs: which godly martyrs as they could not abide being alive, so neither can they now suffer their memories to live after their death, lest the acts of them, being known, might bring perhaps their wicked acts and cruel murders to detestation; and therefore spurn they so vehemently against this book of histories, with all kind of contumelies and uproars, railing and wondering upon it. Much like as I have heard of a company of thieves, who in robbing a certain true man by the highway side, when they had found a piece of gold or two about him more than he would be known of, they cried out of the falsehood of the world, marvelling and complaining what little truth was to be found in men. Even so these men deal also with me; for when they themselves altogether delight in untruths, and have replenished the whole church of Christ with feigned fables, lying miracles, false visions, and miserable errors, contained in their missals, portuses,¹ breviaries, and summaries, and almost no true tale in all their saints' lives and festivals, as now also no great truths in our Louvanian books, etc.; yet notwithstanding, as though they were a people of much truth, and that the world did not perceive them, they pretend a face and zeal of great verity; and as though there were no histories else in all the world corrupted, but only this History of Acts and Monuments, with tragical voices they exclaim and wonder upon it, sparing no cost of hyperbolical phrases to make it appear as full of lies as lines, etc. Much after the like sort of impudency as sophisters used sometimes in their sophisms to do (and sometimes is used also in rhetoric), that when an argument cometh against them which they cannot well resolve indeed, they have a rule to shift off the matter with stout words and tragical admiration, whereby to dash the opponent out of countenance, bearing the hearers in hand the same to be the weakest and slenderest argument that ever was heard, not worthy to be answered, but utterly to be hissed out of the schools.

With like sophistication these also fare with me, who, when they neither can abide to hear their own doings declared, nor yet deny the same which they hear to be true, for three or four escapes in the book committed (and yet some of them in the book amended), they, neither reading the whole, nor rightly understanding that they read, inveigh and malign so perversely the setting out thereof, as though neither any word in all that story were true, nor any other story false in all the world besides. And yet in accusing these my accusers I do not so excuse myself, nor defend my book, as though nothing in it were to be sponged or amended. Therefore I have taken these pains, and reiterated my labours in travelling out this story again; doing herein as Penelope did with her web, untwisting that she had done before:—or, as builders do sometimes, which build and take down again, either to transpose the fashion, or to make the foundation larger; so, in recognising this history, I have employed a little more labour, partly to enlarge the argument which I took in hand, partly also to assay, whether by any painstaking I might pacify the stomachs, or satisfy the judgments of these importune quarrellers:—which nevertheless I fear I shall not do, when I have done all I can. For well I know, that all the heads of this hissing Hydra will never be cut off, though I were as strong as Hercules; and if Apelles, the skilful painter, when he had bestowed all his cunning upon a piece of work, which no good artificer would or could greatly reprove, yet was not without some controlling sutor, which took upon him *ultra crepidam*, much more may I look for the like in these controlling days.

Ne sutor
ultra
crepidam.

(1) The "Portesse" was the breviary, which contained not only the office of the mass, but all the services except the Form of Marriage. See Ellis's "Original Letters," as quoted in Mr. Russell's Notes on Tyndale's Works, p. 496; Lond. 1831. See also *infra*, p. 303. note (3).—Ed.

Nevertheless, committing the success thereof unto the Lord, I have adventured again upon this story of the church, and have spent not only my pains, but also almost my health therein, to bring it to this. Which now being finished, like as before I did, so again I exhibit and present the same unto your princely majesty; blessing my Lord my God with all my heart; first, for this liberty of peace and time, which, through your peaceable government, he hath lent unto us for the gathering both of this and other like books, tractations, and monuments, requisite to the behoof of his church, which hitherto, by iniquity of time, could not be contrived in any king's reign since the conquest, before these halcyon days of yours. Secondly, as we are all bound, with public voices, to magnify our God for this happy preservation of your royal estate, so, privately for my own part, I also acknowledge myself bound to my God and to my Saviour, who so graciously in such weak health hath let me time, both to finish this work, and also to offer the second dedication thereof to your majesty; desiring the same to accept in good worth the donation thereof, if not for the worthiness of the thing given, yet as a testification of the bounden service and good will of one, which, by this he here presenteth, declareth what he would, if he had better to give.

And though the story, being written in the popular tongue, serveth not so greatly for your own peculiar reading, nor for such as be learned, yet I shall desire both you and them to consider in it the necessity of the ignorant flock of Christ committed to your government in this realm of England; who, as they have been long led in ignorance, and wrapped in blindness, for lack especially of God's word, and partly also for wanting the light of history, I thought pity but that such should be helped, their ignorance relieved, and simplicity instructed. I considered they were the flock of Christ, and your subjects, belonging to your account and charge, bought with the same price, and having as dear souls to the Lord as others; and, though they be but simple and unlearned, yet not unapt to be taught if they were applied.

Profit to
be taken
by ex-
amples of
christian
martyrs.

God's
works to
be ob-
served in
histories.

What use
cometh by
reading of
histories.

Furthermore, what inconvenience groweth of ignorance, where knowledge lacketh, both I considered, and experience daily teacheth. And therefore, hearing of the virtuous inclination of your majesty, what a provident zeal, full of solicitude, you have, minding (speedily I trust) to furnish all quarters and countries of this your realm with the voice of Christ's gospel and faithful preaching of his word, I thought it also not unprofitable to adjoin, unto these your godly proceedings and to the office of the ministry, the knowledge also of Ecclesiastical History, which, in my mind, ought not to be separate from the same: that like as by the one, the people may learn the rules and precepts of doctrine, so by the other, they may have examples of God's mighty working in his church, to the confirmation of their faith, and the edification of christian life. For as we see what light and profit cometh to the church, by histories in old times set forth, of the Judges, Kings, Maccabees, and the Acts of the Apostles after Christ's time; so likewise may it redound to no small use in the church, to know the acts of Christ's martyrs now, since the time of the apostles, besides other manifold examples and experiments of God's great mercies and judgments in preserving his church, in overthrowing tyrants, in confounding pride, in altering states and kingdoms, in conserving religion against errors and dissensions, in relieving the godly, in bridling the wicked, loosing and tying up again of Satan the disturber of common-weals, in punishing transgressions, as well against the first table as the second;—wherein is to be seen idolatry punished, blasphemy plagued, contempt of God's holy name and religion revenged, murder, with murder, rewarded, adulterers and wedlock-breakers destroyed, perjuries, extortions, covetous oppression, and fraudulent counsels come to nought, with other excellent works of the Lord: the observing and noting whereof in histories minister to the readers thereof wholesome admonitions of life, with experience and wisdom both to know God in his works, and to work the thing that is godly; especially to seek unto the Son of God for their salvation, and in his faith only to find that they seek for, and in no other means. The continuance and constancy of which faith the Lord of his grace and goodness grant to your noble majesty, and to his whole beloved church, and all the members of the same to everlasting life. Amen.

AD DOCTUM LECTOREM,

JOHANNES FOXUS.

COGITANTI mihi, versantique mecum in animo, quàm periculosæ res alæ sit, emittere nunc aliquid in publicum, quod in manus oculosque multorum subeat, his præsertim tam exulceratis moribus temporibusque, ubi tot hominum dissidiis, tot studiis partium, tot morosis capitibus, tam rigidis censuris, et criticorum sannis fervent fere omnia, ut difficillimum sit quicquam tam circumspectè scribere, quod non in aliquam calumniandi materiam rapiatur; perbeati profecto felicesque videntur ii, quibus eum vitæ cursum tenere liceat, ut in otio viventes cum dignitate, sic alienis frui queant laboribus, velut in theatro otiosi sedentes spectatores, ut nullum interim ipsis vel ex actione tædium, vel ex labore periculum metuendum sit. Me verò, nescio quo pacto, longe diversa quidem hactenus exercuit vitæ ratio; quippe cui nec fortunæ illam felicitatem, in cujus complexibus tam multos suaviter foveri video, nec otii amoenitatem experiri, vix etiam per omnem vitam degustare, in continuo laborum ac negotiorum fervore ac contentione contigerit. Quanquam de fortunâ parum queror, quam semper contempsî; quin neque de laboribus multum dicturus, si modò labores ii tantum vel prodesse vel placere cæteris possent hominibus, quantum me privatim atterunt incommodantque. Nunc ad meæ infelicitatis cumulum accedit insuper, quòd in eo argumenti genere laborandum fuit, quod, præter lugubrem rerum ipsarum materiam, præter linguæ inamoenitatem, præter tractandi difficultatem, quæ vix nitorem recipiat orationis, eò porro auctorem ipsum redigit angustiae, ut neque falsa narrare sine injuriâ historiæ, nec verum dicere sine magnâ suâ invidiâ odioque multorum liceat. Nam cum in eo historiæ argumento mihi versandum fuit, quod non ad superiorum modò temporum res gestas altèque repetitas pertineat, sed hanc ipsam ætatem nostram, nostræque gentis nunc homines etiamnum præsentis vivosque, sic attingat, sic perfricet, sic designet, quemadmodum in hoc materiæ genere necessario faciendum fuit: quæso, quid hic mihi aliud expectandum sit, nisi postquam frustra me defatigando valetudinem attriverim, oculos perdiderim, senium acciverim, corpus exhauserim, demum ut post hæc omnia multorum me hominum odiis, sibilis, invidiæ ac calumniæ exponam? In tot istis asperitatibus cùm nihil me tutum præstare poterit, non Cæsar, non monarchæ, non rex, non regina, non ulla hujus mundi præsidia, præter solam Divini numinis potentem dextram; principio igitur, atque ante omnia huc ceu ad tutissimum asylum me recepi, huic me librumque commendavi et commendo. Tum vero insuper in eodem Domino tuum illum candorem, docte pieque lector! eamque tuam humanitatem appellare volui, qua ex humanioribus literis studiisque te scio præditum, quò nostris his sudoribus tuæ approbationis accedat calculus; aut si approbationem non mereamur, saltem ne favoris desit benignitas: cui si approbatam iri hanc historiæ nostræ farraginem senserimus, cæterorum judicia obtreptatorum levius feremus.

Nam alioquì non defuturos sat scio qui variis modis nobis facessent molestiam. Habebit hic momus suos morsus, sycophanta suos sibilos, nec detest calumniatori sua lingua et aculeus, quem infigat. Hic fidem detrahet historiæ; ille artificium in tractando, alter diligentiam, vel in excutiendis rebus judicium

desiderabit. Illi forsân operis displicebit moles, vel minus disposita servataque temporum ratio. Et si nihil horum fuerit, attamen in tantâ religionis pugnâ, in tantâ iudiciorum, capitum, sensuum varietate, ubi suæ quisque favet ac blanditur factioni, quid tam affabrè, aut circumspectè enarrari potest, quod placeat universis? Quin et jam nunc mussitari etiam audio a nonnullis qui longâ sese teneri dicant expectatione, quoad hæc tandem "Legenda nostra," ut appellant, "Aurea" evulganda sit: qui si nostram primum in eo tarditatem reprehensam velint, næ ego suaves istos homines vicissim rogatos velim, ut ipsi prius in edendis suis se præbeant expeditiores, quam alienam incessant lentitudinem.

Deinde, si tardius exeat ipsorum opinione volumen, meminerint, proverbiali præcepto, Lentam esse festinationem oportere; et bos dicitur lassus fortius pedem figere. Egimus in hæc quidem re pro virili nostrâ; egimus spero et pro officio, si non satis pro temporis modo expeditè, at egimus certè pro valetudine; addam porro, egimus supra valetudinem. Quin et illud ipsorum veniâ adjicere liceat, egisse nos maturius quàm ipsis forsân expediet qui in hunc nugantur modum: certè maturatiùs egimus quàm tanti momenti et magnitudinis negotio conveniebat, quod accuratiorem in digerendis rebus moram curamque postulabat; cùm à nobis vix integros datos esse menses octodecim præparandæ materiæ, comportandis componendisque rebus, conferendis exemplaribus, lectandis codicibus, rescribendis his quæ scripto mandata erant, castigandis formulis, concinnandæ historiæ, et in ordinem redigendæ, etc., noverint ii qui testes adfuerunt, et temporis conscii, et laboris socii. Quod si autem "Legendæ suæ Aureæ" titulum huic eò accommodant, quòd illius exemplo hanc similiter fabulosam putent historiam, hincque odioso vocabulo ejus præjudicent veritati, quid his respondeam aliud quàm quòd ingenuè suam ipsi prodant calumniam, quam ne editione quidem libri differre queant, prius de rebus dijudicantes quam noverint. Atque interim quidem illud bene habet, quod ipsos tandem aliquando *legendæ suæ aureæ* pudeat tam fabulosæ. Et tamen fabulis illis non puduit mundum tam diu ludificare, periculum etiam intentantes his, si qui *legendæ illi*, hoc est, mendacissimis illorum nugis, auderent detrahare. Quare nihil magis esse possit impium, quàm sacrosanctam ecclesiæ fidem fabulamentis hujusmodi confictisque præter omnem veri fidem deliriis commaculare; tamen ineptissimi isti nugatores, ex suo ingenio cæteros quosque scriptores metientes, nec ipsi verum adferre satagunt, nec afferentibus aliis fidem habendam putant, cuncta videlicet suis aureis somniis similia existimantes? Quin apage cum "Legenda tua Aurea, Nugator impudens; quem ego librum, cum omnes eum scimus, nec ipse ignoras, prodigiosis mendaciorum portentis et vanissimis undique commentis scatere, ne cum Homeri quidem fabulis conferre velim; tantum abest ut cum verè seriis gravibusque ecclesiæ historiis quicquam commune habeat. Quid? An quia papistis illis tuis et impuris monachis sic libuit in ridiculis miraculorum suorum portentis ineptire, tu protinus nullam gravem historiæ auctoritatem putas in ecclesiâ admittendam? Quin eâdem lege et de Eusebii ecclesiasticâ, et Tripartitâ Sozomeni et Socratis [et Theodoriti], cæterorumque historiis judicemus. Sunt præter hæc et alia quædam de sanctis et divinis conscripta miracula, quæ propius ad *legendam* hanc accedunt, et tamen nequaquam eo loco apud nos habentur, ut "Legendæ illi Papisticæ" annumerentur, etiam quæ suspectissimæ sunt fidei. Quanquam de scriptoribus cæteris meâ nihil interest censuram ferre. Quod ad hanc verò nostram *περὶ τῶν μαρτυρικῶν* attinet, testatum id velim universis, datam esse à nobis operam sedulo ne quid usquam inesset operi fabulosum, aut ejusmodi quod vel a nobis fictum, vel quod

(1) "This work, which was composed by Jacobus de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, is rightly called by Wharton 'an inexhaustible repository of religious fable;' and such was the almost sacred light in which it was considered abroad for upwards of two centuries, that the learned Claude d'Espence, in the year 1555, was obliged to make a public recantation for calling it 'Legenda Ferrea!' The popularity of the work in the fifteenth century is sufficiently attested by the great number of editions of it which were printed in the Latin, Italian, Dutch, German, and French languages. Pawzer enumerates upwards of seventy editions in the first language; eight in the second; fourteen in the third; five in the fourth; and three in the fifth." Didini's *Typograph. Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 190, upon Caxton's English edition of 1483. Melchior Canus, bishop of the Canaries, has also spoken very freely of the Lives of Saints which were in general circulation in his time (1562); and declares that he could not meet with one collection, which was passable; and with regard to the compiler of the "Legenda Aurea," "wherein," he writes, "you may read of monsters rather than of true miracles; he who wrote this was a man of a brazen face, and a leaden heart." "Loci Theolog." lib. xi. cap. 6, p. 267, edit. Venet. 1759; or White's "Way to the true Church," § 42, digres. 44, 7, where this testimony, and much more, is quoted to the same effect; Crashaw's "Sermon preached at the Crosse," (Lond. 1609), p. 154.—Ed.

“*Legendæ illi Auræ*” (magis dicam *plumbæ*) non undique foret dissimillimum. Id quod res ipsa et nativa historiæ facies testari poterit, cuius tota textura ex ipsis episcoporum archivis atque registris, partimque ex propriis martyrum ipsorum literis hausta ac conflata videri poterit. In quâ historiâ etsi neque id exigam ut singula hîc pro oraculis habeantur; at dedimus tamen pro virili operam, ut si non plenè assequeremur, accederemus tamen quàm proximè ad veterem illam historiæ legem, ut duas res, præcipuas historiæ pestes, vitaremur, timorem videlicet et assentationem; quarum altera sæpe minus dicit, altera semper plus addit, quàm par est, narrationi. Sed hujus rei fidem ex ipso magis opere, quàm ex meâ commendatione astrui honestius est. Habet enim veritas ipsa simplicem suam et nativam faciem, quam non erit difficile non mucosis naribus lectori ex ipso vel orationis habitu, aut rerum aspectu, sive aliis circumstantiarum notis deprehendere. Sed vereor ne hîc quoque, quemadmodum cæteris in rebus, locum habeat veteris proverbii experientia; Faciant quippe mendaces ut ne veri etiam dicenti fides habeatur. Cum hactenus in martyrologicis sanctorum legendis vitisque describendis mendacia ac nugacissimæ somniorum fictiones pro veris legantur narrationibus, fit ut cæteræ ejusdem argumenti materiæ eandem pariter suspicionem subeant, ut vix jam quicquam legi dicive in ecclesiâ cum fide queat. Verùm huic malo cum mederi nequeamus, satis erit, quod nostrarum erat virium id nos præstitisse. Quod superest, divinæ curandum providentiæ relinquamus. Atque de certitudine veritateque historiæ hæc hactenus: quæ utinam næ tam vera quidem certaue esset, quàm isti videri volunt, at falsa potius, consimilisque huic, quam dicunt, “*Auræ ipsorum Legendæ*,” aut *Vitis Patrum*, aut *Festivali*, aut *Dormi-secure*, cæterisque papisticis istis *τοῖς τῶν λήρων λήροις* foret. Nunc verò martyrum horum non à nobis ficta, sed inflicta à vobis, supplicia atroxque cædes veriolem hanc comprobant historiam, pluresque suæ veritatis testes habent, quàm vellemus ipsi qui historiam scripsimus. Venio jam ad alteram criminationis partem, quæ de Calendario fortassis objicietur⁽¹⁾. Audio enim et hîc mihi obstrepere non tacitas modò sententias, sed apertas papistarum quorundam voces, quibus iniquè à me factum videbitur, quòd antiquatis atque ex Calendario explosis veteris ecclesiæ divinis, martyribus, confessoribus, virginibusque, novos eorum loco martyres ac confessores infulciam. Primùm, nulli ego veterum divorum hoc facto præjudicatum velim. Neque verò ideo inter divos à me referuntur isti, quòd inseruntur in Calendarium. Hanc ego apotheosin mihi nunquam sumpsi, quam sibi tam confidenter sumpsit Gregorius Nonus. Porro, neque eò spectat hoc Calendarium, ut novam aliquam festorum dierum legem præscribam ecclesiæ; tum multò minus cultum sancti alicujus instituo. Festorum dierum jam plus satis erat in mundo. Utinam Dominicum solum Sabbatum dignè, atque ut par est, transigeremus. Habeant per me suum papistæ Calendarium. Habeat et ecclesia suos sanctos, tum recentes tum veteranos, modò probatos, modò interim iidem ne colantur, modò quàm sint vetusti tam verè etiam sancti sint.

Verùm enimvero cum non dubitavit suâ etiam ætate Hieronymus multos existimare eorum gehennæ ignibus cruciari, quos multi passim pro sanctis haberent in ecclesiâ; quid hîc tum diceret Hieronymus, si modo superstes papisticam hanc sanctorum colluviem et Calendaria, tot papis, tot episcopis, et abbatibus oblita cerneret?

Quanquam à me quidem non Calendarium hoc institutum est, nisi ut *pro inde* duntaxat, suum cuiusque martyris mensem et annum designante, ad privatum lectoris serviret usum. Et tamen si in templis etiam fas sit singulorum mensium dies propriis sanctorum nomenclaturis consignare, qui minus liceat id mihi in veris istis facere martyribus, quod ipsi in suis pseudomartyribus, tantâ sibi licentiâ, ne dicam impudentiâ, permiserunt? Si non pœna, sed causa martyrem faciat, cur non unum Cranmerum sexcentis Becketis Cantuariensibus non conferam, sed prætulerim? Quid in Nicolao Ridleo videtur cum quovis divo Nicolao non conferendum? Quâ in re Latimerus, Hoperus, Marsheus, Simpsonus, cæterique christiani martyrii candidati, inferiores summis maximisque illis papistici Calendarii divinis, imo multis etiam nominibus non præponendi videantur? Interim nullius ego boni sanctique viri (modò qui verè sanctus sit) causam lædo, nec memoriam extinguo, nec gloriam minuo. Et si cui hoc

(1) Our author found the advantage afterwards of having anticipated the objections to his Calendar: see *infra*, vol. iii. p. 385, etc. — *Ed.*

displaceat Calendarium, meminerit, non in templis collocari, sed domesticæ tantùm lectioni præparari.

Sed missis hisce adversariorum calumniis, ad te, docte candideque lector! (quoniam hæc ad te instituta est epistola) tempus est ut recurrat oratio, cuius in his rebus iudicium ut pluris æstimo, ita ego magis hîc quoque patrocinio. Scio enim, in vastâ hâc congerie reperies nonnulla ad quæ meritò corruges frontem. Neque verò fieri facillè potuit, præsertim in tantâ operis præcipatione, ut cuncta ad amussim atque ad unguem perfectè adeo elimarentur, quin alicubi vel ex lassitudine dormitaret scriptor, vel per incuriam excideret auctori aliquid, vel ex festinatione eveniret, quod cani solet in proverbiiis nimium præ studio properanti, Cæcos nimirum producenti catulos. In quibus quidem excutiendis rebus magis nobis venia tua quàm censura imploranda est. Quamobrem paucis hæc apud te, docte simul et humanissime lector! ante operis ingressum libuit *προοιμάξεν*, ut si quid inter evolvendum occurrerit, non omnibus perfectum numeris, non ad Cleanthis lucernam elucubratum, non ad exquisitum theologorum acumen expressum, aut minus alioqui acutissimis tuis dignum naribus, cogites hæc non tuis auribus data esse, sed meis; hoc est, crassioris turbæ hominibus, a quibus facilius leguntur libri quàm judicantur. Aut si ne id quidem gravissimæ tuæ sententiæ fecerit satis, liceat illâ mihi uti lege, quâ semper permissum est opere in magno, "scriptori obrepere somnum." Quod si verò tuam hâc in re facilitatem impetravero, minus laborabo quid cæteri obstrepant, Græci memor proverbii, cuius et ipsos commeminisse velim, *μωμῆσεται τις μᾶλλον ἢ μωμήσεται*.¹

TO THE PERSECUTORS OF GOD'S TRUTH, COMMONLY CALLED
PAPISTS,² ANOTHER PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

If any other had had the doing and handling of this so tragical an history, and had seen the mad rage of this your furious cruelty, in spilling the blood of such an innumerable sort of Christ's holy saints and servants, as, in the volumes of this history, may appear by you, O ye *papists* (give me leave by that name to call you), I know what he would have done therein: what vehemency of writing—what sharpness of speech and words—what roughness of style, in terming and calling you—he would have used; what exclamations he would have made against you; how little he would have spared you. So I, likewise, if I had been disposed to follow the order and example of their doing,—what I might have done herein, let your own conjectures give you to understand, by that which you have deserved. And if you think you have not deserved so to be entreated, as I have said, and worse than I have done, then see and behold, I beseech you, here in this story, the pitiful slaughter of your butchery! Behold your own handy work! consider the number, almost out of number, of so many silly and simple lambs of Christ, whose blood you have sought and sucked; whose lives you have vexed; whose bodies you have slain, racked, and tormented; some also you have cast on dunghills, to be devoured of fowls and dogs; without mercy, without measure, without all sense of humanity! See, I say, and behold, here present before your eyes, the heaps of slain bodies, of so many men and women, both old, young, children, infants, new born, married, unmarried, wives, widows, maids, blind men, lame men, whole men; of all sorts, of all ages, of all degrees; lords, knights, gentlemen, lawyers, merchants, archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers, deacons, laymen, artificers, yea, whole households and whole kindreds together; father, mother and daughter; grandmother, mother, aunt, and child, etc.; whose wounds, yet bleeding before the face of God, cry vengeance! For, whom have you spared? what country could escape your hands? See, therefore, I say,—read, and behold your acts and facts; and, when you have seen, then judge what you have deserved. And if ye find that I have tempered myself with much more moderation for mine own part (but that I have in some places inserted certain of other men's works,

(1) Plutarch. "de Gloriâ Athen." A Latin version may be seen in Plin. "Hist. Nat." lib. xxxv. cap. 9; or § 36.—Ep.

(2) This address is reprinted from Foxe's rare and valuable edition of 1563.

than either the cause of the martyrs or your iniquity hath required), then accept my good will in the Lord, which here I thought to signify unto you in the beginning of this preface, not to flatter or seek for your acceptation (which I care not greatly for), but only as tendering the conversion of your souls, if perhaps I may do you any good. Wherefore, as one that wishes well unto you in the Lord, I exhort you, that with patience you would read and peruse the history of these your own acts and doings, being no more ashamed now to read them, than you were then to do them; to the intent that, when you shall now the better revise what your doings have been, the more you may blush and detest the same.

Peter, preaching to the Jews and pharisees, after they had crucified Christ, cried to them: "*Delictorum pœnitentiam agite*," and turned three thousand at one sermon. So the said Peter sayeth and writeth still to you, and we, with Peter, exhort you: "Repent your mischiefs; be confounded in your doings; and come, at length, to some confession of your miserable iniquity." First, you see now, your doings, so wicked, cannot be hid; your cruelty is come to light; your murders be evident; your pretty practices; your subtle sleights, your secret conspiracies, your filthy lives are seen, and stink before the face both of God and man. Yea, what have you ever done so in secret and in corners, but the Lord hath found it out, and brought it to light? You hold, maintain, and defend, that ministers ought and may live sole, without matrimony: what filthiness and murdering of infants followed thereupon! Your ear-confessions can say something, but God knoweth more; and yet the world knoweth so much that I need not here to stand upon any particular examples of cardinals, doctors, and others, taken in manifest whoredom at London, at Oxford, at Cambridge, at Chester, and other places more.

But to pass over this stinking Camarina⁽¹⁾ of your unmaidenly lives, I return again to your murders and slaughters, which you may here in this volume not only see, but also number them if you please. God so hath displayed and detected them, that now all the world may read them. As I have said, God, I assure you, hath detected them, who hath so marvellously wrought such help and success in setting forth the same, that I dare assure you, it is not without the will of Him, that these your murders should be opened, and come to light. And what if they were not opened, nor made to the world notorious, but secret only, between God and your conscience? Yet what cause have you to repent and to be confounded, now the world also seeth them, hateth, and abhorreth you for the same! What will you say? what will you, or can you, allege? How will you answer to the high Judge to come? or whither will you fly from his judgment, when he shall come? Think you, blood will not require blood again? Did you ever see any murder, which came not out, and was at length repaid? Let the example of the French Guise work in your English hearts, and mark you well his end. If Christ in his gospel, which cannot lie, doth threaten a millstone to such as do but hurt the least of his believers, in what a dangerous case stand you, which have smoked and fired so many his worthy preachers, and learned ministers! And what if the Lord should render to you double again, for that which ye have done to them! Where should you then become? And hath not he promised in his word so to do? And think you, that that Judge doth sleep, or that his coming day will not come? And how will you then be able to stand in his sight when he shall appear? With what face shall ye look upon the Lord, whose servants ye have slain? Or with what hearts will you be able to behold the bright faces of them, upon whom you have set so proudly here, condemning them to consuming fire? In that day, when you shall be charged with the blood of so many martyrs, what will ye, or can you say? How think ye to excuse yourselves? Or what can you for yourselves allege? Will ye deny to have murdered them? This book will testify and denounce against you; which if you cannot deny now to be true, then look how you will answer to it in that counting day.

(1) *Camarina*, a Sicilian lake, drained contrary to the advice of Apollo (as the ancients supposed), whence a pestilence ensued: the lake, however, cannot be drained, as it lies below the level of the sea. Luther makes a similar metaphorical use of *Lerna*, the Grecian lake, *infra*, vol. iv. p. 675, art. 4. "*Camarinam movere*" or "*tentare*," means to make a hazardous attempt. Foxe uses this phrase in the Latin edition (Bas. 1559), p. 4. "*Ac quoniam sine magnâ perturbatione videbat tam periculosam Camarinam tentari haud potuisse, nec subito revelli posse, etc.*" translated *infra*, vol. ii. p. 796, "this dangerous meddling could not be attempted or stirred," etc.—Ed.

Peradventure you will excuse yourselves, and say, that you did but the law; and if the law did pass upon them, you could not do with all. But here I will ask, what law do you mean? The law of God, or the law of man? If ye mean the law of God, where do you find in all the law of God, to put them to death, which, holding the articles of the creed, never blasphemed his name, but glorified it, both in life, and in their death? If you answer, by the law of man, I know the law ("ex officio" or rather ex *homicidio*) which you mean and follow. But who brought that law in first, in the time of king Henry IVth, but you? Who revived the same again in queen Mary's days, but you? Further, who kept them in prison before the law, till, by the law, you had made a rope to hang them withal? And think you by charging the law, to discharge yourselves? But you will use here some translation of the fact perchance; alleging that you burnt them not, but only committed them to the secular power, by whom, you will say, they were burnt, and not by you. It will be hard to play the sophister before the Lord. For so it may be said to you again, that the fire burned them, and not the secular power. But I pray you, who put them in? But they were heretics, you will say, and Lutherans, and therefore we burnt them, thinking thereby to do God good service, etc. Of such service-doers Christ spake before, saying, that such should come, who, putting his servants to death, should think to do good service to God. And forsomuch as, under the pretence of heresy, you put them to death; concerning that matter, there is, and hath been, enough said to you by learning,—if either learned books, or learned sermons could move you. But, to this, none answereth you better than the martyrs themselves, which in this book do tell you, that in the same which you call heresy, they serve the living God. And how do you then serve the living God, in putting them to death, whom they in the death do serve so heartily and so heavenly, as in this book here doth well appear? And because you charge them so much with heresy, this would I know, by what learning do you define your heresy, by the scripture, or by your canon law? I know what you will answer: but whatsoever you say, your own acts and deeds will well prove the contrary. For what scripture can save him, whom your law condemneth? What heresy was there, in speaking against transubstantiation, before Innocent III. did so enact it in his canon, A.D. 1215? What man was ever counted for an heretic, which, worshipping Christ in heaven, did not worship him in the priest's hands, before Honorius III., in his canon, did cause the sacrament to be elevated and adored upon the altar? "Faith only justifying," in St. Paul's time, and in the beginning church, was no heresy, before of late days the Romish canons have made it heresy!

Likewise, if it be heresy not to acknowledge the pope as supreme head of the church, then St. Paul was an heretic, and a stark Lutheran, which, having the scriptures, yet never attributed that to the pope, nor to Peter himself, to be supreme head of the church. So were all the other fathers of the primitive church heretics also, which never knew any such supremacy in the pope, before Boniface I. called himself "universal bishop," six hundred years after Christ. After like sort and manner, if receiving in both kinds, and having the scripture in a popular tongue be a matter worthy of burning, then were all the apostles and martyrs of the first church worthy to be burned, and the Corinthians ill instructed of St. Paul, having both "panem" and "calicem Domini!" Either condemn St. Paul and them, with these, or else let these be quit with the other. The same I may infer of purgatory, the setting up of images, going on pilgrimage, and such like, etc. And, but that I am wearied to see your miserable folly, I might here argue with you. For if your heresy (as you call it) be a sin with you so heinous, that it deserveth burning, then would I know, how can that be a sin now, which was a virtue once? In the time of the old law, it was a virtue amongst the Jews to have no image in the temple. Also, Hezekiah, Josiah, with divers other good kings more, were commended for abolishing the same; and have we not the same commandment still? and how cometh it now to be a vice, which was a virtue then? Likewise in the new law, both Paul and Barnabas would have torn their garments for doing that, for the not doing whereof you burn your brethren now. You see, therefore, how your heresy standeth; not by God's word, for which you burn God's people, but only by your own laws and canons, made by men. Wherefore if

1) See *infra*, vol. iii. p. 239, 400.—Ed.

these your laws and canons (without the which the church once did stand and flourish) be now of such force, that the breach thereof must needs be *death*, better it were, either they were never made, or that now they were abolished; seeing both the church may well be without them, and that God's people in no case can well live with them, but be burned for them.

And now, as I have hitherto collected and recited almost all your excuses, and reasons that you can bring and allege for yourselves, (and yet you see they will not serve you,) so I exhort you to turn to that, which only may and will serve; that is, to the blood of "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." Wash your bloody hands with the tears of plentiful repentance; and though you cannot call back again the lives of those whom you have slain, yet call yourselves back again from the way of iniquity, and from the path of destruction which you were going to! Consider how long now you have spurned and kicked against the Lord and his truth, and yet, you see, nothing hath prevailed. What have you, but "kicked against the pricks?" If killing and slaying could help your cause, you see what an infinite sort you have put to death; the number of whom, although it doth exceed man's searching, yet Paulus Vergerius, in his book against the Pope's Catalogue, taking a view thereof, doth account them to the number of an hundred thousand persons, slain in Christendom of you (whom he there calleth "*papists*") in the cause of Christ's gospel within this forty or an hundred years. Besides them in queen Mary's time here in England, and besides them within these two years slain in France by the [duke of] Guise, which, as you know, cometh to no small sum. And yet for all this horrible slaughter, and your so many fought fields against the poor saints, what is your cause the better? What have you thereby got, or won, but shame, hatred, contempt, infamy, execration, and to be abhorred of all good men; as may appear, not only by your habit and garment, the form and wearing whereof it shameth and abhorreth men now, as you see, to be brought unto; but also, the title and name of your profession. For though ye profess *poperie* inwardly in your hearts, yet which of you all now is not ashamed to be called a *papist*, and would be angry with me if I should write to you under the name of *papists*? You see, therefore, how little you have won.

Let us compare now your winnings and losses together. And as you have gained but a little, so let us see what great things you have lost; which, first, have spilt your own cause, the quiet of your conscience,—which I dare say shaketh within you. Ye have lost the favour both of God and man, the safety of your souls, and almost the kingdom of the Lord, except you take the better heed. What think you, then, by these your proceedings, to win any more hereafter, which have lost so much already? Do not the very ashes of the martyrs which you have slain rise up still against you in greater armies? Seeing therefore the Lord doth and must prevail, be counselled and exhorted in the Lord; leave off your resisting, and yield to the truth which your own boiling consciences, I am sure, doth inwardly witness and testify, if, for your own wilful standing up, on your credit and reputation, as ye think, ye would come to the confession of the same. And what reputation is this of credit, to be found con-

(1) Petrus Paulus Vergerius was bishop of Capo d'Istria, and many years a confidential agent of the court of Rome. Being suspected of an inclination towards Lutheranism, he retired to Germany, intending to clear himself from the imputation by writing a book "Against the Apostates of Germany." In prosecuting this intention, his eyes were opened, and he became a zealous protestant. He wrote many treatises against popery, but few are extant, owing to their having been destroyed as much as possible by the church of Rome. He died Oct. 4, 1565. His works were about to be collected and published at Tübingen, but only tom. i. appeared, in 1563. The treatise alluded to by Foxe is included in that volume, and is intitled "Postremus Catalogus hæreticorum [librorum] Romæ conflatus 1559, continens alios quatuor Catalogos qui post decennium in Italiâ, necnon eos omnes qui in Galliâ et Flandriâ post renatum evangelium, fuerunt editi; cum annotationibus Vergerii." His own dedication of it is dated "Tübingæ, die 12 Sept. 1559." At p. 266, Vergerio enters on the topic of the persecution of the protestants thus—"Cum 40 fluxerint anni à renovato evangelio, horum regnorum et provinciarum fere omnium patres-familias aut sunt extincti aut oblivioni tradiderunt vestros corruptissimos cultus; successit verò alia ætas, quæ longè diversam ac multis magnisque in rebus omnino contrariam doctrinam et disciplinam, hoc est sinceram, hausit." Afterwards, at p. 267, he goes on, "Postremò, quantus est numerus nostræ ætate, non modo eorum qui Mortis, Carcerum, atque Tritemium, sed etiam qui exiliorum tulerant, et ferunt etiamnum, martyria. Qui jam migrarunt ad Dominum Deum nostrum per vestra, inquam, martyria sunt fere millia centum; atque hi ipsi sunt de quibus Scriptura ait, Vidi sub arâ, &c. (Rev. vi. 9, 10)." Foxe says in the text (supposing the text not corrupt) "forty or an hundred years," apparently doubtful as to the meaning of "ætas"; it seems pretty clear, however, that Vergerio did not intend it to embrace more than the 40 years "à renovato evangelio."—Ed.

stant in error against the truth; in Antichrist against Christ; in your destruction against saving of your souls? Briefly, and to be short, if my counsel may be heard, better it were for you in time to give over while it is thankworthy, than at length to be drawn, by compulsion of time, will ye, nill ye, to give over your cause, losing both thanks and your cause also. For see you not daily more and more the contrary part (the Lord's arm going with them) to grow so strong against you, that not only there is no hope, but no possibility for your obstinate error to stand against so manifest truth? First, learning, and all best wits, for the most part repugn against you. Most nations and kingdoms have forsaken you, as Germany, Poland, Bohemia, Denmark, Suabia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Epirus, and a great part of Greece; England, Ireland, Scotland, and France, God be glorified, well favourably cometh on, you see, and other more be like to follow: so that if things come handsomely forward, as they begin and are like to do, the pope is like to pay home again shortly his feathers that he hath so long time borrowed. Moreover, universities and schools, in all quarters, to be set up against you; and youth so trained in the same, that you shall never be able to match them.¹

To conclude, in countries, kingdoms, cities, towns, and churches reformed, your errors and superstitious vanities be so blotted out, within the space of these forty years, in the hearts of men, that their children and youth, being so long nouseled in the sound doctrine of Christ, like as they never heard of your ridiculous trumpery, so will they never be brought to the same.² And if nothing else will deface you, yet printing only will subvert your doings, do what ye can, which the Lord only hath set up for your desolation. Wherefore, forsake your cause, and your false hopes, and save yourselves. And take me not your enemy in telling you the truth, but rather your friend, in giving you good counsel—if you will follow good counsel given. Return therefore and reform yourselves; repent your murders, cease your persecutions, strive not against the Lord; but rather bewail your iniquities, which, though they be great, and greater than you are aware, yet they are not so great, but Christ is greater, if ye repent betimes. Ye see here I trust good counsel given; God grant it may as well fructify in you, as on my part it hath proceeded of an open and tender heart; wishing you well to do, as I pray God ye may, so that you and we may agree and consent together in one religion and truth, in Christ Jesus our Lord, to whom be praise for ever. Amen.

TO THE TRUE AND FAITHFUL CONGREGATION OF CHRIST'S
UNIVERSAL CHURCH,

With all and singular the Members thereof, wheresoever congregated or dispersed through the Realm of England; a Protestation or Petition of the Author, wishing to the same Abundance of all Peace and Tranquillity, with the speedy Coming of Christ the Spouse, to make an End of all Mortal Misery.

SOLOMON, the peaceable prince of Israel, as we read in the first book of Kings, after he had finished the building of the Lord's temple, (which he had seven years in hand,) made his petition to the Lord for all that should pray in the said temple, or turn their face toward it; and his request was granted, the Lord answering him, as we read in the said book; "I have heard," saith he, "thy prayer, and have sanctified this place,"³ etc. Albeit the infinite majesty of God is not to be compassed in any material walls, yet it so pleased his goodness to respect this prayer of the king, that not only he promised to hear them which there prayed, but also replenished the same with his own glory. For so we read again in the book aforesaid, "Non poterant ministrare propter nebulam, quia replevit gloria Domini domum Domini."⁴

Upon the like trust in God's gracious goodness, if I, sinful wretch, not comparing with the building of that temple, but following the zeal of the builder,

(1) Vergerio, ut *suprà*.—Ed.
(3) 1 Kings viii. 30.

(2) *Idem*.—Ed.
(4) 1 Kings viii. 10.

might either be so bold to ask, or so happy to speed, after my seven years' travail about this Ecclesiastical History, I would most humbly crave of Almighty God to bestow his blessing upon the same; that as the prayers of them which prayed in the outward temple were heard, so all true disposed minds which shall resort to the reading of this present history, containing the Acts of God's holy Martyrs, and Monuments of his Church, may, by example of their life, faith, and doctrine, receive some such spiritual fruit to their souls, through the operation of his grace; that it may be to the advancement of his glory, and profit of his church, through Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

But, as it happened in that temple of Solomon, that all which came thither came not to pray, but many to prate, some to gaze and see news, other to talk and walk, some to buy and sell, some to carp and find fault, and, finally, some also at the last to destroy and pull down, as they did indeed;—for what is in this world so strong, but it will be impugned? what so perfect, but it will be abused? so true, that will not be contraried? or so circumspectly done, wherein wrangling Theon¹ will not set in his tooth?—even so neither do I look for any other in this present history, but that, amongst many well-disposed readers, some wasp's nest or other will be stirred up to buz about mine ears. So dangerous a thing it is now a days to write or do any good, but either by flattering a man must offend the godly, or by true speaking procure hatred of the wicked. Of such stinging wasps and buzzing drones I had sufficient trial in my former edition before;² who if they had found in my book any just cause to carp, or, upon any true zeal of truth, had proceeded against the untruths of my story, and had brought just proofs for the same, I could right well have abided it: for God forbid but that faults, wheresoever they be, should be detected and accused. And therefore accusers in a commonwealth, after my mind, do serve to no small stead.

But then such accusers must beware they play not the dog, of whom Cicero in his Oration³ speaketh, which, being sent into the Capitol to fray away thieves by night, left the thieves, and fell to bark at true men walking in the day. Where true faults be, there to bay and bark is not amiss; but to carp where no cause is; to spy in other straws; and leap over their own blocks; to swallow camels, and to strain at gnats; to oppress truth with lies, and to set up lies for truth; to blaspheme the dear martyrs of Christ, and to canonize for saints those whom Scripture would scarce allow for good subjects;—that is intolerable. Such barking curs, if they were well served, would be made a while to stoop; but with these brawling spirits I intend not at this time much to wrestle.

Wherefore to leave them a while, till further leisure serve me to attend upon them, thus much I thought, in the mean season, by way of Protestation or Petition, to write unto you both in general and particular, the true members and faithful congregation of Christ's church, wheresoever either congregated together, or dispersed through the whole realm of England; that, forasmuch as all the seeking of these adversaries is to do what they can, by discrediting of this history with slanders and sinister surmises, to withdraw the readers from it, this, therefore, shall be, in few words, to premonish and desire of all and singular of you (all well-minded lovers and partakers of Christ's gospel), not to suffer yourselves to be deceived with the big brags and hyperbolic speeches of those slandering tongues, whatsoever they have or shall hereafter exclaim against the same, but indifferently staying your judgment till truth be tried, you will first peruse and then refuse; measuring the untruths of this history, not by the scoring up of their hundreds and thousands of lies which they give out, but wisely weighing the purpose of their doings according as you find; and so to judge of the matter.

To read my books I allure neither one nor other. Every man as he seeth cause, so let him like as he listeth. If any shall think his labour too much in reading this story, his choice is free either to read this, or any other which he more mindeth. But if the fruit thereof shall recompence the reader's travail, then would I wish no man so light eared, as to be carried away for any sinister clamour of adversaries, who many times deprave good doings, not for the faults they find, but therefore find faults because they would deprave. As for me

(1) Hor. Ep. lib. i. 18.—Ed.

(2) The first edition, London, 1563.—Ed.

(3) Orat. ii. pro Roscio, cap. 20.—Ed.

and my history, as my will was to profit all and displease none, so if skill in any part wanted to will, yet hath my purpose been simple; and certes the cause no less urgent also, which moved me to take this enterprise in hand.

The
partial
dealing of
story-
writers.

For, first, to see the simple flock of Christ, especially the unlearned sort, so miserably abused, and all for ignorance of history, not knowing the course of times and true descent of the church, it pited me that this part of diligence had so long been unsupplied in this my-country church of England. Again, considering the multitude of chronicles and story-writers, both in England and out of England, of whom the most part have been either monks, or clients to the see of Rome, it grieved me to behold how partially they handled their stories. Whose painful travail albeit I cannot but commend, in committing divers things to writing, not unfruitful to be known nor unpleasant to be read; yet it lamented me to see in their Monuments the principal points which chiefly concerned the state of Christ's church, and were most necessary of all christian people to be known, either altogether pretermitted, or if any mention thereof were inserted, yet were all things drawn to the honour specially of the church of Rome, or else to the favour of their own sect of religion. Whereby the vulgar sort, hearing and reading in their writings no other church mentioned or magnified but only that church which here flourished in this world in riches and jollity, were drawn also to the same persuasion, to think no other church to have stood in all the earth but only the church of Rome.

In the number of this sort of writers, besides our monks of England (for every monastery almost had his chronicler) I might also recite both Italian and other-country authors, as Platina, Sabellicus, Naulerius, Martin, Antoninus, Vincentius, Onuphrius, Laziarde, George Lily, Polydore Virgil, with many more, who, taking upon them to intermeddle with matters of the church, although in part they express some truth in matters concerning the bishops and see of Rome, yet, in suppressing another part, they play with us, as Ananias and Sapphira did with their money, or as Apelles did in Pliny,¹ who, painting the one half of Venus coming out of the sea, left the other half imperfect: so these writers, while they show us one half of the bishop of Rome, the other half of him they leave imperfect, and utterly untold. For as they paint him out, on the one part, glistening in wealth and glory, in shewing what succession the popes had from the chair of Saint Peter, when they first began, and how long they sat, what churches and what famous buildings they erected, how far their possessions reached, what laws they made, what councils they called, what honour they received of kings and emperors, what princes and countries they brought under their authority, with other like stratagems of great pomp and royalty; so, on the other side, what vices these popes brought with them to their seat, what abominations they practised, what superstition they maintained, what idolatry they procured, what wicked doctrine they defended contrary to the express word of God, into what heresies they fell, into what division of sects they cut the unity of christian religion, how some practised by simony, some by necromancy and sorcery, some by poisoning, some indenting with the devil to come by their papacy, what hypocrisy was in their lives, what corruption in their doctrine, what wars they raised, what bloodshed they caused, what treachery they traversed against their lords and emperors, imprisoning some, betraying some to the Templars and Saracens, and in bringing others under their feet, also in beheading some; as they did with Frederic and Conradine, the heirs and offspring of the house of Frederic Barbarossa, in the year 1268;² furthermore, how mightily Almighty God hath stood against them, how their wars never prospered against the Turk, how the judgments of the godly-learned from time to time have ever repugned against their errors, etc.—of these and a thousand other more not one word hath been touched, but all kept as under benedicite, in auricular confession.

When I considered this partial dealing and corrupt handling of histories, I thought with myself nothing more lacking in the church than a full and a complete story; which, being faithfully collected out of all our monastical writers and written monuments, should contain neither every vain-written fable (for that would be too much), nor yet leave out any thing necessary, for that would be too little; but, with a moderate discretion, taking the best of every one, should both ease the labour of the reader from turning over such a number of

1) Plin. xxxv. cap. 10.

(2) See *infra*, vol. ii. pp. 455—509, 472, and vol. iv. pp. 143, 144.—Ed.

writers, and also should open the plain truth of times lying long hid in obscure darkness of antiquity: whereby all studious readers, beholding as in a glass the stay, course, and alteration of religion, decay of doctrine, and the controversies of the church, might discern the better between antiquity and novelty. For if the things which be first, after the rule of Tertullian, are to be preferred before those that be later, then is the reading of histories much necessary in the church, to know what went before, and what followed after; and therefore not without cause "*historia*," in old authors, is called the Witness of Times, the Light of Verity, the Life of Memory, Teacher of Life, and Shewer of Antiquity, etc., without the knowledge whereof man's life is blind, and soon may fall into any kind of error; as by manifest experience we have to see in these desolate later times of the church, when the bishops of Rome, under colour of antiquity, have turned truth into heresy, and brought such new-found devices of strange doctrine and religion, as, in the former age of the church, were never heard of before, and all through ignorance of times and for lack of true history.

"Primum quodque verissimum est."

For, to say the truth, if times had been well searched, or if they which wrote histories had, without partiality, gone upright between God and Baal, halting on neither side, it might well have been found, the most part of all this catholic corruption intruded into the church by the bishops of Rome, as transubstantiation, elevation and adoration of the sacrament, auricular confession, forced vows of priests not to marry, veneration of images, private and satisfactory masses, the order of Gregory's mass now used, the usurped authority and "*summa potestas*" of the see of Rome, with all the rout of their ceremonies and weeds of superstition overgrowing now the church; all these, I say, to be new-nothings lately coined in the mint of Rome, without any stamp of antiquity, as by reading of this present history shall sufficiently, I trust, appear. Which history therefore I have here taken in hand, that as other story-writers heretofore have employed their travail to magnify the church of Rome, so in this history might appear to all christian readers the image of both churches, as well of the one as of the other; especially of the poor oppressed and persecuted church of Christ. Which persecuted church, though it hath been of long season trodden under foot by enemies, neglected in the world, not regarded in histories, and almost scarce visible or known to worldly eyes, yet hath it been the true church only of God, wherein he hath mightily wrought hitherto, in preserving the same in all extreme distresses, continually stirring up from time to time faithful ministers, by whom always have been kept some sparks of his true doctrine and religion.

Image of both churches.

Now forasmuch as the true church of God goeth not, lightly,¹ alone, but is accompanied with some other church or chapel of the devil to deface and malign the same, necessary it is therefore the difference between them to be seen, and the descent of the right church to be described from the apostles' time: which, hitherto, in most part of histories hath been lacking, partly for fear, that men durst not, partly for ignorance, that men could not, discern rightly between the one and the other. Who, beholding the church of Rome to be so visible and glorious in the eyes of all the world, so shining in outward beauty, to bear such a port, to carry such a train and multitude, and to stand in such high authority, supposed the same to be the only right catholic mother. The other, because it was not so visibly known in the world, they thought therefore it could not be the true church of Christ. Wherein they were far deceived: for although the right church of God be not so invisible in the world that none can see it, yet neither is it so visible again that every worldly eye may perceive it. For like as is the nature of truth, so is the proper condition of the true church, that commonly none seeth it, but such only as be the members and partakers thereof. And, therefore, they which require that God's holy church should be evident and visible to the whole world, seem to define the great synagogue of the world, rather than the true spiritual church of God.

The descent of Christ's church from the apostles' time described.

How the true church of Christ is visible and not

In Christ's time who would have thought but that the congregations and councils of the Pharisees had been the right church? and yet had Christ another church in earth besides that; which, albeit it was not so manifest in the sight of the world, yet was it the only true church in the sight of God. Of this church meant Christ, speaking of the temple which he would raise again the third day; and yet after that the Lord was risen, he showed not himself to the

1) "Lightly," *i. e.* commonly, usually. Todd's Johnson. See *infra*, p. 580, note (1).—Ed.

world, but only to his elect, which were but few. The same church, after that, increased and multiplied mightily among the Jews; yet had not the Jews eyes to see God's church, but did persecute it, till at length all their whole nation was destroyed.

After the Jews, then came the heathen emperors of Rome, who having the whole power of the world in their hands, did what the world could do, to extinguish the name and church of Christ. Whose violence continued the space of three hundred years. All which while the true church of Christ was not greatly in sight of the world, but rather was abhorred everywhere, and yet notwithstanding the same small silly flock, so despised in the world, the Lord highly regarded and mightily preserved. For although many then of the christians did suffer death, yet was their death neither loss to them, nor detriment to the church; but the more they suffered, the more of their blood increased.

The anti-
quity and
descent
of the
church in
England.

In the time of these emperors God raised up then in this realm of Britain divers worthy preachers and witnesses, as Elvanus, Meduinus, Melvianus, Amphibalus, Albanus, Aaron, Julius, and other more: in whose time the doctrine of faith, without men's traditions, was sincerely preached. After their death and martyrdom it pleased the Lord to provide a general quietness to his church, whereby the number of his flock began more to increase.

In this age then followed here in the said land of Britain Fastidius, Ninianus, Patricius, Bacchiarius, Dubricius, Congellus, Kentigernus, Helmotus, David, Daniel, Sampson, Elvodus, Asaphus, Gildas, Henlanus, Elbodus, Dinodus, Samuel, Nivius, and a great sort more, which governed the church of Britain by christian doctrine a long season; albeit the civil governors for the time were then dissolute and careless (as Gildas very sharply doth lay to their charge), and so at length were subdued by the Saxons.

All this while, about the space of four hundred years, religion remained in Britain uncorrupt, and the word of Christ truly preached, till, about the coming of Augustine and of his companions from Rome, many of the same Britain-preachers were slain by the Saxons. After that began the christian faith to enter and spring among the Saxons, after a certain Romish sort, yet notwithstanding somewhat more tolerable than were the times which after followed, through the diligent industry of some godly teachers which then lived amongst them; as Aidan, Finian, Colman archbishop of York, Bede, John of Beverly, Alcuin, Noetus,¹ Hucharius, Serlo, Achardus, Ealdedus, Alexander, Neckham, Negellus, Fenallus, Ælfrius, Sygeferthus, and such other; who, though they erred in some few things, yet neither are so grossly nor so greatly to be complained of in respect of the abuses that followed. For as yet, all this while, the error of transubstantiation and elevation, with auricular confession, was not crept in for a public doctrine in Christ's church, as, by their own Saxon sermon made by Ælfric, and set out in the volumes² of this present history, may appear. During the which mean time, although the bishops of Rome were had here in some reverence with the clergy, yet had they nothing as yet to do in making laws touching matters of the church of England: but that only appertained to the kings and governors of the land, as is in this story to be seen.

Transub-
stantia-
tion not
yet re-
ceived for
a public
doctrine.

When the
church
began to
fall from
God.

And thus the church of Rome, albeit it began then to decline apace from God, yet, during all this while, it remained hitherto in some reasonable order, till at length, after that, the said bishops began to shoot up in the world through the liberality of good princes, and especially of Matilda, a noble duchess of Italy, who at her death made the pope heir of all her lands, and endured his see with great revenues.³ Then riches begat ambition, ambition destroyed religion, so that all came to ruin. Out of this corruption sprang forth here in England, as did in other places more, another Romish kind of monkery, worse than the other before, being much more drowned in superstition and ceremonies, which was about the year of our Lord, 980. Of this swarm was Egbert, Agilbert, Egwin, Boniface, Wilfrid, Agatho, James, Romain, Cedda, Dunstan, Oswald, Athelwold; Athelwin, duke of East-Angles; Lanfranc, Anselm, and such others.⁴

When
monkery
began to
reign in
England.

(1) Respecting the foregoing worthies, see *infra*, pp. 349—353, 363, 364, 376; and vol. ii. p. 30.—Ed.

(2) See vol. v. p. 280.—Ed.

(3) Æneas Sylvius saith, that Matilda made the pope heir of those lands which are called the patrimony of St. Peter. Ex Aventino, lib. 6. See *infra*, vol. ii. 116—120.—Ed.

(4) For more about these worthies see *infra*, pp. 350—353, 355, 358, 359, 368; and vol. ii. 50—54, 62, 65, etc.—Ed.

And yet in this time also, through God's providence, the church lacked not some of better knowledge and judgment, to weigh with the darkness of those days. For although king Edgar, with Edward his base son, being seduced by Dunstan, Oswald, and other monkish clerks, was then a great author and fautor of much superstition, erecting as many monasteries as were Sundays in the year, yet, notwithstanding, this continued not long. For, eftsnoons after the death of Edgar, came king Ethelred and queen Alfrida his mother, with Alferus duke of Merceland, and other peers and nobles of the realm, who displaced the monks again, and restored the married priests to their old possessions and livings.¹ Moreover, after that, followed also the Danes, which overthrew those monkish foundations, as fast as king Edgar had set them up before.

And thus hitherto stood the condition of the true church of Christ, albeit not without some repugnance and difficulty, yet in some mean state of the truth and verity, till the time of pope Hildebrand, called Gregory VII. which was near about the year 1080, and of pope Innocent III. in the year 1215: by whom all together was turned upside down, all order broken, discipline dissolved, true doctrine defaced, christian faith extinguished; instead whereof, was set up preaching of men's decrees, dreams and idle traditions. And whereas, before, truth was free to be disputed amongst learned men, now, liberty was turned into law, argument into authority. Whatsoever the bishop of Rome denounced, that stood for an oracle of all men to be received without opposition or contradiction; whatsoever was contrary, ipso facto it was heresy, to be punished with faggot and flaming fire. Then began the sincere faith of this English church, which held out so long, to quail. Then was the clear sunshine of God's word overshadowed with mists and darkness, appearing like sackcloth to the people, who neither could understand what they read, nor yet were permitted to read what they could understand. In these miserable days, as the true visible church began now to shrink and keep in for fear, so up started a new sort of players, to furnish the stage, as school-doctors, canonists, and four orders of friars; besides other monastical sects and fraternities of infinite variety; which, ever since, have kept such a stir in the church, that none for them almost durst rout, neither Cæsar, king, nor subject. What they defined, stood; what they approved, was catholic; what they condemned, was heresy; whomsoever they accused, none almost could save. And thus have these, hitherto, continued, or reigned rather, in the church, the space now of full four hundred years and odd. During which space the true church of Christ, although it durst not openly appear in the face of the world, was oppressed by tyranny; yet neither was it so invisible or unknown, but, by the providence of the Lord, some remnant always remained from time to time, which not only showed secret good affection to sincere doctrine, but also stood in open defence of truth against the disordered church of Rome.

In which catalogue, first, to pretermitt Bertram and Berengarius, who were before pope Innocent III. a learned multitude of sufficient witnesses here might be produced; whose names neither are obscure nor doctrine unknown; as Joachim, abbot of Calabria, and Almeric, a learned bishop, who was judged an heretic for holding against images in the time of the said Innocent. Besides the martyrs of Alsace, of whom we read an hundred to be burned by the said Innocent² in one day, as writeth Ulric Mutius.³ Add likewise to these the Waldenses or Albigenses, which, to a great number, segregated themselves from the church of Rome. To this number also belonged Reymund, earl of Thoulouse, Marsilius Patavinus, Gulielmus de Sancto Amore,⁴ Simon Tornacensis, Arnoldus de Nova Villa, Johannes Semeca, besides divers other preachers⁵ in Suabia standing against the pope, A.D. 1240;⁶ Laurentius An-

The true church, when it began first to decay.

The true church continueth in the midst of their enemies.

(1) See *infra*, vol. ii. pp. 67, 68.—Ed.

(2) This was in the year 1212—but the bp. of Strasburg was the more immediate executioner: vide "Mutii Chron." lib. xix. apud "Rerum Germ. Scripp." tom. ii. p. 809. Ratisbonæ, 1726.—Ed.

(3) The title of this work, which may be seen more at length in "Sagittari Introduct. in Hist. Eccles." (tom. ii. p. 113, and tom. i. p. 95,) is "De Germanorum primâ origine, moribus, institutis, etc." Auct. H. Mutio. Basil. 1539.—Ed.

(4) Extravagant. [Alexandri IV.] cap. "Non sine multa." [This Extrav. of pope Alexander IV. is given by Bzovius, "Annal. Eccl. post Baron." sub an. 1257, § 5, dated Lateran. III. Cal. Apr. pont. nostri an. 3. See *infra*, vol. ii. p. 752.—Ed.]

(5) Ex Nicol. Eymerico. [Many of the presumed heretics here mentioned find a place in his work entitled "Directorium Inquisitorum Nicolai Eymerici, cum Commentt. Fr. Pegnar." Romæ, 1587. Pp. 248, 254, 265, etc.—Ed.]

(6) Alb. Crantzii. [Saxonia, lib. viii. c. 16.—Ed.]

glicus, a master of Paris, A.D. 1260; Petrus Johannes, a minorite,¹ who was burned after his death, A.D. 1290; Robertus Gallus, a dominic friar, A.D. 1292; Robert Grosthead, bishop of Lincoln, who was called "Malleus Romanorum,"² A.D. 1250; Lord Peter of Cugnières, A.D. 1329. To these we may add, moreover, Gulielmus Ockam, Bonagratia Bergomensis, Luitpoldus, Andreas Laudensis, Ulric Hangenor, treasurer to the emperor, Johannes de Ganduno,³ A.D. 1330, mentioned in the Extravagants; Andreas de Castro, Buridanus, Euda,⁴ duke of Burgundy, who counselled the French king not to receive the new-found constitutions and Extravagants of the pope into his realm; Dantes Aligerius, an Italian, who wrote against the pope, monks, and friars, and against the donation of Constantine, A.D. 1330; Taulerus, a German preacher;⁵ Conradus Hager, imprisoned for preaching against the mass, A.D. 1339; the author of the book called "Penitentiarius Asini," compiled about the year 1343; Michael Cesenas, a grey friar; Petrus de Corbaria, with Johannes de Poliaci, mentioned in the Extravagants, and condemned by the pope; Johannes de Castilione, with Franciscus de Arcatara, who were burned about the year of our Lord, 1322;⁶ Johannes Rochtaylada, otherwise called Haybalus, with another friar martyred about the year 1346; Franciscus Petrarcha, who called Rome the whore of Babylon, &c. A.D. 1350;⁷ Gregorius Ariminensis, A.D. 1350; Joannes de Rupe Scissa, imprisoned for certain prophecies against the pope, A.D. 1340; Gerhardus Ridder, who also wrote against monks and friars a book called "Lacrymæ Ecclesiæ," A.D. 1350; Godfridus de Fontanis, Gulielmus de Landuno, Joannes Monachus Cardinalis, Armachanus, Nicolaus Orem, preacher, A.D. 1364; Militizius, a Bohemian, who then preached that antichrist was come, and was excommunicated for the same, A.D. 1366; Jacobus Misnensis, Matthias Parisiensis, a Bohemian born, and a writer against the pope, A.D. 1370; Joannes Montziger, rector of the university of Ulm, A.D. 1384; Nilus, archbishop of Thessalonica, Henricus de Iota, Henricus de Hassia, etc.⁹

Ex Christiano
Massæo.

I do but recite the principal writers and preachers in those days. How many thousands there were which never bowed their knees to Baal, that is known to God alone. Of whom we find in the writings of one Bruschius,¹⁰ that six-and-thirty citizens of Mentz were burned, A.D. 1390: who, following the doctrine of the Waldenses, affirmed the pope to be the great Antichrist. Also Massæus recordeth of one hundred and forty, who, in the province of Narbonne, were put to the fire, for not receiving the decretals of Rome; besides them that suffered at Paris, to the number of four-and-twenty at one time, A.D. 1210: and the next year after there were four hundred burnt under the name of heretics; besides also a certain good eremite, an Englishman, of whom mention is made in John Bacon,¹¹ who was committed for disputing in Paul's church against certain sacraments of the church of Rome, A.D. 1306.¹²

To descend now somewhat lower in drawing out the descent of the church. What a multitude here cometh of faithful witnesses in the time of John Wickliff, as Ocliff,¹³ Wickliff (A.D. 1379); William Thorp, White, Purvey, Pateshul,

(1) He is mentioned in "Genebrard's Chronology," p. 670, Edit. 1599.—Ed.

(2) By Matthew Paris, p. 876. Edit. 1640.—Ed.

(3) Rather "Janduno." See "Oudin de Script. Eccles." tom. iii. col. 883.—Ed.

(4) In Flacius Illyricus, from whom all of the witnesses in this and the next paragraph are borrowed, it is "Eudo." See "Cat. test. verit.," col. 1665. Edit. 1608. Foxe himself also reads "Eudo," *infra*, vol. ii. p. 706.—Ed.

(5) Ex Joan. Aventino, lib. vii. Extravagant. cap. "Licet *infra* doctrinam." Ex bullis quibusdam Orthonis Episc. Herbipolensis.

(6) Extravagant. Iohan. XXII. Ex Joan. Froisard. vol. i. cap. 211.

(7) Ex Trithemio.; Ex bulla Gregorii, cap. 11; Ex Illyrico.

(8) The same person as Rochtaylada, just before mentioned.—Ed.

(9) Henricus de Hassia was vice-chancellor of Paris, canon of Worms, and finally professor of theology at Vienna, where he died, from 1384 to 1397. The letter, which appears in vol. iii. p. 189 of the present edition of Foxe, is assigned to him by Fabricius (Bibliotheca mediæ et inf. Latinitatis, tom. ii. p. 219. Edit. Patavii, 1754).—Ed.

(10) Gaspar Bruschius Egranus: "De omnibus Germaniæ Episcopatibus Epitomes," lib. primus. Archiep. Moguntinum comprehendens; 8vo. Norimb. 1549: see a long list of his writings in Gesneri Bibliotheca, p. 256, edit. 1583; also Sagittarii Introd. in Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 498.—Ed.

(11) Dist. ii. Quest. i. [John Bacon, alias Baconthorpe, præceptor to Armachanus, mentioned *infra*, vol. ii. pp. 749, 782. He wrote, in 1321, "Commentaria seu Questiones in 4 libros Sententiarum." (Bale, Cave).—Ed.]

(12) The contents of this and the preceding paragraph will be found amplified *infra*, vol. ii. pp. 301, 349, 350, 509—534, 613—640, 705—711, 727, 752—782.—Ed.

(13) Thomas Oclefe, the poet, was born 1370, and flourished 1410. He was a pupil of Chaucer, which will account for his espousing Wickliff's doctrines: see what Foxe says of Chaucer and Gower, vol. ii. p. 357, and vol. iv. 248. Foxe mentions Ocliff again *infra*, vol. ii. p. 791: see note in the Appendix on that passage.—Ed.

Pain, Gower, Chaucer, Gascoin, William Swinderby, Walter Brute, Roger Dexter, William Sautry, about the year 1401; John Badby, A.D. 1410; Nicholas Tailor, Richard Wagstaff, Michael Scrivener, William Smith, John Henry, William Parchmenar, Roger Goldsmith, with an anchoress called Matilda, in the city of Leicester; lord Cobham; sir Roger Acton, knight; John Beverley, preacher; John Huss, Jerome of Prague, a schoolmaster, with a number of faithful Bohemians and Thaborites not to be told; with whom I might also adjoin Laurentius Valla. and Joannes Picus, the learned earl of Mirandula. But what do I stand upon recital of names, which almost are infinite?

Wherefore, if any be so far beguiled in his opinion [as] to think the doctrine of the church of Rome, as it now standeth, to be of such antiquity, and that the same was never impugned before the time of Luther and Zuinglius now of late, let them read these histories: or if he think the said history not to be of sufficient credit to alter his persuasion, let him peruse the acts and statutes of parliaments, passed in this realm, of ancient time, and therein consider and confer the course of times; where he may find and read, in the year of our Lord 1382,¹ of a great number (who there be called evil persons) going about from town to town in frieze gowns, preaching unto the people, etc. Which preachers, although the words of the statute do term there to be dissembling persons, preaching divers sermons containing heresies and notorious errors, to the embleishment of christian faith, and of holy church, etc. as the words do there pretend; yet notwithstanding, every true christian reader may conceive of those preachers to teach no other doctrine, than now they hear their own preachers in pulpits preach against the bishop of Rome, and the corrupt heresies of his church.

Furthermore, he shall find likewise in the statutes,² in the year of our Lord 1401, another like company of good preachers and faithful defenders of true doctrine against blind heresy and error. Whom, albeit the words of the statute there, through corruption of that time, do falsely term to be false and perverse preachers, under dissembled holiness, teaching in those days openly and privily new doctrines and heretical opinions, contrary to the faith and determination of holy church, etc., yet notwithstanding whosoever readeth histories, and conferreth the order and descent of times, shall understand these to be no false teachers, but faithful witnesses of the truth; not teaching any new doctrine contrary to the determination of holy church, but rather shall find that church to be unholy which they preached against; teaching rather itself heretical opinions, contrary both to antiquity and verity of Christ's true catholic church.

Of the like number also, or greater, of like faithful favourers and followers of God's holy word, we find in the year 1422, specified in a letter sent from Henry Chichesly, archbishop of Canterbury, to pope Martin V.,³ in the fifth year of his popedom, where mention is made of so many here in England, infected (as he said) with the heresies of Wickliff and Huss, that without force of an army, they could not be suppressed, etc. Whereupon the pope sent two cardinals to the archbishop, to cause a tenth to be gathered of all spiritual and religious men, and the money to be laid in the chamber apostolic; and if that were not sufficient, the residue to be made up of chalices, candlesticks, and other implements of the church, etc.

What shall need then any more witnesses to prove this matter, when you see, so many years ago, whole armies and multitudes thus standing against the pope? who, though they be termed here for heretics and schismatics, yet in that which they call heresy served they the living Lord within the ark of his true spiritual and visible church.

And where is then the frivolous brag of the papists, who make so much of their painted sheath; and would needs bear us down, that this government of the church of Rome, which now is, hath been of such an old standing, time out of mind, even from the primitive antiquity; and that there never was any other church demonstrable here in earth for men to follow, besides the said only catholic mother church of Rome? when as we have sufficiently proved before, by the continual descent of the church till this present time, the said church, after the doctrine which is now reformed, is no new-begun matter, but

(1) Stat. in anno 5, Rich. II. A.D. 1382.

(2) Stat. in anno 2, H. IV. cap. 15, A.D. 1401.

(3) Ex literis Archiepisc. Cant. ad Martin. V., A.D. 1422.

even the old continued church by the providence and promise of Christ still standing; which, albeit it hath been of late years repressed by the tyranny of Roman bishops more than before, yet notwithstanding it was never so oppressed, but God hath ever maintained in it the truth of his gospel, against heresies and errors of the church of Rome, as, in this history, more at full is to be seen.

Bloody
marks of
Christ's
passion
seen on
men's
garments
in Ger-
many.
A.D. 1501.

Let us now proceed further as we began, deducing this descent of the church unto the year 1501. In which year the Lord began to show in the parts of Germany wonderful tokens, and bloody marks of his passion; as the bloody cross, his nails, spear, and crown of thorns, which fell from heaven upon the garments and caps of men, and rocks of women; as you may further read in this history.¹ By the which tokens Almighty God, no doubt, pre-signified what grievous afflictions and bloody persecutions should then begin to ensue upon his church for his gospel's sake, according as in this history is described; wherein is to be seen what christian blood hath been spilt, what persecutions raised, what tyranny exercised, what torments devised, what treachery used, against the poor flock and church of Christ; in such sort as since Christ's time greater hath not been seen.

Seventy
years of
captivity
well near
expired.

And now by revolution of years we are come from that time of 1501, to the year now present 1570.² In which the full seventy years of the Babylonish captivity draweth now well to an end, if we count from the first appearing of these bloody marks above-mentioned. Or if we reckon from the beginning of Luther and his persecution,³ then lacketh yet sixteen years. Now what the Lord will do with this wicked world, or what rest he will give to his church after these long sorrows, he is our Father in heaven, his will be done in earth as seemeth best to his divine Majesty.

Exhorta-
tion to
the
church of
England.

In the mean time let us, for our parts, with all patient obedience wait upon his Grace's leisure, and glorify his holy name, and edify one another with all humility. And if there cannot be an end of our disputing and contending one against another, yet let there be a moderation in our affections. And forasmuch as it is the good will of our God, that Satan thus should be let loose amongst us for a short time; yet let us strive in the mean while, what we can, to amend the malice of the time, with mutual humanity. They that be in error, let them not disdain to learn. They which have greater talents of knowledge committed [to them], [let them] instruct in simplicity them that be simple. No man liveth in that commonwealth where nothing is amiss; but yet because God hath so placed us Englishmen here in one commonwealth, also in one church, as in one ship together, let us not mangle or divide the ship, which, being divided, perisheth; but every man serve with diligence and discretion in his order, wherein he is called—they that sit at the helm keep well the point of the needle, to know how the ship goeth, and whither it should; whatsoever weather betideth, the needle, well touched with the stone of God's word, will never fail: such as labour at the oars start for no tempest, but do what they can to keep from the rocks: likewise they which be in inferior rooms, take heed they move no sedition nor disturbance against the rowers and mariners. No storm so dangerous to a ship on the sea, as is discord and disorder in a weal public. What countries and nations, what kingdoms and empires, what cities, towns, and houses, discord hath dissolved, in stories is manifest; I need not spend time in rehearsing examples.

The God of peace, who hath power both of land and sea, reach forth his merciful hand to help them up that sink, to keep up them that stand, to still these winds and surging seas of discord and contention among us; that we, professing one Christ, may, in one unity of doctrine, gather ourselves into one ark or the true church together; where we, continuing stedfast in faith, may at the last luckily be conducted to the joyful port of our desired landing-place by his heavenly grace. To whom, both in heaven and earth, be all power and glory, with his Father and the Holy Spirit, for ever. Amen.

(1) See *infra*, vol. iv. p. 257.—Ed.

(2) The year in which Foxe published his second edition.

(3) See *infra*, vol. iv. p. 262.—Ed.

THE UTILITY OF THIS STORY.¹

SEEMING the world is replenished with such an infinite multitude of books of all kind of matters, I may seem, perhaps, to take a matter in hand superfluous and needless, at this present time to set out such volumes, especially of histories; considering now-a-days the world is so greatly pestered, not only with superfluous plenty thereof, but of all other treatises, so that books now seem rather to lack readers, than readers to lack books. In which multitude of books, I doubt not but many do both perceive, and inwardly bewail, this insatiable boldness of many now-a-days both in writing and printing; which, to say the truth, for my part I do as much lament as any man else beside; and would therefore no man should think that unadvisedly or with rashness I have attempted this enterprise, for assuredly I have been not only doubtful, but also both bashful and fearful within myself for setting the same abroad. And why? First, I perceived how learned this age of ours is in reading of books, neither could I tell what the secret judgments of readers would conceive, to see so weak a thing to set upon such a weighty enterprise; not sufficiently furnished with such ornaments able to satisfy the perfection of so great a story, or sufficient to serve the utility of the studious and the delight of the learned. Which ability the more I perceived to be wanting in me, the less I durst be bold to become a writer.

But again, on the other side, when I weighed with myself what memorable acts and famous doings this latter age of the church hath ministered unto us by the patient sufferings of the worthy martyrs, I thought it not to be neglected, that so precious monuments of so many matters, meet to be recorded and registered in books, should lie buried by my default, under darkness of oblivion. Methought somewhat was to be said of them for their well-deserving, and something, again, of our parts, for benefits by them received. But, above all other things, nothing did so much stir me forward hereunto, as the diligent consideration and special regard of the common utility which every man plentifully may receive by the reading of these our "Monuments" or Martyrology; which history as I have taken in hand chiefly for the use of the English church, so have I framed it in that tongue which the simple people could best understand.

Now, if men commonly delight so much in other chronicles which entreat only upon matters of policy, and rejoice to behold therein the variable events of worldly affairs, the stratagems of valiant captains, the roar of foughten fields, the sacking of cities, the hurlyburlies of realms and people; and if men think it such a gay thing in a commonwealth to commit to history such old antiquities of things profane, and bestow all their ornaments of wit and eloquence in garnishing the same, how much more then is it meet for Christians to conserve in remembrance the lives, acts, and doings, not of bloody warriors, but of mild and constant martyrs of Christ; which serve not so much to delight the ear, as to garnish the life, to frame it with examples of great profit, and to encourage men to all kind of christian godliness! As first, by reading thereof we may learn a lively testimony of God's mighty working in the life of man, contrary to the opinion of Atheists, and all the whole nest of Epicures. For like as one said of Harpalus² in times past, that his doings gave a lively testimony against God, because he, being so wicked a man, escaped so long unpunished; so, contrariwise, in these men, we have an assured and plain witness of God, both in whose lives and deaths appeared such manifest declarations of God's divine working; whiles in such sharpness of torments we behold in them strength so constant above man's reach, such readiness to answer, such patience in imprisonment, such godliness in forgiving, such cheerfulness and courage in suffering; besides the manifold sense and feeling of the Holy Ghost, which they in their lives so plentifully tasted in their afflictions, as in reading of their letters evidently we may understand. Over and besides this, the mild deaths of the saints do not a little avail to the stablishing of a good conscience, to learn the contempt of the world, and to come to the fear of God. Moreover, they confirm faith, increase godliness, abate pride in prosperity, and in adversity do open an hope of heavenly comfort. For what man, reading the misery of

Multitude
of books
lamented.

Comparison
between
worldly
soldiers
and the
soldiers
of Christ.

(1) This short piece is given as it stands in the third edition of 1570, two or three expressions only being altered according to the first edition of 1563.—Ed.

(2) Cicero, "De Naturâ Deor." lib. iii. cap. 34.—Ed.

these godly persons may not therein, as in a glass, behold his own case, whether he be godly or godless? For if God give adversity unto good men, what may either the better sort promise themselves, or the evil not fear? And whereas by reading of profane stories we are made perhaps more skilful in warlike affairs; so by reading of this we are made better in our livings, and besides are better prepared unto like conflicts (if by God's permission they shall happen hereafter), more wise by their doctrine, and more stedfast by their example.

To be short, they declare to the world what true christian fortitude is, and what is the right way to conquer; which standeth not in the power of man, but in hope of the resurrection to come, and is now, I trust, at hand. In consideration whereof, methinks I have good cause to wish, that, like as other men, even so also kings and princes, who commonly delight in heroical stories, would diligently peruse such monuments of martyrs, and lay them always in sight, not only to read, but to follow, and would paint them upon their walls, cups, rings, and gates. For doubtless such as these are more worthy of honour than an hundred Alexanders, Hectors, Scipios, and warlike Julies. And though the world judgeth preposterously of things, yet with God, the true Judge, certes such are most reputed in deed, not that kill one another with a weapon, but they who, being rather killed in God's cause, do retain an invincible constancy against the threats of tyrants, and violence of tormentors. Such as these are the true conquerors of the world, by whom we learn true manhood, so many as fight under Christ, and not under the world. With this valiantness did that most mild Lamb, and invincible Lion of the tribe of Judah first of all go before us. Of whose unspeakable fortitude we hear this propheticall admiration: "Who is this," saith he, "which walketh so in the multitude of his strength?"⁽¹⁾ forsooth, the high Son of the high God, once conquered of the world, and yet conquering the world after the same manner he was conquered.

The like dance did all his other martyrs follow, to whom the ancient antiquity of the church did attribute so great honour, as never king or emperor could purchase in this world with all their images, pillars, high spires, triumphs, temples, and all their solemn feasts. In probation whereof we see with what admiration, and almost superstition, not only the memory but also the relics of those good martyrs were received and kept amongst the ancient christians. We have also for witness the learned hymns and songs of Prudentius and Nazianzen, wherewith Pindarus did never so much set out his triumphs of Olympia and Nemea. I need not here rehearse the learned orations of eloquent Cyprian, Chrysostome, Ambrose, and Jerome, who never showed their eloquence more, than when they fell into the commendations of the godly martyrs.

Whereby it is manifest, what estimation in times past was attributed to martyrs; with what gratulation, rejoicing, mirth, and common joy, the afflictions of those godly, dying in Christ's quarrel, were sometime received and solemnized; and that not without good reasonable cause. For the church did well consider how much she was beholden to their benefits, by whose death she understood her treasures to increase. Now then if martyrs are to be compared with martyrs, I see no cause why the martyrs of our time deserve any less commendation than the others in the primitive church; which assuredly are inferior unto them in no point of praise, whether we view the number of them that suffered, or greatness of their torments, or their constancy in dying, or also consider the fruit that they brought, to the amendment of posterity, and increase of the gospel. They did water with their blood the truth that was newly springing up; so these, by their deaths, restored it again, being sore decayed and fallen down. They, standing in the forward of the battle, did receive the first encounter and violence of their enemies, and taught us, by that means, to overcome such tyranny; these, with like courage again, like old beaten soldiers, did win the field in the rearward of the battle. They, like famous husbandmen of the world, did sow the fields of the church, that first lay unmanured and waste; these, with fatness of their blood, did cause it to batten and fructify. Would to God the fruit might be speedily gathered into the barn, which only remaineth behind to come!

Again, if we ascribe such reputation to godly preachers (and worthily), who diligently preach the gospel of Christ, when they live notwithstanding, by the benefit of time, without all fear of persecution; how much more reasonable cause

Comparison between the martyrs of the primitive church, and of the later church.

have we to praise and extol such men as stoutly spend their lives for the defence of the same!

All these premises duly of our parts considered and marked, seeing we have found so famous martyrs in this our age, let us not fail then in publishing and setting forth their doings; lest, in that point, we seem more unkind to them, than the writers of the primitive church were unto theirs. * And though we repute not their ashes, chains, and swords [swords] in the stead of relics, yet let us yield thus much unto their commemoration, to glorify the Lord in his saints, and imitate their death (as much as we may) with like constancy, or their lives at the least with like innocency. They offered their bodies willingly to the rough handling of the tormentors; and is it so great a matter then for our part to mortify our flesh, with all the members thereof? They neglected not only the riches and glory of the world for the love of Christ, but also their lives; and shall we then keep so great a stir one against another for the transitory trifles of this world? They continued in patient suffering, when they had most wrong done unto them, and when their very hearts' blood gushed out of their bodies; and yet will not we forgive our poor brother, be the injury never so small, but are ready for every trifling offence to seek his destruction, and cut his throat. They, wishing well to all men, did of their own accord forgive their persecutors; and therefore ought we, who are now the posterity and children of martyrs, not to degenerate from their former steps, but, being admonished by their examples, if we cannot express their charity toward all men, yet at least to imitate the same to our power and strength. Let us give no cause of offence to any, and if any be given to us, let us overcome it with patience, forgiving, and not revenging, the same. And let us not only keep our hands from shedding of blood, but our tongues also from hurting the fame of others. Besides, let us not shrink, if case so require, from martyrdom, or loss of life, according to their example, and to yield up the same in the defence of the Lord's flock. Which thing if men would do, much less contention and business would be in the world than now is. And thus much touching the utility and fruit to be taken of this history.

TO

ALL THE PROFESSED FRIENDS AND FOLLOWERS OF THE POPE'S PROCEEDINGS.

FOUR QUESTIONS PROPOUNDED.

To you all and singular who profess the doctrine and religion of the pope your holy father, and of your mother-church of Rome, pretending the name of Catholics, commonly termed Papists, where-soever abiding in the realm of England, these four questions or problems hereunder following I would move; desiring you all either to muse upon them, or to answer them at your leisure.

Four demands or questions put forth to the papists.

The First Question.

First, forsomuch as mount Sion (which God calleth by the prophet Isaiah "the hill of his holiness"), beareth in the Scripture an undoubted type of the spiritual church of Christ; and forsomuch as the said Isaiah prophesying of the said mount Sion, saith in these words, "Non nocebunt neque affligent in omni monte sancto meo, dicit Dominus," etc.; that is, "They shall not kill nor hurt in all my holy hill, saith the Lord," etc. And again, in the same chapters, thus we read, "Habitabit lupus cum agno, et pardus cum hædo accubabit, vitulus et leo et ovis unà commorabuntur, et puellus parvulus ducet eos," etc.;

The first question.

(1) Isaiah xi. 9, and lxxv. 25.

that is, "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard with the kid; the calf, the lion, and the sheep shall feed together, and a young child shall rule them. The cow also and the bear shall abide together with their young ones, and the lion shall eat chaff and fodder like the ox," etc.

Objection. Upon these premises now followeth my question : How the church of Rome can be answerable to this hill of Sion, seeing in the said church of Rome is, and hath been, now so many years, such killing and slaying, such cruelty and tyranny shewed, such burning and spilling of christian blood, such malice and mischief wrought, as, in reading these histories, may to all the world appear?

Refutation. To this if they answer, and expound these words of the prophet, as pertaining to the church triumphant; thereunto I reply again, that by the words in the same place and in the same sentence expressed, that sense cannot stand; forasmuch as the prophet in the very same place, where he prophesieth of this peaceable dwelling in God's holy mountain, without hurting or killing, meaneth plainly of the earth, and sheweth also the cause of that godly peace; "Because," saith he, "the earth is replenished with knowledge and science of the Lord," etc. And furthermore the prophet, speaking of the same day when this shall be, addeth, saying, "In that day the Root of Jesse shall stand for a sign to the people, for the Gentiles to be converted, and to seek unto him," etc.; which day in no wise can be applied to the church in heaven triumphant, but only here militant in earth.

Public execution of laws not forbidden in Scripture. The conditions and properties of the true church. Touching which place of Isaiah, further here is to be noted by the way, that, by this peaceable mount Sion (which comprehendeth both the states, as well ecclesiastical as temporal), is not restrained the public penalty of good laws needful to be executed upon public malefactors, but here is restrained the fierceness, revenge, cruelty, and violence of men's affections. To which affections men being commonly subject by nature, through grace and working of the gospel are altered, reformed, and changed to another disposition; from stoutness to softness, from violence to sufferance, from fierceness to forbearing, from pride to humility, from cruelty to compassion, from wiliness to simplicity, from solemn singularity to humanity and meekness. Which virtues, if they had been in the church of Rome (according to the rule of St. Paul, "Which willett men that be stronger to bear with the infirmities of the weaker, and that in the spirit of meekness," etc.¹), I should not have needed now at this time to write such a long history as this, of the suffering of so many martyrs.

The Second Question.

The second question. The deadly hatred of the papists against the protestants grounded upon no just cause or deserving. My second question is this, To demand of you, catholic professors of the pope's sect, who so deadly malign and persecute the protestants professing the gospel of Christ; what just or reasonable cause have you to allege for this your extreme hatred ye bear unto them, that neither you yourselves can abide to live with them, nor yet will suffer the others to live amongst you? If they were Jews, Turks, or infidels, or, in their doctrine, were any idolatrous impiety, or detestable iniquity in their lives; if they went about any deadly destruction, or privy conspiracies to oppress your lives, or by fraudulent dealing to circumvent you; then had you some cause to complain, and also to revenge. Now seeing in their doctrine ye have neither blasphemy, idolatry, superstition, nor misbelief to object unto them—seeing they are baptized in the same belief, and believe the same articles of the creed as ye do; having the same God, the same Christ and Saviour, the same baptism, and are ready to confer with you in all kind of christian doctrine, neither do refuse to be tried by any place of the Scripture—how then riseth this mortal malice of you against them? If you think them to be heretics, then bring forth, if ye can, any one sentence which they arrogantly hold, contrary to the mind of holy Scripture, expounded by the censure of most ancient doctors. Or what is there in all the Scripture to be required, but they acknowledge and confess the same? See and try the order of their lives and doings; what great fault find you? They serve God, they walk under his fear, they obey his law, as men may do; and though they be transgressors towards him, as other men are, yet toward *you* what have they done, what have they committed or deserved, why you should be so bitter against them?

(1) Rom. xv. 1. Gal. vi. 1.

What offended the poor inhabitants of Merindol and Cabriers, when the bishop of Aix, the cardinal of Tours, and other bishops of France, wresting from Francis, the French king, a commission, sent Minerius with his captain John de Gray, to destroy their country, A. D. 1530; who, driving the poor people there into a barn full of straw, set the barn on fire, and burned up men, women, and children? And, likewise, in a church exercised the like cruelty upon them, where were murdered the same time to the number of a thousand young and old, women, children, and young infants, besides seven whole towns, with the most part of the dwellers therein, being murdered and burnt in the said country of Provence.

Malice and cruelty of papists against the country of Merindol and Cabriers

Also, before that, what offended the citizens of Tholouse and Avignon, when pope Gregory IX. set Louis IX. the French king to war against them, and against Raymund their earl, without cause; where also the said king died at the siege?

Citizens of Tholouse and Avignon.

Or, to speak of later years, what hurt or harm did the poor protestants in the town of Vassy;¹ who, being peaceably at a sermon, were miserably slain and cut, men, women, and children, by the duke of Guise and his armed soldiers? Besides other infinite examples almost not to be numbered of like cruelty, in Calabria, Apulia, Bohemia, France, and now of late in Flanders, and in other countries more.

The protestants of the town of Vassy.

But to let other countries pass, let us turn now to the peaceable government in this realm of England, under this our so mild and gracious queen now presently reigning. Under whom you see how gently you are suffered, what mercy is shewed unto you, how quietly ye live. What lack you that you would have, having almost the best rooms and offices in all the realm, not only without any loss of life, but also without any fear of death? And though a few of your arch-clerks be in custody, yet in that custody so shrewdly are they hurt, that many a good protestant in the realm would be glad with all their hearts to change rooms and diet with them, if they might. And albeit some other for their pleasure have slipt over the seas; if their courage to see countries abroad did so allure them, who could let them? Yet this is certain, no dread there was of death that drave them. For what papist have you seen in all this land to lose either life or limb for papistry,² during all these twelve years hitherto since this queen's reign? And yet, all this notwithstanding, having no cause to complain, so many causes to give God thanks, ye are not yet content, ye fret and fume, ye grudge and mutter, and are not pleased with peace, nor satisfied with safety, but hope for a day, and fain would have a change. And to prevent your desired day, ye have conspired, and risen up in open rebellion against your prince, whom the Lord hath set up to be your governor.

Clemency and mercy shewed to papists.

And as you have since that now of late disturbed the quiet and peaceable state of Scotland, in murdering most traitorously the gentle and godly regent of Scotland (who, in sparing the queen's life there, when he had her in his hands, hath now therefore lost his own), so, with like fury, as by your rebellion appeareth, would you disturb the golden quiet and tranquillity of this realm of England, if ye might have your wills. Which the merciful grace of the Almighty, for Christ his Son's sake our Lord, forefend and utterly disappoint. Amen!

Traitorous murdering of the lord James, regent of Scotland.

Wherefore, these premises considered, my question is to ask of you and know, what just or reasonable cause ye have of these your unreasonable doings, of this your so mortal and deadly hatred, fury, and malice, you bear against these your even-christened; of these your tumults, conjurations, gaping, and

The cause of these later persecutions in the church.

(1) For particulars upon this, among other schemes, for lessening and keeping down the members of the reformed church in France, see "Hist. Eccles. des Eglises reformées au Royaume de France," Anvers, 1580, vol. ii. pp. 1—3; or "Recueil des choses mémorables avenues en France sous le règne de Henri II., Charles IX., etc." p. 148; also Laval's History of the Reformation in France; book iv § 10.—Ed.

(2) This freedom from molestation is admitted by all the sects in the church of Rome, including the Jesuits: "thus" (to use Watson's words) "these great emperor-like Jesuits do speak to her majesty: 'In the beginning of thy kingdom thou didst deal something more gently with catholics; none were then urged by thee, or pressed either, to thy sect, or to the denial of their faith. All things indeed did seem to proceed in a far milder course: no great complaints were heard of: there were seen no extraordinary contentions or repugnancies; some there were that, to please and gratify you, went to your churches. But when afterwards thou didst begin to wrong them,' &c. 'And when was that, our great monseigneurs? Surely whensoever it was (to answer for you) we ourselves—certain catholics of all sorts—were the true causes of it.'" See Watson's Important Considerations, p. 40, edit. Lond. 1831.—Ed.

hoping, rebellions, mutterings, and murders, wherewith you trouble and disquiet the whole world? Of all which mischiefs, if the true cause were well known, the truth would be found doubtless to be none other but only the private cause of the bishop of Rome, that he is not received, and the dignity of his church exalted.

The plantation of the pope's supremacy proved not to be of God.

Touching which cause how unreasonable and unjust it is, more shall be said (the Lord willing) in reply, according as I shall see their answer, if it shall so please them, or any of them, to answer this question. In the mean time, this, for a brief note shall suffice: that it standeth not with the Scripture, but contrary to the Scripture, that the bishop of Rome should so revenge his own private cause. If this title and plantation be good, and of God, why doth he not refer it unto God? And no doubt, but if it be so, God will maintain it, though the whole world said No. If it be otherwise, it will fall and be rooted out, though all the world said Yea. Yea, the greatest argument to prove this plantation of the pope's supremacy not to be of God, is, that the pope, fighting in his own private cause, by outward and worldly force, seeketh his own glory. Christ our Saviour, being here refused himself, yet neither revenged his own cause, nor sought his own glory, but only the glory and will of his Father, thus speaking of himself, "Si ego glorifico meipsum, gloria mea nihil est, Pater meus est qui glorificat me," etc.; that is, "If I glorify myself, my glory is nothing; my Father is he that glorifieth me,"¹ etc. Even so I say with Scripture, that if the pope's proceedings were planted of God, he would not so wrestle for his glory as he doth; but forsomuch as he seeketh by such cruelty and bloodshed to exalt himself, we may well argue his proceedings not to be of God, and that he should be brought low.²

The Third Question.

The two beasts in the book of Revelation described.

My third question I take of the thirteenth chapter of the book of Revelation. Which book, as it containeth a propheticall history of the church, so likewise it requireth by histories to be opened. In this chapter mention is made, first, of a certain beast coming out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns, with ten diadems of blasphemy: unto the which beast the dragon, the devil, gave his strength, and great power to fight against his saints, and to overcome them, and to make forty-two months; of the which beast one of his heads was wounded at length to death.

The second beast, with horns like a lamb.

After this, immediately in the same chapter, mention followeth of another beast rising out of the land, having two horns like a lamb, and spake like a dragon, and did all the power of the former beast before his face, and caused all dwellers of the earth to worship the beast, whose head was wounded and lived. Who also had power to give spirit and life to the said former beast, to make the image of the beast to speak, and to cause all men, from the highest to the lowest, to take the mark of the beast in their hands and foreheads; and whosoever worshipped not the image of the beast should be killed.

Upon this description of these two beasts riseth my question; wherein I desire all papists, from the highest to the lowest, either to answer, or to consider with themselves, what the spirit of the prophecy meaneth by the said two beasts. Neither is the mystery of this prophecy so obscure, but, being historical, by histories it may be explained and easily expounded. Writing, therefore, to the papists, as men expert in histories, my question is this: That seeing the prophecy of these two beasts must needs prefigure some people or dominion in the world, of some high estate and power, they will now declare unto us, *what* people or domination this should be; which, if they will do plainly and truly, according to the marks and properties of the said two beasts here set forth, they must needs be driven, of force inevitable, to grant and confess the same to agree only to the city and empire of Rome, and to no other; which, by these reasons following, of necessity must needs be concluded.

The first beast rising out of the sea.

First, The beast which came out of the sea, having the strength, the seat and power, of the great dragon (the devil, called the prince of this world) committed to him, who also had power given over all tribes, nations, languages, people, and countries in the earth, must needs be an empire or monarchy of

(1) John viii. 54.

(2) Luke xviii. 14.

(3) See *infra*, p. 288 of this volume, note (2).—Ed.

great force, passing all other monarchies in the world besides: and this must needs argue the empire of Rome and none other.

Secondly, In that the beast had seven heads and ten horns, with ten diadems full of blasphemy upon them; those seven heads being expounded in the said book¹ for seven hills, notoriously importeth the city of Rome, wherein were seven hills contained. The like also may be thought of the ten horns, being there expounded for ten kings (signifying, belike, the ten provinces or kingdoms of the world, subdued to the Roman empire), with ten crowns of blasphemy upon their heads; all which conveniently agree to the city of Rome.

The monarchy of Rome.

Thirdly, Where the said beast had power to make forty-two months, and to fight against the saints, and to overcome them, etc.; thereby most manifestly is declared the empire of Rome, with the heathen persecuting emperors, who had power given the space of so many months (that is, from Tiberius to Licinius, two hundred and ninety-four years) to persecute Christ's church, as, in the table of the primitive church hereafter following, is discoursed more at large.

Fourthly, Where the prophet speaketh of one of the heads of the beast to be wounded to death, and the wound afterward to be cured again; by that ye have to understand the decay and subversion of the city of Rome, and of Italy, which, being one of the heads of the Roman monarchy, was subdued by the Goths, Vandals, and Lombards, and the city of Rome thrice sacked and taken, between the reign of Honorius emperor of Rome, and the time of Justinian emperor of Constantinople; and so remained this head of Rome wounded a long time under the dominion of the Lombards, till at length this wound was cured again, as the sequel of this prophecy declareth. For so it followeth in the aforesaid chapter of the Revelation: "And after this I saw," saith he, "another beast rising out of the land, having two horns like the lamb, and spake like the dragon. Who practised all the power of the first beast before his face, and caused all the inhabitants of the earth to worship the first beast, whose head was wounded and cured again, etc. And to him it was given to give life to the image of the beast, and to make it speak: and also to make all them that will not worship the image of the beast, to be slain, and caused all, from the most to the least, both rich and poor, free-men and bond-men, to take the mark of the beast in their right hand and in their foreheads, so that none should buy and sell unless he had the beast's mark about him," etc.

The wounded head of the beast in the Revelation, what it meaneth.

The second beast, rising out of the land, pretending the horns of a lamb, what it meaneth.

The description of this second beast being well viewed, it cannot be avoided, but needs must be applied to the bishop of Rome, and to none other, as by the history and order of times is evident to be proved. For who else representeth the horns of "the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world," but only he? Who speaketh with the voice of the dragon so proudly as he? The voice of the dragon spake once to Christ, "That all the glory of the world was his, to give to whom he would, and that he would give it," etc. And doth not this false-horned lamb, speaking in the same voice of the dragon, say by the mouth of pope Gregory VII., "That all the kingdoms of the earth were his, and that he had power in earth to loose, and take away empires, kingdoms, dukedoms, and what else soever mortal men may have, and to give them where he would,"³ etc.?

The mystery of the thirteenth chapter of the Revelation expounded.

Furthermore, at what time the declining state of Rome began to decay, and Italy was brought under subjection of the Lombards, then the pope stirred up Pepin and Charlemagne, to take his part against the Lombards, and to restore again the old glory of that monarchy to his former state. And, therefore, who cured the wounded head of this beast again, but only he? Who gave life and speech to the image of the beast, but he? who, after that, by the help of the French kings, he had subdued those Lombards, with other aliens, and had gotten the possession of Rome into his own hands, so repaired and advanced the fame and name of Rome, that since that time all persons, from the highest to the lowest, both rich and poor, have been glad to send and seek to Rome,

The image of the old monarchy revived by the bishop of Rome.

(1) Rev. xvii.

(2) Of these forty-two months, and the exposition thereof, read after

(3) Ex Platina in Vitâ Gregor. VII. [He thus calls upon the apostolical choir to second his assumptions: "Agite igitur apostolorum sanctissimi principes, et quod dixi, vestra auctoritate interpositâ, confirmate, ut omnes nunc demum intelligant, si potestis in cœlo ligare et solvere; in terrâ quoque imperia, regna, principatus—et quicquid habere mortales possunt—auferre et dare vos posse," etc.; fol. 130, edit. Lugduni, 1512. A somewhat different turn is given to this address by the author cited in Bower's "Lives of the Popes," (vol. v. p. 280,) Paulus Bernriedensis.—Ed.]

Power to
do the
works of
the beast
before his
sight.

yea, kings, emperors, queens, and dukes, have been glad to kiss that bishop's feet, and to lead his horse by the bridle. So that the majesty of Rome, in the old heathen emperors' days, was never more terrible nor glorious, nor ever had more power to persecute and overcome God's saints, than these lamb-like bishops of Rome have had, and have exercised, these five hundred years in Christendom. And, therefore, who else in all the world hath so much power to do the works of the first beast before his face, as he? or who but he alone, who forceth both high and low, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive the seal, and to become loyal to the city and see of Rome? so that whosoever hath not the mark whereby to be known to hold of the church of Rome, shall have no place to buy and sell, nor to occupy in all Christendom.

Now if any papist whatsoever, in answering to this my question, can apply this propheticall mystery of these two beasts otherwise than thus, I would heartily desire him to take so much pains to satisfy this doubt at his good pleasure and leisure. In the mean season, let this stand for a *Corollarium*: that the bishop of Rome, by this description, must be that second beast prophesied to come in the latter time of the church under a false pretended lamb, to restore again the old persecutions of Rome, and to disturb the whole church of Christ, as this day too truly is come to pass.

The fourth Question.

As touching my fourth question, although I could urge you with another like propheticall place of Scripture, no less evident against the bishop of Rome, taken out of the second epistle of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians, where mention is made of the son of perdition, "sitting in the temple of God, as God, and advancing himself above all that is called God, &c."—Which place ye can by no reasonable evasion avoid—yet notwithstanding to let this pass, I turn my question to ask this of you: Whether the religion of Christ be mere spiritual, or else corporal? If ye affirm it to be corporal, as was the old religion of the Jews, consisting in outward rites, sacrifices, and ceremonies of the law; then shew, if ye can, what any one outward action or observation is required in christian religion by the Scripture, as necessary in a christian man for remission of sins and salvation, save only the two sacramental ceremonies of outward baptism, and of the Lord's supper? Howbeit, neither these also as they are corporal; that is to say, neither the outward action of the one, nor of the other, conferreth remission of sins, nor salvation, but only are visible shews of invisible and spiritual benefits. And furthermore, if our God whom we serve be spiritual; how can his religion and service be corporal, as we are taught by the mouth of our Saviour, saying, "God is a Spirit, and therefore they that worship him must worship in spirit and verity, etc."

Religion
of Christ
spiritual,
and not
corporal.
The pope
turneth
the spiri-
tual reli-
gion of
Christ to
a corporal
religion.
The
whole
sum of
the pope's
catholic
religion
set forth
in parts.

Now if ye grant (as ye must needs) this our christian religion to be spiritual, and not a corporal religion, then shew, if ye can, any one point, of all these things, which ye strive for so much with us, to be spiritual, but altogether corporal, and extern matters and ceremonial observations, nothing conducing to any spiritual purpose: as your outward succession of bishops, garments, vestures, gestures, colours, choice of meats, difference of days, times, and places, hearing, seeing, saying, touching, tasting, numbering of beads, gilding and worshipping images, building monasteries, rising at midnight, silence in cloisters, abstaining from flesh and white meat, fasting in Lent, keeping ember-days, hearing mass and divine service, seeing and adoring the body in form of bread, receiving holy-water and holy-bread, creeping to the cross, carrying palms, taking ashes, bearing candles, pilgrimage-going, censuring, kneeling, knocking, altars, super-altars, candlesticks, pardons. In orders, crossing, anointing, shaving, forswearing marriage. In baptism, crossing, salting, spatling, exorcising, washing of hands. At Easter, ear-confession, penance-doing, satisfaction; and in receiving, with beards new shaven, to imagine a body where they see no body; and though he were there present to be seen, yet the outward seeing and touching of him, of itself, without faith, conduceth no more than it did to the Jews. At Rogation-days, to carry banners, to follow the cross, to walk about the fields. After Pentecost, to go about with Corpus Christi play. At Hollomas to watch in the church, to say a dirge, and commemorations, and to ring for All-Souls, to pay tythes truly, to give to

the high altar. And if a man will be a priest, to say mass and matins, to serve the saint of that day, and to lift well over his head, &c. In sickness to be annealed, to take his rites; after his death to have funerals, and obits said for him, and to be rung for at his funeral, month mind, and year mind, &c. Add moreover to these the outward sacrifice of the mass, with *opus operatum sine bono motu utens*. &c.

All which things above recited, as they contain the whole summary and effect of all the pope's catholic religion; so are they all corporal exercises, consisting in the extern operation of man. Which if they can make a perfect right catholic christian, then it may be said, that men may be made perfect Christians by flesh and blood, without any inward working of faith, or of the Holy Ghost. For what is in all these, but that which flesh and blood of his [own] strength is able to accomplish, though no inward strength or motion of the Holy Ghost did work?

But now the order of our religion, and way of salvation, consisteth not in such corporal or outward things as these, but in other more high and more spiritual gifts, which far exceed the capacity of flesh and blood; of the which gifts, the chiefest and only main cause that saveth man, and remitteth sins, is his faith in Christ. Which faith I thus define; for a man to believe, by the blood-shedding of Jesus the Son of God his sins to be forgiven, God's wrath to be pacified, and himself to be justified perfectly from all accusations that can be laid unto him. And though the papists make a light matter of this, to believe in Christ; and when they hear us say, That faith only justifieth, they object to us again, and make it a small matter to be saved, if faith only justifieth us; yet notwithstanding, this faith, if it be well examined, is such a thing that flesh and blood is not able to attain thereto, unless God's holy Spirit from above do draw him.

Moreover, besides this faith, many other things are incident also to the doctrine of our salvation. Albeit as no causes thereof, but either as sacraments and seals of faith, or as declarations thereof, or else as fruits and effects following the same: so baptism, and the supper of the Lord, are as testimonies and proofs, that by our faith only in Christ we are justified; that as our bodies are washed by water, and our life nourished by bread and wine, so, by the blood of Christ our sins are purged, and the hunger of our souls relieved by the death of his body.

Upon the same faith riseth also outward profession by mouth, as a declaration thereof. Other things also, as fruits and effects, do follow after faith; as peace of conscience, joy in the holy Ghost, invocation, patience, charity, mercy, judgment, and sanctification. For God, for our faith in Christ his Son, therefore giveth into our hearts his holy Spirit of comfort, of peace, and sanctification, whereby man's heart is moved to a godly disposition to fear God, to seek him, to call upon him, to trust unto him, to stick to him in all adversities and persecutions, to love him; and, for his sake also, to love our brethren; to have mercy and compassion upon them, to visit them if they be in prison, to break bread to them if they be hungry, and, if they be burdened, to ease them; to clothe them if they be naked, and to harbour them if they be houseless; with such other spiritual exercises of piety and sanctification as these, which therefore I call spiritual, because they proceed of the holy Spirit and law of God, which is spiritual.

And thus have ye a catholic Christian defined, first after the rules of Rome, and also after the rule of the gospel. Now confer these antitheses together, and see whether of these is the true Christian, the ceremonial man after the church of Rome, or the spiritual man with his faith and other spiritual fruits of piety following after the same. And if ye say that ye mix them both together, spiritual things with your corporal ceremonies, to that I answer again, that as touching the end of remission of sins and salvation, they ought in no case to be joined together, because the main cause of all our salvation and remission is only spiritual, and consisteth in faith, and in no other.

And therefore upon the same cause I come to my question again, as I began, to ask whether the religion of Christ be a mere spiritual religion; and whether in the religion of Rome, as it is now, is any thing but only mere corporal things required, to make a catholic man. And thus I leave you to your answer.

In turning over the first leaves of this book,¹ thou shalt find, gentle reader, the arguments of Pighius and Hosius, wherein thus they argue: that forsomuch as Christ must needs have a catholic church ever continuing here in earth, which all men may see, and whereunto all men ought to resort; and seeing no other church hath endured continually from the apostles, visible here in earth, but only the church of Rome; they conclude, therefore, the church of Rome only to be the right catholic church of Christ.

In answering whereunto, this is to be said; that forsomuch as the *medius terminus* of this argument, both in the *major* and *minor*, consisteth only in the words "visible and unknown," if they mean by this word "visible," in the *major*, that Christ's church must be seen here to all the world, that all men may resort to it, it is false. Likewise, if they mean by the same word "visible" in the *minor*, that no other church hath been seen and known to any, but only the church of Rome, they are likewise deceived. For the true church of Christ neither is so visible, that all the world can see it, but only they which have spiritual eyes, and be members thereof; nor yet so invisible again, but such as be God's elect, and members thereof, do see it, and have seen it, though the worldly eyes of the most multitude cannot do so; whereof read more in the Protestation, above prefixed, to the church of England.

FOUR CONSIDERATIONS GIVEN OUT TO CHRISTIAN PROTESTANTS,
PROFESSORS OF THE GOSPEL; WITH A BRIEF EXHORTATION
INDUCING TO REFORMATION OF LIFE.

The First Consideration.

As, in the pages before, "Four Questions" were moved to the catholic papists, to answer them at their leisure; so have I here, to the christian gospellers, four considerations for them to muse upon with speed convenient.

The first consideration is this: that every good man well weigh with himself the long tranquillity, the great plenty, the peaceable liberty, which the Lord of his mercy hath bestowed upon this land during all the reign hitherto of this our sovereign and most happy queen Elizabeth, in such sort as the like example of God's abundant mercies is not to be seen in any nation about us; so, as we may well sing with the psalm in the church, "Non fecit taliter omni nationi, et opes gloriæ suæ non manifestavit eis;" first, in having the true light of God's gospel so shining among us, so publicly received, so freely preached, with such liberty of conscience without danger professed; having, withal, a prince so virtuous, a queen so gracious, given unto us, of our own native country, bred and born amongst us, so quietly governing us, so long lent unto us, in such peace defending us against such as would else devour us; briefly, what could we have more at God's hand, if we would wish? Or what else could we wish in this world that we have not, if this one thing lacked not—grace to use that well which we have?

The Second Consideration.

As these things first are to be considered concerning ourselves, so, secondly; let us consider likewise the state and times of other our countrymen and blessed martyrs aforepast; what storms of persecutions they sustained, what little rest they had, with what enemies they were matched, with what crosses pressed, under what princes, under what prelates, they lived, or rather died, in the days of king Henry the fourth, king Henry the fifth, king Henry the seventh, king Henry the eighth, queen Mary, etc.; under Bonner bishop of London, Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Cholmley, Story, bishop Arundel, Stokesley, Courtney, Warham; at what time children were caused to set fire to their fathers, the father adjured to accuse the son, the wife to accuse the husband, the husband and the wife, brother the sister, sister the brother; examples whereof are plenty in this book to be seen.

(1) See *infra*, pp. 7, 8, of this volume.—Ed.

The Third Consideration.

Thirdly, let us call to mind, considering thus with ourselves, these good men and worthy martyrs in those dangerous days, tasting as they did the heavy hand of God's sharp correction, beginning commonly with his own house first ; if they were alive now in these halcyon-days, under the protection of such a peaceable prince, O what thanks would they give to God ! How happy would they count themselves, having but half of that we have, with freedom only of conscience and safety of life ! Or, if in case we ourselves had been in those times of theirs, so troubled and distressed as they were, spoiled of goods, hated of the world, cited in consistories, pinched in prisons, sequestered from house, wife, and children, looking for nothing but death ; what would we say ? what would we think ? what would we do ? Much otherwise doubtless than we do now. God grant we may do better ; for worse I think we cannot if we would. John Wickliff, William Swinderby, Thorpe, Sawtry, with a number of godly men more, being then glad, in friese-gowns, going barefoot, to preach where they could ; if they were now alive, how glad would they be of these days, what pains would they take, yea, what pains would they not take in preaching the gospel, not for lucre, nor for money, nor passing for promotions or dignities of the church ! Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, Sir Roger Acton, with divers worshipful gentlemen a great number, if they, being in our state, might enjoy with us their houses and lands, with the good favour of their prince (as then they could not), how gladly would they have contented themselves, though they never raised their rents and fines to the undoing of their poor tenants ! Likewise in the time of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the nobility and gentlemen of Bohemia, if they might have had half this tranquillity which we have, to enjoy the liberty of God's word and true use of the sacraments without molestation of Romish prelates, what would they have cared how simply they walked in their attire, without any such monstrous pomp in pranking up themselves, as we Englishmen in these reformed days walk now, more like players on a stage, than God's children in his church.

The Fourth Consideration.

Wherefore, well-beloved, these things being so, let us call ourselves to mind, considering the times that have been, the times that be, and the times that may come, how we stand, and by whom we stand. If it be the favour of God only that doth support us in the midst of so many enemies, let us beware that in no wise we provoke his indignation. If it be his truth and gospel that we profess, let us walk in the light of his truth, and keep ourselves within the compass of his gospel. What the gospel requireth, and what it abhorreth, who knoweth not ? and yet who followeth what he knoweth ? If St. Paul willeth every one to depart from iniquity, which nameth the Lord Jesus ; and if the Lord Jesus himself testifieth plainly his kingdom not to be of this world, how will then the nature of that kingdom so spiritual, and our conditions so worldly, match well together ? To rip up all our deformities in particular I mind not here, neither need I, the same being so evident to all men's eyes, that who cannot see our excessive outrage in pompous apparel, our carnal desires and unchaste demeanors, without fear of God, our careless security, without conscience, as though there were no judgement to come, our studies so upon this world, as though there were no other heaven ? What pride and idleness of life, double dissembling in word and deed, without simplicity, avarice unsatiable, little regard to hear God's word, less to read it, least of all to follow it, every man aspiring to worldly wealth and promotion, little or no mercy to the poor, racking of rents and fines, bribing and taking unmeasurable. What should I speak of the contentions and unbrotherly divisions amongst us, most lamentable to see, but more lamentable, if all were seen which may or is like to follow upon the same ? Such were the times once of the church before the horrible persecution of Dioclesian ; for so we read, such hatred and disdain, through much peace and prosperity of the church, to creep in amongst the churchmen.

Wherefore let us be exhorted, dearly beloved, to reclaim ourselves while time doth serve. If we find the Lord so gracious in sparing us as he doth, let not that make us worse, but better. It is a lewd child that will not learn without

beating. A well-minding man will be good ; not forced by coaction, but of voluntary office induced. As adversity, if it come, ought not to dismay us ; so prosperity, now present, ought not to puff us up in security, considering what commonly is wont to follow ; as Plato well writeth, "*Summæ atque effrenatæ libertatis servitutem plerumque asseclam esse*," Of immoderate liberty and too much security, followeth most commonly extreme servitude. And as Hippocrates saith, "dispositions of bodies, when they are come to the highest perfection of health, then are they most subject to danger of sickness," &c. Let us therefore, having light given us, walk like the children of light. Otherwise, if we walk like children of disobedience, God hath his rods to scourge us ; if we will needs be rebels, he hath his Pharaohs and Nabuchadnezzars to plague us. Or if we will be so inordinate and (with reverence be it spoken, without offence to God or man) so doggish and currish one to another, the Lord lacketh not his dog-strikers to whip us. And would God our lives were such, that the destruction and ruin, here of late seen among us, may portend nothing against us, as I trust there is no cause for us to fear ; but rather to fear the Lord, and walk in his obedience, and amend that which is amiss amongst us. Amen.

The grace of our Lord Jesus bless thee, gentle reader, that long thou mayest read, and much thou mayest profit. Amen.

Pax prædicantibus, gracia audientibus, gloria Jesu Christo. Amen.

THE KALENDER.

THE KALENDER.

JANUARYE hath 31 dayes.				Days of their death.	Yeare of the Lord.	FEBRUARY hath 28 dayes.				Days of their death.	Yeare of the Lord.
The Moore 30.						The Moore 29.					
3	A	1	Circumcision.			d	1	William Thorpe, Priest, Confessor.		1407	
	b	2	John Wicklief, Preacher, martyr	1387		e	2	Purification of our Ladye.			
11	c	3	John Aston, Confes.	1382		f	3	John Claydon, martyr.	1413		
	d	4	William Sawtre, Priest, martyr.	1401		g	4	Richard Turmine, martyr.	1413		
19	e	5	Swinderby a Priest martyr.			A	5	Zisca, a Confessour.	1416		
8	f	6	Epiphany.			b	6	Syr Iohn Ould Castell, Lord Cobham, Martyr.	1418		
	g	7	Syr Roger Acton, Knyghte, martyr.	1401		c	7	Richard Hueden, martyr.	1430		
16	A	8	John Brown, Gentleman, martyr.	1413		d	8	Thomas Bageley, Priest, martyr.	1431		
5	b	9	John Beuerley, Preacher, martyr.	1413		e	9	Paule Crabs, martyr.	1431		
	c	10	Richard Silbecke, martyr.	1413		f	10	Thomas Rhedon, martyr.	1436		
13	d	11	Jhon Castellane, Doctour, martyr	1521		g	11	Raynolde Perocke, Bis. Confessour.	1457		
2	e	12	Thomas Whypptell, minister. martyr.	1525		A	12	Sir Roger Onley, Knight, Martyr.	1441		
	f	13	Barilet Grene, Gentleman, martyr.	1556		b	13	Elenor Cobham, Gentlewoman, Confessor.			
10	g	14	John Tudson, mar.	1556		c	14	Mother of the Lady Yong, martyr.	1490		
A		15	Thom. Went, martyr.	1556		d	15	Thomas Notbice, martyr.	1507		
18	b	16	Thomas Browne, martyr.	1556		e	16	Thomas of Eckles, martyr.	1510		
7	c	17	Isabel Foster, mar.	1556		f	17	Thomas Bungage, martyr.	1511		
	d	18	Joane Barne, alias Lashford, martyr.	1556		g	18	D. Martyn Luther, Confessor.	1546		
16	e	19	John Tomas, mar.	1556		A	19	Pope of Cay, martyr.	1512		
4	f	20	Anne Albright, alias Champnes, martyr.	1556		b	20	Peake, martyr.	1512		
	g	21	Joane Catmer, martyr.	1556		c	21	George Carpenter, martir.	1527		
12	A	22	Agnes Snothe, martyr.	1556		d	22	John Rogers, Preacher, martyr.	1555		
1	b	23	Joane Sole, mar.	1556		e	23	Lawrence Saunders, Preacher, martyr.	1555		
	c	24	William Waterer, martyr	1556		f	24	I. Hooper, Bys. Mar.	1555		
9	d	25	Conuer. of Paule.								
	e	26	Steuken Kemp, mar.	1557				Mathy. Apo.			
	f	27	William Hay, martyr.	1557							
17	g	28	Thomas Hudson, martyr.	1557		g	25	Rowland Taplour, Doctour, martyr.	1555		
6	A	29	William Howicke, martyr.	1557		A	26	Robert Farrar, Bys. Martyr.	1555		
	b	30	Will. Probbing, martir.	1557		b	27	Agnes Potten, mar.	1556		
14			Nicholas Ffnal, } mar.	1557		c	28	Cronchfields wife, martyr.	1557		
			Math. Braddrige, }								
3	c	31	John Philpot, } mar.	1557							
			Thomas Steuens, }								

THE KALENDER.											
MARCHE hath xxxi dayes.				Days of their death.		APRIL hath xxx daies.				Days of their death.	
The Moore 30.				Yeare of our Lord.		The Moore 29.				Yeare of the Lord.	
3	d	1	William Calloure, martir.	2	1422	g	1	Rob. Hatches, Archer, } mar.	4	1519	
	e	2	John Wesselianus, a Doctor, martir.		1479			Hawkins, }			
11	f	3	Doctor Wesselus, alias Basilus, Confes.		1490	11	A	2	Thomas Bunde, mar.	4	1519
	g	4	Henry Sudphen, mar.		1524		b	3	Warrigsham, mar.	4	1519
19	A	5	John Hougley, mar.		1526	19	c	4	Lansdale, mar.	4	1519
8	b	6	Petrus Plectedijs, mar.		1528	8	d	5	Mistres Smith, Widow, mar.	4	1519
	e	7	Adolphus Clabachus, mar.		1528	16	e	6	James Baynham, Gentleman, mar.	30	1532
16	d	8	Patrickke Hammelton, mar.		1528	6	f	7	Jo. Awrocke, Confes.	2	1555
5	e	9	Tho. Witten, mar.		1530	g	8	George Marshe, Preacher, mar.	24	1555	
	f	10	Tho. Bilney, Mor.		1531	13	A	9	William Flower, Minister, mar.	24	1555
18	g	11	Baby Foster, mar.		1531	2	b	10	Robert Drakes, Minister, marty.	24	1556
2	A	12	Edward Frese, Confes.		1531		c	11	Thomas Cymmes, mar.	24	1556
	b	13	Valentyne Frese and his wyfe, mar.		1531	10	d	12	Rich. Spurge, } mar.	24	1556
10	c	14	Father Bate, Confes.		1531		e	13	John Cabell, mar.	24	1556
18	d	15	Kablin White, mar.	8	1555	18	f	14	George Ambrose, mar.	24	1556
	e	16	Thomas Tomkins, mar.	15	1555	7	g	15	John Harypole, } mar.	1	1556
7	f	17	Thomas Higbed, Gentleman, mar.	25	1555		A	16	John Bullier, Minister, mar.	4	1556
	g	18	Thomas Cabson, Gentleman, mar.	25	1555	15	b	17	Christopher Lister, Minister, mar.	28	1556
15	A	19	William Hunter, mar.	25	1555	4	c	18	John Mace, mar.	28	1556
4	b	20	William Pigot, mar.	28	1555	d	19	John Spenser, mar.	23	1556	
	c	21	Stephen Knyggh, mar.	28	1555	12	e	20	Simond Joyne, mar.	28	
12	d	22	John Lawrence, Minister, mar.	29	1555	1	f	21	Richarde Nichol, mar.	28	1556
1	e	23	Thomas Cranmer, Archebysshop, Mar.	21	1556	g	22	John Ramonde, mar.	28	1556	
	f	24	Rob. Spicer, mar.	24	1556	9	A	23	St. George, Martir.		
9	g	25	Annunciation of our Ladye.			b	24	Thomas Roseby, mar.	12	1556	
	A	26	William Coberley, mar.	24	1556	17	c	25	Marke Evangelist.		
17	b	27	Maundrell, mar.	24	1556	6	d	26	Henry Ramsey, mar.	12	1557
6	c	28	Richard Crashfield, mar.	15	1557	e	27	Thomas Chyrtle, mar.	12	1577	
	d	29	Cuthbert Simpson, mar.	28	1558	14	f	28	Margaret Hyde, mar.	12	1557
14	e	30	Hugh Fox, mar.	28	1558	3	g	29	Agnes Stanley, mar.	12	1557
3	f	31	John Webennish, mar.	28	1558	A	30	William Nichol, mar.		1558	

THE KALENDER.

MAY hath xxiij daies.			JUNE hath xxx daies.		
<i>The Moore 30.</i>			<i>The Moore 29.</i>		
		Days of their death. Year of our Lord.			Days of their death. Year of our Lord.
11	b	1 Philip and James, Apos.	e	1 Hierom of Prage, mar.	1 1416
	c	2 Iohn Hus, Martyr.		Anne Askebe,	
19	d	3 Hieronymus Savanarola, Martyr.	19	Jo. Lassells, gentle.	
8	e	4 Dominick, mar.	8	Jo. Adams, Nico. Bell-	m. 1546
	f	5 Silvester, mar.	16	ma, Tho. Hawks,	
16	g	6 Fryer Koy, mar.	5	Tho. Mattes, John	m. 1555
5	a	7 Robert Kyng, mar.	5	Simpso, John Ardeley	
	b	8 Robert Wednam, mar.	13	Nic. Chamberlayn, mar.	
13	c	9 Nicholas Marabe, mar.	2	Tho. Hosmod,	15 1555
2	d	10 Iohn Cardmaker, alias Cay- lour, Preacher, mar.	6	Edm. Bramforde,	6 1556
	e	11 Iohn Warne, mar.	10	Tho. Wurland, Tho. Os- ward, Thom. Keade, Ch.	
10	f	12 Margaret Ellis, Confes.	10	Abington, mars.	
	g	13 Hugh Lauerocke, mar.	11	C. Wood, mi.	20 1556
18	a	14 Iohn Apprice, mar.	11	Tho. Milles,	23 1556
7	b	15 Katharin Hut, Wydowe, mar.	12	Edm. Adherall, minister, conf.	25
	c	16 Elizabeth Chackwell, mar.	13	John Clement, Confess.	26 1556
15	d	17 Ione Hornes, mar.	14	W. Adlington,	
4	e	18 A blinde Boye, and another with hym, mar.	15	Blau. Pernam,	27 1556
	f	19 Thomas Sypcer, mar.	16	Henry Wyte,	
12	g	20 Iohn Denny, mar.	17	Edm. Hallywell,	27 1556
1	a	21 William Pole, mar.	18	Ch. Wolper,	
	b	22 Iohn Slesh, Confes.	19	George Serle,	27 1556
9	c	23 William Borant, mar.	20	Edmud Hurst,	27 1556
	d	24 Steuen Gratwick, mar.	21	Nion Taberche,	
17	e	25 Iohn Thurstone, Confes.	22	Kate Jackson,	27 1556
6	f	26 William Seaman, mar.	23	Tho. Berisfall,	
	g	27 Thomas Carman, mar.	24	John Roth, Elija Pepper,	27 1556
14	a	28 Thomas Hudson, mar.	25	Agnes George, mars.	
3	b	29 William Harries, mar.	26	Thomas Parret, confess.	
	c	30 Richard Way, mar.	27	Hut and Ambrose. cof.	28 1556
11	d	31 Christian George, mar.	28	John Morpce, confess.	29
			29	Kog. Bernard, Adam Fos- ter, Rob. Lawson, mars.	30 1557
			30	Walter Apelby, Petronill hys wife, Edmund Allen, Katheryn hys wyfe, mars.	15 1557
			31	Jo. Bradbrige, J. Manning,	18 1557
				Elizabeth a blynde mayde, m.	
				Thomas More, mar.	
				Nico. Whight, Nico. Par- due, J. Fishcorke, Bar- bara Final, mars.	19 1557
				Natiuitie of S. Iohn Bap.	
				Bradbriges widow,	
				Bendens wife,	19 1557
				Edm. Wilsons wyfe,	
				Nic. Woodman, G. Steph- ens, Edm. Magnard, Alex- anders Hosmons man, ms.	22 1557
				Thomasina Woods mayde,	22 1557
				Margery Morice, James Morice, son, Denis Bur- ges, Asdowens wife, Groues wyfe, mars.	
				Henry Bonde, K. Eastlande, Ro. Southam, Mat. Ri- cardy, mars.	27 1558
				Peter & Paul Apostles.	
				John Lloyd, Iohn Holyday,	27 1558
				Roger Hollad, mars.	

THE KALENDER.							
JULY hath xxxi dayes.			AUGUST hath xxxi dayes.				
<i>The Moore xxx.</i>			<i>The Moore xxx.</i>				
			Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.		Days of their death.	Year of our Lord.
19	g	1 Henry Voj, mar.	1	1522	8 c	1 Leonard Keyser, mar.	16 1527
	a	John Esch, mar.			16 d	2 James Abbes, mar.	2 1555
8	a	2 John Frith,	4	1533	5 e	3 John Denley, gentleman,	8 1555
	b	Andrew Hebet, } mar.			f	4 John Redman, mar.	28 1555
	b	3 Antony Perso,	18	1543	18 g	5 Patricke Watyngham, mar.	28 1555
	c	Robert Eastwood,			2 a	6 William Coker, mar.	28 1555
16	c	Hen. Finnemore, } mar.			b	7 William Hopper, mar.	28 1555
	d	4 Tho. Bradford,	1	1555	10 c	8 Henry Laurence, mar.	28 1555
	e	preacher,	2	1555	d	9 Richard Collier, mar.	28 1555
5	d	John Leate, } mar.			18 e	10 Apollia. Stere, mar.	28 1555
	e	5 Jone Polley, mar.		1555	7 f	11 Richard Wryght, mar.	28 1555
	f	6 William Kyng, minister,		1555	g	12 Elizabeth Warne, mar.	
18	f	mar.		1555	15 a	13 George Tankerfield, mar.	26 1555
2	g	7 Richard Hoke, mar.		1555	4 b	14 R. Smith, mar.	8 1555
	a	8 John Blande,	12	1555	c	15 Stephen Horvood, mar.	30 1555
	b	preacher,			2 d	16 Thomas Fusse, mar.	30 1555
	c	Dhon Franke, } mar.			1 e	17 William Hall, mar.	31 1555
	d	9 Humfrey Middleton, mar.	12	1555	f	18 Robert Samuel, Preacher,	31 1555
10	b	10 Nich. Shetterden, mar.	12	1555	9 g	19 Jone Maast, mar.	1 1556
	c	11 Willia. Dighel, mar.		1555	a	20 William Bongeor, mar.	2 1557
	d	Diricke Caruer, mar.	12	1555	17 b	21 Robert Purcas, mar.	2 1557
18	d	12 John Lauder, mar.	28	1555	6 c	22 Thomas Bennold, mar.	2 1557
7	e	13 Thomas Jusson, mar.		1555	d	23 Agnes Silbersyde, alias	2 1557
	f	14 Nicolas Haule, mar.		1555	14 e	Smith, mar.	
15	g	15 John Aleworth, confes.		1555	3 f	24 Barthelmew, Apos.	
4	a	16 John Careles, cof.	1	1556	g	25 Ellen Gwryng, mar.	2 1557
	b	17 John Gwyn,			g	26 Elizabeth Folkes, Mayde,	2 1557
	c	Julius Palmer, a } mar.	16	1556	11 a	27 Wylliam Munt, mar.	2 1557
	d	Scholemaister, and } mar.			b	28 Alice Munt, mar.	2 1557
	e	Askine,			c	29 Rose Allyn, Mayde, mar.	2 1557
12	c	18 Ra. Cadwches, Para-			8 d	30 John Johnson, } mar.	2 1557
	d	tine Massye, & her } mar.	17	1556	c	31 One Fryer, and the sayde	2 1557
1	d	Child not one howev- } mar.				George Egles Sister,	
	e	alde, & Guyllempe } mar.				mar.	
	f	Gilbert,					
9	f	21 Tho. Bungate,					
	g	Pho. Foreman,					
	a	Anne Tree,					
	b	Simō. Miller,					
	c	Eliza Copar,					
	d	} mar.	18	1556			
	e	22 Mary Magdalene.					
17	a	23 Richard Deoman, minister.	10	1558			
	b	mar.					
6	b	24 Willia. Pikes, mar.	14	1558			
	c	James Apostle.					
14	d	26 Stephen Cotton, mar.	14	1558			
3	e	27 John Slade, mar.	14	1558			
	f	28 Steue Night, mar.	14	1558			
	g	Kob. Miles, mar.	14	1558			
11	g	29 Kob. Dines, mar.	14	1558			
	a	30 Tho. Benbrick, gentleman,	29	1558			
	b	mar.					

[illegible]

THE KALENDER.

SEPTEMBER hath 30 dayes.				Days of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.	OCTOBER hath 31 dayes.				Days of their death.	Yeare of our Lord.
The Moone xxix.						The Moone xxx.					
16	f	1	Father Abraham, mar.		1428	16	a	1	Bartholet Myllon, mar.		1534
5	g	2	Wylliam Wyghyt, priest, mar.		1428	5	b	2	John de Burge, a rich merchant, mar.		1534
	a	3	John Maddon, priest, mar.		1428	13	c	3	The Receguer of Paunts, mar.		1534
13	b	4	William Gardiner, mar.		1552		d	4	Henry Poile, mar.		1534
2	c	5	W. Allen, mar.		1555		e	5	Catelle, a Schole-Mistris, mar.		1534
	d	6	Thomas Cob, } Thomas Coo, } mar.		1555		f	6	Stephen de la Foarge, a Marchat, mar.		1534
10	e	7	William Androwe, confess.		1555	10	g	7	Wylliam Tyndall, mar.		1536
	f	8	T. King, confess.		1555		a	8	William Leyton, mar.		1537
	g	9	Thomas Leis, confess.	5	1555	18	b	9	Puttedew, mar.		1537
7	a	10	George Catmer, } Robert Streater, } mar. Ant. Burward, }	6	1555	7	c	10	John Lambert, alias Nicolson, mar.		1538
	b	11	George Bradbrige, } mar.	6	1555		d	11	Collins, mar.		1538
15	c	12	James Cutty, } mar.	6	1555		e	12	Cowbrige, mar.		1539
4	d	13	Thomas Hayward, } John Goreway, }		1555	15	f	13	Peter, a Germane, mar.		1539
	e	14	Robert Glover, } Cornel. Būgay, }	20	1555	4	g	14	Launcelot, mar.		1539
12	f	15	Edwarde Sharpe, mar.	8	1556		a	15	John, a Painter, mar.		1539
1	g	16	Jhon Hart, } C. Rabensdale, } mar. A Shomaker, }	24	1556	12	b	16	Giles Germanye, mar.		1539
	a	17	Tho. Horne and } another woman, }	23	1556	1	c	17	Robert Barnes, mar.		1539
9	b	18	John Kurde, mar.	20	1557		d	18	Thomas Garrard, } William Hierome, } mar.		1541
	c	19	Cicily Ormes, mar.	23	1557		e	19	William Wyolsey, mar.		1555
	d	20	Joyce Lewis, mar.	10	1557	9	f	20	Robert Pigot, mar.		1555
17	e	21	Rafe Allerton, } Richard Rothe, }	17	1557		g	21	Luke Evangelist.		1555
6	f	22	Mathew Appostle.			17	a	22	Nicholas Ridley, Bis. mar.	16	1555
	g	23	James Ausco and } Margerge his wife, }	17	1557	6	b	23	Hugh Latimer, Bis. mar.	16	1555
14	a	24	Agnes Bōgeor, } Mar. Turstoun, }	17	1557	9	c	24	John Webb, gent.	31	1555
3	b	25	John Warren, mar.		1557		d	25	George Koper, } Gregory Packe, }		1555
	c	26	Christia. Glover, } Tho. Athothe, }		1557	14	e	26	Adam Walles, mar.	12	1551
11	d	27	John Mylles, } Nico. Wolden, }		1557	3	f	27	Mark Burges, } William Hoker, } mar. Waug Mylle, }		1560
19	e	28	John Ashdone, mar.		1557		g	28	Simson, prist.		
	f	29	Thomas Spurdauce, mar.		1557	11	a	29	Hebererch. frier.		
	g	30	Michaell Archangell.			19	b	30	Repler, black fryer.		
			John Fortune, mar.		1557		c	31	Waug Stratto, get.		
						16	d		Norman Gorley, Vicar of Bolor.		
						5	e		A black Chanō, with 4 other.		
						8	f		Simon and Jude		
						29	g		Thre dyed in pryson at Cicester, confess.	18	1556
						16	a		Mother Seaman, confess.		1556
						5	b		Mother Bennet, confess.		1556

THE KALENDER.

NOVEMBER hath 30 dayes.				DECEMBER hath 31 dayes.					
The Moore xxix.				The Moore xxx.					
			Dayes of their death.				Dayes of their death.		
			Year of our Lord.				Year of our Lord.		
	d	1	The Feaste of all Sayntes.		f	1	William Cray, Esquier, confes.	1534	
13	e	2	Rycharde Mekings, mar.	1541	13	g	2	Peter Sapience, mar.	1545
2	f	3	Richard Spenser, mar.	1541	2	A	3	George Bucker, alias Adm. Ballyp, mar.	
	g	4	Andrew Hewet, mar.	1541	10	b	4	An olde man of Bucking- hamshire, mar.	1531
10	A	5	John Porter, confes.	1542		c	5	Two gray Fryers, mar.	1581
	b	6	Thomas Barnard, mar.	1542	18	d	6	John Wiltis, confes.	1513
18	c	7	James Morton, mar.	1542	7	e	7	John Cogges, confes.	1517
7	d	8	George Wyarde, Gentle- man, mar.	1546		f	8	Robert Wyarde, confes.	1517
	e	9	John Kirbye, mar.	1546	15	g	9	A Scholer of Abbeville, mar.	1522
15	f	10	Roger Clarke, mar.	1546	4	A	10	A Jew, mar.	4 1528
4	g	11	Richard Bayfield, alias So- mersa. mar.	20 1531	b	11	Richard Hun, mar.	20 1515	
	A	12	John Clarke, confes.	1556	12	c	12	John Tewbery, mar.	7 1531
12	b	13	Dunstone Chittenden, confes.	1556	1	d	13	James Gore, confes.	13 1555
1	c	14	William Foster, mar.	1556	e	14	William Wyseman, con- fessor.	18 1555	
	d	15	Alice Potkins, confes.	1556	9	f	15	John Philpot, Preacher, mar.	22 1557
9	e	16	John Archer, conf.	1556	g	16	John Rough, Preacher, mar.	22 1557	
	f	17	Wooke, mar.	1556	17	A	17	Margaret Mering, mar.	22 1558
17	g	18	John Hallingdale, mar.	18 1557	6	b	18	Thomas Tyler, confes.	1558
6	A	19	William Sparow, mar.	18 1557	c	19	Mathew Withers, confes.	1558	
14	b	20	Richarde Grybson, Gentle- man, mar.	18 1557	14	d	20	Dale, confes.	1550
	c	21	Saunder Gouche, mar.	4 1558	3	e	21	Thomas Apostle.	
3	d	22	Elizabeth Briuer, mar.	4 1558	f	22	William Playn.		
	e	23	Philip Humfrey mar.	5 1558	11	g	23	Elizabeth Lawson, confes.	1550
11	f	24	John Dauge, mar.	5 1558		A	24	J. Glover, confes.	
19	g	25	Henry Dauge, mar.	5 1558	17	b	24	Nicholas Burton, mar.	22 1562
	A	26	John Corneforth, mar.	5 1558		c	25	Nativity of our Lord.	
8	b	27	Christopher Broun, mar.	10 1558	8	d	26	Stephen, Mar.	
	c	28	John Herste, mar.	10 1558	d	27	John Evangelist.		
10	d	29	Alice Snothe. Kathe. Knight, } mar.	10 1558	16	e	28	Childernasse.	
5	e	30	Andrew Apostie		5	f	29	Thomas Rhedonensis, an Orle, mar.	1436
								Picus Mirandula, Erasmus Rotero- dam,	1497 1513
					g	30	Mar. Bucer, Pau. Phagius, Philip Melancton, Peter Martir,	cofrs.	1549 1551 1559 1562
					13	A	31	Kyng Edwarde the Sixt, con- fessor.	1553

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS

OF THE

CHRISTIAN MARTYRS.

AND

MATTERS ECCLESIASTICAL PASSED IN THE CHURCH OF
CHRIST, FROM THE PRIMITIVE BEGINNING, TO THESE
OUR DAYS, AS WELL IN OTHER COUNTRIES, AS,
NAMELY,¹ IN THIS REALM OF ENGLAND, AND
ALSO OF SCOTLAND, DISCOURSED AT LARGE:

**And first, the difference between the Church of Rome that now is, and
the ancient Church of Rome that then was.**

CHRIST our Saviour, in the Gospel of St. Matthew,² hearing the confession of Simon Peter, who, first of all other, openly acknowledged him to be the Son of God, and perceiving the secret hand of his Father therein, answered again and (alluding to his name) called him a rock, upon which rock he would build his church so strong, that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, etc. In which words three things are to be noted: First, that Christ will have a church in this world. Secondly, that the same church should mightily be impugned, not only by the world, but also by the uttermost strength and powers of all hell. And, thirdly, that the same church, notwithstanding the uttermost of the devil and all his malice, should continue. Which prophecy of Christ we see wonderfully to be verified, insomuch that the whole course of the church to this day may seem nothing else but a verifying of the said prophecy. First, that Christ hath set up a church, needeth no declaration. Secondly, what force, what sides and sorts of men, of princes, kings, monarchs, governors, and rulers of this world, with their subjects, publicly and privately, with all their strength and cunning, have bent themselves against this church. And, thirdly, how the said church, all this notwithstanding, hath yet endured and holden its own. What storms and tempests it hath overpast, wondrous it is to behold: for the more evident declaration whereof, I have addressed this present history, intending, by the favourable aid of Christ our Lord, not so much to delight the ears of my country in reading of news, as most specially to profit the hearts of the godly, in perusing antiquities of ancient times: to the end, first, that the wonderful works of God in his church might

Exordium.

Three things noted in Christ's words.

1) "Namely" is continually used by Foxe for *especially*.—ED.

(2) Matt. xvi. 16.

Exordium.

appear to his glory ; also, that the continuance and proceedings of the church, from time to time, being set forth in these Acts and Monuments, more knowledge and experience may redound thereby, to the profit of the reader and edification of christian faith.

* For¹ if these divers times of the church, which have been so horrible and perilous from the beginning, almost, of the gospel (but especially during this latter age of Christ's church, according to the true forewarning of the apostles), had not wanted writers and historians, more than writers might have lacked matter copious to work upon, so many notable things worthy of knowledge, which have happened in this church of England since the reign of Lucius (but namely since Satan broke loose), had not so escaped and passed without memory. Hereof some, yet notwithstanding (praised be the Lord there-for !), have been preserved and remain ; but yet the most things lost in silence ; and some, again, misshadowed and corrupted, either through obtrication or flattery of writers ; who, not observing " legem historiae," as Tully required,² seemed either not bold enough to tell truth, or not afraid enough to bear with untruth and time. For as there never happened greater perturbations, tumults, and dissensions, among all the monarchies that have been since the first constitution of public regiment, than hath been seen among churchmen ;—betwixt popes, one pope with another, betwixt popes and emperors, for giving and taking the imperial crown, and likewise betwixt popes and other nations ;—so writers commonly, in taking parts either with one or other, as they inclined their affection, framed their style.

Partiality in popish historiographers.

Add also, hereunto, the barbarousness of those days, and, partly, negligence in the learned sort, which were no small causes why we lack now so many things much needful for those times to be known. Notwithstanding such as yet remain to be collected, especially of the more sincere and less suspected sort of writers, I have here purposed, by the favourable grace of Christ our Lord, in this history to digest and compile ;³ not so much to delight the ears of my country, as to the intent to profit the church of Christ, so that we, in these reformed days, seeing the prodigious deformities and calamities of these times now present, and comparing the same with the times that were before, may therefore pour out more, abundant thanks to the Lord for this his so sweet and merciful reformation.*

The order of the disposition of this history.

For the better accomplishing whereof, so to prosecute the matter, as may best serve to the profit of the reader, I have thought good, first beginning from the time of the primitive church, and so continuing (by the Lord's grace) to these latter years, to run over the whole state and course of the church in general, in such order as digesting the whole tractation of this history into five sundry diversities of times.⁴

The suffering time of the church. The flourishing time.

First, I will intreat of the suffering time of the church, which continued from the apostles' age about three hundred years.

Secondly, of the flourishing time of the church, which lasted other three hundred years.

Thirdly, of the declining or backsliding time of the church, which comprehendeth other three hundred years, until the loosing out of

(1) These observations compose the opening paragraph of the Second Edition of the Acts and Monuments. London : 1570.—Ed.

(2) Cicero, De Orator. lib. ii. c. 15.

(3) See note in the Appendix.—Ed.

(4) See note in the Appendix.—Ed.

Satan, which was about the thousandth year after the nativity of Christ. During which space of time, the church, although in ambition and pride it was much altered from the simple sincerity of the primitive time, yet, in outward profession of doctrine and religion, it was something tolerable, and had some face of a church; notwithstanding some corruption of doctrine, with superstition and hypocrisy, was then also crept in. And yet in comparison of that which followed after, it might seem, as I said, something sufferable.

Exordium.

The declining time.

Fourthly, followed the time of Antichrist, and loosing of Satan, or desolation of the church, whose full swinge containeth the space of four hundred years. In which time both doctrine and sincerity of life were utterly, almost, extinguished; namely, in the chief heads and rulers of this west church, through the means of the Roman bishops, especially counting from Gregory VII. called Hildebrand, Innocent III., and the friars which with him crept in, till the time of John Wickliff and John Huss, during four hundred years.

The time of Antichrist.

Fifthly and lastly, after this time of Antichrist reigning in the church of God by violence and tyranny, followeth the reformation and purging of the church of God, wherein Antichrist beginneth to be revealed, and to appear in his colour, and his antichristian doctrine to be detected, the number of his church decreasing, and the number of the true church increasing. The durance of which time hath continued hitherto about the space of two hundred and fourscore years; and how long it shall continue more, the Lord and Governor of all times, he only knoweth. For in these five diversities and alterations of times, I suppose the whole course of the church may well be comprised. The which church, because it is universal, and sparsedly through all countries dilated, therefore in this history, standing upon such a general argument, I shall not be bound to any one certain nation more than another: yet notwithstanding keeping mine argument aforesaid, I have purposed principally to tarry upon such historical acts and records, as most appertain to this my country of England and Scotland.

The reformation of the church.

And forsomuch as the church of Rome, in all these ages above specified, hath challenged to itself the supreme title and ringleading of the whole universal church on earth, by whose direction all other churches have been governed; in writing, therefore, of the church of Christ, I cannot but partly also intermeddle with the acts and proceedings of the same church, forsomuch as the doings and orderings of all other churches from time to time, as well here in England as in other nations, have this long season chiefly depended upon the same. Wherefore, as it is much needful and requisite to have the doings and orderings of the said church to be made manifest to all christian congregations, so have I framed this history, according to the same purpose. First, in a general description briefly to declare, as in a summary table, the misguiding of that church, comparing the former primitive state of the forenamed church of Rome, with these latter times of the same: which done, then after, in a more special tractation, to prosecute more at large all the particulars thereof, so far forth as shall seem not unprofitable for the public instruction of all other christian churches, to behold and consider the manner and dealing of this one. In the which one church of Rome four things,

The church of Rome.

Exordium.

Four things to be considered in the church of Rome.

as most special points, seem to me chiefly to be considered ; to wit, Title, Jurisdiction, Life, and Doctrine. Wherein I have here to declare, First, concerning the title or primacy of the church, how it first began, and upon what occasion ; Secondly, concerning the jurisdiction and authority thereof, what it was, and how far it did extend ; Thirdly, touching the disorder of life and conversation, how inordinate it is ; and Fourthly, the form of doctrine, how superstitious and idolatrous of late it hath been. Of the which four, the first was prejudicial to all bishops ; the second, derogatory to kings and emperors ; the third, detestable to all men ; the fourth, injurious against Christ.

Title of the pope.

For first, the title and style of that church was such, that it overwent all other churches, being called "The holy universal mother church, which could not err ;" and the bishop thereof, "Holy father the pope," "Bishop universal," "Prince of priests," "Supreme head of the universal church, and vicar of Christ here in earth, which must not be judged ; having all knowledge of Scripture, and all laws, contained within the chest of his breast."

Jurisdiction of the pope.

Secondly, the jurisdiction of that bishop was such, that, challenging to himself both the swords, that is, both the keys of the spirituality and the sceptre of the laity, not only he subdued all bishops under him, but also advanced himself above kings and emperors, causing some of them to lie under his feet, some to hold his stirrup, some to lead his horse by the bridle, some to kiss his feet ; placing and displacing emperors, kings, dukes, and earls, whom and when he listed ; taking upon him to translate the empire at his pleasure, first, from Greece to France, then from France to Germany, preferring and deposing whom he pleased, confirming them which were elected. Also, being emperor himself, *sede vacante*, pretending authority or power to invest bishops, to give benefices, to spoil churches, to give authority to bind and loose, to call general councils, to judge over the same, to set up religions, to canonize saints, to take appeals, to bind consciences, to make laws, to dispense with the law and word of God, to deliver from purgatory, to command angels, etc.

Lives of the Romish clergy.

Thirdly, what was the life and conversation of the court of Rome, hereafter in the process of this history followeth to be seen and observed.

Doctrine of the pope.

Fourthly, such was his doctrine in like manner, tedious to students, pernicious to men's consciences, injurious to Christ Jesus, and contrary to itself. In laws more divers, in volume more large, in diligence and study more applied, in vantage and preferment more gainful, than ever was the study and learning of the holy Scripture of God.

All which four points well considered and advised in this present history set forth, I trust it may minister to the indifferent christian reader, sufficient instruction to judge what is to be esteemed of this see and church of Rome.

But here by the way it is to be noted, that all these deformities above touched, of vain title, of pretended jurisdiction, of heretical doctrine, of schismatical life, came not into the church of Rome all at one time, nor sprang with the beginning of the same church, but with long working and continuance of time by little and little crept up through occasion, and came not to full perfection, till the time partly

of pope Silvester,¹ partly of pope Gregory VII. A. D. 1080, partly of Innocent III., and, finally, of pope Boniface VIII. A. D. 1300. Of the which four popes, the first brought in the title, A. D. 314, which was never in such ample wise before publicly enacted, and received publicly in the said church of Rome. The second brought in jurisdiction. The third, which was pope Innocent, with his rabble of monks and friars (as Peter the Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, John Duns Scotus), and with such other bishops as succeeded in the same see after him, corrupted and obscured the sincerity of Christ's doctrine, and manners also. And lastly, pope Boniface VIII., A. D. 1300, and after him pope Clement V., over and besides the jurisdiction sufficiently advanced before by pope Hildebrand, added moreover the temporal sword to be carried before them; and that no emperor (were he never so well elected) should be sufficient and lawful without the pope's admission, whereby the pope's power was brought now to its full pride and perfection. And thus came up the corruption of the Romish church in continuance of years, by degrees and not altogether nor at one time, as is declared, and hereafter more particularly (Christ willing) shall be expressed.

Wherefore, whosoever shall have hereafter to do with any adversaries, about the antiquity or authority of the church of Rome, let him here well consider when and how the Title, Jurisdiction, and Corruption of Life and Doctrine, first began in the pope's see. And so shall he see, that the church of Rome, as it is now governed with this manner of title, jurisdiction, life, and institution of doctrine, never descended from the primitive age of the apostles, or from their succession, "*Nisi tantum æquivocè,² et non univocè.*"³ Like as "*Sancta Maria picta non est sancta Maria, et homo pictus non est homo,*" as the schools do say (that is, "As the picture of the holy Virgin is not the holy Virgin, and as a man painted on the wall is not a man"), so it is to be said of the church of Rome (the institution and doctrine of the church of Rome I mean), that although it hath the name of the church apostolical, and doth bring forth a long genealogy of outward succession from the apostles, as the Pharisees did in Christ's time bring their descent from Abraham their father: yet all this is (as I said) but only *æquivocè*, that is, in name only, and not in effect or matter, which maketh the apostolical church indeed; forasmuch as the definition of the apostolical church neither now agreeth with this present church of Rome, nor yet the manner, form, and institution of the said Romish church, as it now standeth with this title, jurisdiction, life, and doctrine, had ever any succession or offspring from the primitive church of the apostles. But, as Christ said by the Pharisees, that they were the children, not of Abraham, but of the devil, in semblable wise may be answered, that this church of Rome now present, with this title, jurisdiction, life, and doctrine now used, cannot be fathered upon the apostles, neither Peter, nor Linus, but is of another author, whom here I will not name.

And here now cometh in the argument of Pighius, Hosius, and

Exordium.

Silvester I. Gregory VII. called Hildebrand. Innocent III.

Boniface VIII.

The church of Rome, as now it is, is not apostolical, but only *æquivocè*.

(1) Silvester I. was the thirty-second bishop of Rome, and was elected to the pontifical chair in the room of Melchisedes, Jan. 31, A. D. 314. In his time were held the famous councils of Arles and Nice. Euseb. Hist. lib. x. c. 5, and Vit. Const. lib. iii. c. 6.

(2) "*Æquivocè*," that is, in name only, and not in very deed.

(3) "*Univocè*," that is, both in name and also in definition and effect, agreeing with the name.

Exordium. Eckius, to be answered unto, who, arguing for the antiquity and authority of the church of Rome, reason on this manner :!—

The argument of Pighius, Hosius, and Eckius, for the authority of the church of Rome.

- Da-* That forsomuch as an ordinary and a known church visible must here be known continually on earth, during from the time of the apostles, to the which church all other churches must have recourse :
- ri-* And seeing then there is no other church visible, orderly known to have endured from the apostles' time, but only the church of Rome :
- i.* They conclude, therefore, that the church of Rome is that church whereunto all other churches must have recourse.

Answer.

To the which paralogism I answer thus : that this word “durans ecclesia,” the “during church,” in the minor, hath *fallaciam æquivoci*. For although the name of the church and outward succession of bishops have had their durance from the time of the apostles, yet neither is the definition and matter which maketh a true apostolical church indeed, and *univocè*, now in the church of Rome, nor yet were the form and institution of the church now used in Rome ever from the apostles ; which apostles were never authors or fathers of this title, jurisdiction, life, and doctrine, now taught in Rome ; but rather were enemies ever to the same.

The minor examined.

The major examined.

Again to the major, which standeth upon two parts, I answer, first ; although the necessity of the church, during from the apostles, may and must be granted ; yet the same necessity was not bound to any certain place or person, but only to faith : so that wheresoever (that is to say, in whatsoever congregation) true faith was, there was the church of Christ. And because the true faith of Christ must needs ever remain on earth, therefore the church also must needs remain on earth. And God forbid that the said true faith of Christ should only remain in one city in the world, and not another as well. And therefore to the second part of the major is to be said, that as this true and sincere faith of Christ is not so given, to remain fixedly in one place or city alone ; so neither is there any one church in the world so ordained and appointed of God, that all other churches should have their recourse unto it, for determination of their causes and controversies incident. And thus much to the argument of Pighius and Hosius.

The church of Rome distinguished into a double consideration of times.

How it was commended of the old doctors.

Now as touching the authorities and allegations of the ancient doctors and holy fathers in the commendation of the church of Rome, here cometh in also to be noted, that whosoever will understand rightly their authorities, and answer to the same, must first learn to make a difference and distinction of the said church of Rome, from what it was, to what it is : forasmuch as the church of Rome is not the same church now, which it was then, but only *æquivocè* : otherwise, as touching the very property and definition of a church, it is another church, and nothing agreeing to what it was then, save only in outward name and place. Therefore, by this distinction made, I answer the places of Irenæus, Cyprian, and other famous doctors, commending the church of Rome as catholic and apostolical, and say that these doctors, speaking of the church of Rome which *then was*, said not untruly, calling it catholic and apostolical ; for that the same church took not only their ordinary succession of bishops but also their ordinary doctrine and institution from the apostles. But speaking of

(1) For an explanation of the logical terms here and elsewhere used, see the Appendix.—Ed.

the church of Rome which *now is*, we say the said places of the doctors are not true, neither do appertain to the same; all which doctors neither knew the church of Rome that now is, nor, if they had, would ever have judged any thing therein worthy such commendation.

Exordium.

Over and besides, our adversaries yet more object against us, who, heaving and shoving for the antiquity of the Romish church, for lack of other sufficient reason to prove it, are driven to fall in scanning the times and years. "What!" say they, "where was this church of yours before these fifty years?" To whom briefly to answer, first we demand what they mean by this which they call *our* church? If they mean the ordinance and institution of doctrine and sacraments now received of us, and differing from the church of Rome, we affirm and say, that our church was, when this church of theirs was not yet hatched out of the shell, nor did yet ever see any light: that is, in the time of the apostles, in the primitive age, in the time of Gregory I. and the old Roman church, when as yet no universal pope was received publicly, but repelled in Rome; nor this fulness of plenary power yet known; nor this doctrine and abuse of sacraments yet heard of. In witness whereof we have the old acts and histories of ancient time to give testimony with us, wherein we have sufficient matter for us to shew that the same form, usage, and institution of this our present reformed church, are not the beginning of any new church of our own, but the renewing of the old ancient church of Christ; and that they are not any swerving from the church of Rome, but rather a reducing to the church of Rome. Whereas contrary, the church of Rome which now is, is nothing but a swerving from the church of Rome which then was, as partly is declared, and more shall appear, Christ willing, hereafter.

The principal objection of the papists against the protestants.
Answer.

The church of Rome revolted from the church of Rome.

And whereas the said our adversaries do moreover charge us with the faith of our fathers and godfathers, wherein we were baptized, accusing and condemning us for that we are now revolted from them and their faith, wherein we were first christened: to this we answer, that we being first baptized by our fathers and godfathers in water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the same faith wherein we were christened then, we do retain: and because our godfathers were themselves also in the same faith, therefore they cannot say that we have forsaken the faith of our godfathers. As for other points of ecclesiastical uses, and circumstances considered, besides the principal substance of faith and baptism, if they held any thing which receded from the doctrine and rule of Christ, therein we now remove ourselves; not because we would differ from them, but because we would not with them remove from the rule of Christ's doctrine. Neither doth the sacrament of our baptism bind us in all points to the opinions of them that baptized us, but to the faith of him in whose name we were baptized. For as, if a man were christened of a heretic, the baptism of him notwithstanding were good, although the baptizer were naught; so, if our godfathers or fathers, which christened us, were taught any thing not consonant to christian doctrine in all points, neither is our baptism worse for that, nor yet are we bound to follow them in all things, wherein they themselves did not follow the true church of Christ.

Another objection of the papists.

Answer.
No man bound to follow the opinions of his godfathers in all points, unless they be consonant in all things.

Wherefore as it is false, that we have renounced the faith of our

Exordium.
The church of Rome distinguished from the church of Rome. Two times of the church of Rome considered.

godfathers wherein we were first baptized, so is it not true, that we are removed from the church of Rome ; but rather we say, and (by the leave of Christ) will prove, that the church of Rome hath utterly parted from the church of Rome, according to my distinction before touched. Which thing the more evidently to declare, I will here compare the church of Rome with the church of Rome ; and in a general description set forth (by God's grace) the difference of both the churches, that is, of both the times of the church of Rome : to the intent it may be seen whether we, or the church of Rome, have more apostatized from the church of Rome. And here first I divide the church of Rome in a double consideration of time ; first, of those first six hundred years which were immediately after Christ ; and secondly, of the other six hundred years, which now have been in these our latter days : and so, in comparing these two together, will I search out what discrepance is between them both. Of the which two ages and states of the Roman church, the first I call the primitive church of Rome, the other I call the latter church of Rome, counting this latter church from the expiration of the thousand years between the binding of Satan and the time of his loosing again, according to the prophecy of St. John's revelation ;¹ counting these thousand years from the ceasing of persecution, under Constantine the Great, to the beginning of persecution of the church again under Boniface VIII. and Ottoman the first Turkish emperor.² And thus have ye the church of Rome parted into two churches, in a double respect and consideration of two sundry states and times. Now in setting and matching the one state with the other, let us see whether the church of Rome hath swerved from the church of Rome more than we, or no.

The first proof. Enormities of life in the latter church of Rome. Policies and practices to get money.

And to begin, first, with the order and qualities of life, I ask here of this Roman clergy, where was this church of theirs which now is, in the ancient time of the primitive church of Rome, with this pomp and pride, with this riches and superfluity, with this *gloria mundi*, and name of cardinals ; with this prancing dissoluteness, and whoring of the courtesans ; with this extortion, bribing, buying and selling of spiritual dignities ; these annates, reformations, procurations, exactions, and other practices for money ; this avarice insatiable, ambition intolerable, fleshly filthiness most detestable, barbarousness and negligence in preaching, promise-breaking faithlessness, poisoning and supplanting one another ; with such schisms and divisions, which never were more seen than in the elections and court of Rome these seven hundred years, with such extreme cruelty, malice, and tyranny in burning and persecuting their poor brethren to death ?

It were too long, and a thing infinite, to stand particularly upon these above rehearsed. And if a man should prosecute at large all the schisms that have been in the church of Rome since the time of Damasus I., which are counted to the number of eighteen schisms,³

(1) Rev. xx. 3.

(2) See note (4), p. 4, *suprà*.—Ed.

(3) Wernerus Rolwink, a monk of the Carthusian order, has reckoned the schisms in the Romish church at twenty-three, and they have been treated, at some length, in "Theodorici a Niem. Pontif. quondam scribæ hist. sui temporis libri iii;" Argent. 1609. See also Geddes' "Tracts," vol. iii. Lond. 1706 ; and Bishop Stillingfleet "On the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome," ch. 5. There is a notice of Rolwink in "Oudin. comment. de scripp. eccles." tom. iii. col. 2738, and in "Fabricii Biblioth. mediæ ævi," vol. vi. ; and his chronicle is included in the collection of "Scriptores rerum Germanicæ" by Pistorius, as re-edited by Struvius (Ratisbonæ, 1726) ; tom. ii. p. 393.—Ed.

what a volume would it require? Or, if here should be recorded all that this see hath burned and put to death since the loosing out of Satan, who were able to number them? Or if all their sleights to get money should be described, as process of matter would require, who were able to recite them all? Of which all notwithstanding, the most principal grounds are reckoned at least to fourteen or fifteen sleights.¹

Exordium.
Fifteen practices of the new church of Rome to get money.

1. Annates, or taxes on vacant archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies, priories conventual, and other benefices elective.²

2. Annates for retaining all previous preferments, along with the new one, although there had been paid similar annates before, on similar occasions, for the same preferments.

3. New annates for all the same are required again, *toties quoties* they be, or are feigned to be, vacated by presentation to a new benefice, whereby it hath sometimes chanced that three or four annates have been paid by the same person for the same benefice.

4. Preventions of benefices given out before they fell; the same prevention being often given to divers and sundry persons by the pope's officials, for money's sake.

5. Resignations upon favour, which used to be granted by the ordinary, but which now in all cases the pope forbiddeth, or rather challengeth to be reserved to himself.

6. Commendams.

7. Vacancies in *Curia Romanâ*.³

8. Dispensations without end, as to dispense with age, with order, with benefices incompatible, as, if the number be full, if the house be of such or such an order. Item, dispensation for irregularity of various kinds, as for times of marriage, for marrying in degrees forbidden, or in affinity canonical (as for gossips to marry): It hath been known in France that a thousand crowns have been paid to Rome in one instance, for dispensing with this canonical affinity (of gossips, as we call it), the same being yet not true but feigned. Item, dispensing for eating meats in times prohibited.

9. Innumerable privileges, exemptions, graces for not visiting, or visiting by a proctor, for confirmations of privileges, for transactions made upon special favour of the pope, for exchanges of benefices with dispensation annexed, or making of pensions, with such like.

10. Mandates issued by the pope to ordinaries, whereof every ordinary, if he have ten benefices in his gift, is liable to be served with one: if he have fifty benefices in his gift, he may be served with two mandates: and for every mandate there comes to the pope about twenty ducats. And yet, notwithstanding, so many mandates are sold, as will come buyers to pay for them and take their chance.

11. The pope's penitentiary, for absolution of cases reserved to

(1) This passage on the sources of revenue to the papal court is taken from a work of Carolus Molinæus, an eminent French civilian, entitled "Commentarius in Edictum Henrici Secundi, contra parvas datas," etc., first written in Latin in 1551, and ten years after in French. In fact, the greater part of what Foxe says on the Life, Jurisdiction, and Title of the bishops of Rome has been culled from that work. Collation with the original has detected several blemishes in Foxe's translation, which have been removed.—Ed.

(2) "Elective benefices" are explained by Car. Mol. to be those which were not rated in the pope's books, and whose annual income was between 12 and 24 ducats.—Ed.

(3) That is, when the incumbent dies in Rome, or within twenty leagues of it, though it be only by accident that he was there. The pope nominates to all benefices vacant in *Curia Romanâ*, excepting those of the neighbouring bishoprics.—Ed.

Exor-
dium.

the pope, for breaking and changing of vows, for translation from one monastery to another, also from one order to another, for license to enter into certain monasteries, to carry about altars, with many other things of like device, pertaining to the office of the pope's penitentiary.

12. Giving and granting of innumerable pardons and indulgences, not only in public churches, but also to be bought in private chapels.

13. Appointing notaries, and prothonotaries apostolic, and bishops "vague," termed "nullitenentes"¹ at Rome.

14. Granting bulls and commissions for new foundations, or for changing of the old; reducing regular monasteries to a secular state, or restoring again to the old; and writs without end about matters depending in controversy, that otherwise might and ought to be decided by the ordinary.

Summa
totalis.

By reason of all which devices (not including the first, of the annates), it was found by a computation made in the time of Louis XI. (A.D. 1463), that, at that time, the sum of 200,000 crowns was yearly paid, and transported to Rome out of France alone; which sum Carolus Molineus testifies, had in his time, A.D. 1551, been doubled to 400,000, besides a like sum for annates; to all which add the revenues of French benefices, held by aliens at the court of Rome: which altogether are thought to make the total sum yearly going out of France to the pope's coffers of late years, ten hundred thousand, or a million, crowns. Now what hath risen besides in other realms and nations, let other men conjecture.

Wherefore if the gospel send us to the fruits to know the tree, I pray you what is to be thought of the church of Rome, with these fruits of life? Or, if we will seek the church in length and number of years, where was this church of Rome with these qualities then, at what time the church of Rome was a persecuted church, not a persecuting church? And when the bishops thereof did not make martyrs, as these do now, but were made martyrs themselves, to the number of five-and-twenty, in order one after another? Or when the bishops thereof were elected and exalted, not by factious conspiring, not by power or parts-taking, not by money or friends-making, as they be now, but by the free voices of the people and of the clergy, with the consent of the emperor joined withal, and not by a few conspiring cardinals, closed up in a corner, as now they be, etc.

The
second
proof.
Jurisdic-
tion.
This new
church of
Rome in
three
points
chal-
lenged.

And yet, if there were no other difference in the matter, but only corruption of life, all that we would tolerate, or else impute to the common fragility of man, and charge them no further therein than we might charge ourselves. Now over and beside this deformity of life, wherein they are clean gone from the former steps of the true church of Rome, we have moreover to charge them in greater points, more nearly touching the substantial ground of the church, as in their jurisdiction presumptuously usurped, in their title falsely grounded, and in their doctrine heretically corrupted. In all which three points, this latter pretended church of Rome hath utterly sequestered

(1) Episcopi Nullitenentes, or Portatiles, or Vagantes, were such as had no diocese, but were appointed to extraordinary services. See Ducange's Glossary, v. Episcopatus.

itself from the image and nature of the ancient and true church of Rome, and they have erected to themselves a new church of their own making, as first usurping a jurisdiction never known before to their ancient predecessors. For although the church of Rome in the old primitive time had his place due unto that see among other patriarchial churches, and due authority over and upon such churches as were within his precinct, and bordering near unto it, as appears by the acts of the Nicene council, yet the universal fulness and plenitude of power in both the regiments, spiritual and temporal, in deposing and dispensing matters of the church not to him belonging, in taking appeals, in giving elections, investing in benefices, in exempting himself from obedience and subjection of his ordinary power and magistracy, with his coactive power newly erected in the church of Rome, was never received nor used in the old Roman church, from the which they disagree in all their doings.

Exordium.

For although Victor, then bishop of Rome, about A.D. 190, went about to excommunicate the east churches, for the observation of Easter-day, yet neither did he proceed therein, neither was permitted by Irenæus so to do. And although Boniface I. likewise, writing to the bishops of Carthage, required of them to send up their appellations unto the church of Rome, alleging moreover the decree of the Nicene council for his authority; the bishops and clergy of Carthage assembling together in a general council (called the Sixth Council of Carthage) to the number of two hundred and seventeen bishops, after that they had perused the decrees in the authentic copies of the aforesaid Nicene council, and found no such matter as was by the said Boniface alleged, made therefore a public decree, that none out of that country should make any appeal over the sea. And what marvel if appeals were forbidden them to be made to Rome, when both here in England the kings of this land would not permit any to appeal from them to Rome, before king Henry II., who was thereunto compelled by pope Alexander III., because of the murder of Thomas Becket; and also in France, the like prohibitions were expressly made by Saint Louis, A.D. 1268, who did forbid by a public instrument called "pragmatica sanctio," all exactions of the pope's court within his realm. Also by king Philip the Fair, A.D. 1296, the like was done, who not only restrained all sending or going up of his subjects to Rome, but also that no money, armour, nor subsidy should be transported out of his realm.² The like also after him did king Charles V., surnamed the Wise, and his son likewise after him Charles VI., who also punished as traitors certain seditious persons for appealing to Rome. The like resistance, moreover, was in the said country of France, against the pope's reservations, preventions, and other like practices of his usurped jurisdiction, in the days of pope Martin V., A.D. 1418. Item, when king Henry VI. in England, and king Charles VII. in France, did both accord with the pope, in investing and in collation of benefices, yet, notwithstanding, the high court of parliament in France did not admit the same, but still maintained the old liberty and customs of the French church: insomuch that when the duke of

Victor stopped from his excommunication by Irenæus. Boniface I. falsifieth the council of Nice. The sixth council of Carthage

Appellations to Rome forbidden in England.

Appellations to Rome forbidden in France.

The pope's jurisdiction resisted in France.

(1) Nicen. Con. can. 6. Vide infra, p. 31.

(2) Ex Aimonio de gestis Francorum, lib. v. cap. 33.

Exordium. Bedford came with the king's letters patent to have the pope's procurations and reservations admitted, yet the court of parliament would not agree to the same, but the king's procurator-general was fain to go betwixt them, as is to be seen in their registers, A.D. 1425, the 5th day of March. In the days of the which king Charles VII. was set forth in France "pragmatica sanctio," as they call it, against the annates, reservations, expectatives, and such other proceedings of the pope's pretended jurisdiction, A.D. 1438. Wherefore, what marvel if this jurisdiction of the pope's court in excommunicating, taking appeals, and giving of benefices, was not used in the old church of Rome, when in these latter days it hath been so much resisted?

The pragmatic sanction.

EVIDENCES PROVING ECCLESIASTICAL PERSONS TO HAVE BEEN
SUBJECT TO THEIR MAGISTRATES IN CAUSES BOTH
ECCLESIASTICAL AND TEMPORAL.

The pope's jurisdiction concerning elections examined. And what should I speak of the form and manner of elections now used in the church of Rome, clean converted from the manner of the old church of their predecessors? For, first, in those ancient days, when yet the church remained in the apostles only, and a few other disciples, the apostles then, with prayer and imposition of hands, elected bishops and ministers; as, by the apostles, James was made bishop of Jerusalem, Paul in Crete elected Titus, and Timothy in Ephesus: also Peter ordained Linus and Clement in Rome, etc. After which time of the apostles, when the church began more to multiply, the election of bishops and ministers stood by the clergy and the people, with the consent of the chief magistrate of the place, and so continued during all the time of the primitive church, till the time and after the time of Constantine IV., emperor of Constantinople, which emperor (as write Platina and Sabellicus)¹ published a law concerning the election of the Roman bishop, that he should be taken for true bishop, whom the clergy and people of Rome did choose and elect, without any tarrying for any authority of the emperor of Constantinople, or the deputy of Italy: so as the custom and fashion had ever been before that day, A.D. 280. And here the bishops began first to writhe out their elections and their necks a little from the emperor's subjection, if it be so as the said Platina, and Sabellicus after him, report. But many conjectures there be, not unprofitable, rather to think this constitution of Constantine to be forged and untrue: first, for that it is derived² from the pope's bibliothecary, that is to say, from the keeper and master of the pope's library, a suspected author, who, whatsoever feigned or apocryphal writings he could find in the pope's chests of records, making any thing on his master's side, that he compiled together, and thereof both Platina, Sabellicus, and Gratian take most part of their reports, and therefore may the more be suspected.

Constantine IV. The master of the pope's library suspected. The constitution of Constantine examined.

Secondly, whereas Platina and Sabellicus say, that this Constantine IV. was moved by the holiness of pope Benedict II. to make that constitution, how seemeth that to stand with truth, when both the emperor was so far off from him, being at Constantinople. and

(1) Ennead 8. lib. vi.

(2) See Molinæus, tom. iv. p. 357.—Ed.

also for that the said pope reigned but ten months? which was but a small time to make his holiness known to the emperor so far off. And grant he were so holy, yet that holiness might rather be an occasion for the emperor so to confirm and maintain the old received manner of his institution, than to alter it.

The third conjecture is this, for that the said constitution was not observed, but shortly after by the said Benedict, was broken in the election of pope Conon.¹ And yet notwithstanding, albeit the constitution were true, yet the election thereby was not taken away from the people, and limited to the clergy only, and much less might be taken away from the clergy, and be limited only to the cardinals, without the consent of their prince and ruler, according to their own rubric in their decrees, where the rubric saith:² "Let no bishop be given to any people against their wills; but let the consent and desire both of the clergy and of the people, and of the order, be also required," etc. And in the same distinction,³ also, we read the same liberty and interest to be granted by Charlemagne and Louis his son; not to a few cardinals only, but to the order as well of the clergy, as of the people, to choose not only the bishop of Rome, but any other bishop within their own diocese whatsoever, and to the monks likewise to choose their own abbot, setting aside all respect of persons and gifts, only for the worthiness of life, and gift of wisdom, so as might be most profitable for doctrine and example unto the flock, etc. And this continued till the time of the aforesaid Charlemagne and Louis his son, of the which two, Charlemagne the father received expressly of pope Adrian I., A.D. 775, full jurisdiction and power to elect and ordain the bishop of Rome, like as did also Otho, the first German emperor, of pope Leo VIII., A.D. 961. The other, that is Louis, son to the aforesaid Charlemagne, is said to renounce again, and surrender from himself and his successors, unto pope Paschal and the Romans, the right and interest of choosing the Roman bishop, and moreover to give and grant to the said Paschal the full possession of the city of Rome, and the whole territory to the same belonging, A.D. 821; as appeareth by the decree, "Ego Ludovicus."⁴ But admit that feigned decree to be unfeignedly true (as it may well be suspected for many causes, as proceeding out of the same fountain with the constitution of Constantine aforementioned, that is, from the master of the pope's library, of whom both Gratian and Volateran, by their own confession, take their ground), yet the same decree doth not so give away the freedom of that election, that he limiteth it only to the cardinals, but also requireth the whole consent of the Romans; neither doth he simply and absolutely give the same, but with condition:⁵—"Whomsoever all the Romans with one counsel, and with one accord, without any promise of their voices granted before, shall choose to be bishop of Rome." And moreover in the same decree is required, that at the consecration of the said bishop, messengers should be directed incontinent to the French king concerning the same.

Exordium.

Liberty granted to the clergy, and to the people to choose their bishop.

The decree, "Ego Ludovicus," suspected. Gratian and Volateran, what ground they have of their records. Election of the pope by the clergy and people of Rome.

(1) He took his election from Theodosius, exarch of Ravenna. Vid. Platin. vit. Conon.

(2) "De ordinatione episcopi: nullus invitatus detur episcopus; clerici, plebs, et ordinis consensus et desiderium requiratur," etc.—Rubrica de ordinatione episc. ex Cælestino Papa Dist. 61. § 13; Dist. 63. cap. 26. "Cleri." (3) Dist. 63. § 34, "Sacrorum."—Ed.

(4) Dist. 63. [§ 39. The copy in the "Corpus Juris Canonici" varies a little from that quoted by Foxe. Page 86. Edit. Paris, 1687.—Ed.]

(5) "Omnes Romani uno consilio, et una concordia, sine aliquâ promissione, ad pontificatus ordinem eligerint."—Dist. 63. cap. "Ego Ludov."

Exordium.

The decree, "Ego Ludovicus," proved false.

The judiciary power of the pope.

His jurisdiction usurped in giving and disposing of ecclesiastical promotions.

Furthermore, neither yet did the same decree (albeit it were true) long continue. For although pope Stephen IV. and pope Paschal I. in Louis's time were impasied through discord, without election of the emperor, yet they were fain by message to send their purgation to him of their election. And after that, in the time of Eugene II., who succeeded next to Paschal, Lothaire son of Louis, and emperor with his father, came to Rome, and there appointed laws and magistrates over the city. Whereby may appear the donation of Louis, in giving away the city of Rome to the pope, to be feigned. And after Eugene, pope Gregory IV., who followed in about three years, durst not take his election without the consent and confirmation of the said emperor Louis. And so in like manner his successors, pope Sergius II., pope Leo IV., pope Nicholas I.; and so orderly in a long tract of time, from the aforesaid Nicholas I. to pope Nicholas II., A.D. 1059 (which Nicholas in his decree, beginning "In nomine Domini," ordained also the same); so that in the election of the bishops of Rome, commonly the consent of the emperor and the people with the clergy of Rome was not lacking. After which Nicholas, came Alexander II., and wicked Hildebrand; which Alexander being first elected without the emperor's will and consent, afterward repenting the same openly in his preaching to the people, declared that he would no longer sit in the apostolical see, unless he were by the emperor confirmed. Wherefore he was greatly rebuked, and cast into prison by Hildebrand, and so deposed. Then Hildebrand and his followers so ordered the matter of this election, that first the emperor, then the lay people, after that the clergy, also, began to be excluded. And so the election by little and little was reduced to the hands of a few cardinals, contrary to all ancient order, where, ever since, it hath remained.

And like as in elections, so also in power judiciary, in deciding, and determining of causes of faith, and of ecclesiastical discipline, the state of the church of Rome now being, hath no conformity with the old Roman church heretofore. For then bishops debated all causes of faith only by the Scriptures, and other questions of ecclesiastical discipline they determined by the canons, not of the pope, but of the church, such as were decreed by the ancient councils, as writeth Gregory of Tours.² Whereas now, both the rule of scripture and sanctions of the old councils set aside, all things for the most part are decided by certain new decretal and "extravagant," that is, extra-decretal constitutions, in the pope's canon law compiled, and in his consistories practised.

And whereas the old ordinance and disposition, as well of the common law as of the sacred councils, and the institution of ancient fathers, have given to bishops, and other prelates, also to patrons and doctors of ecclesiastical benefices, every one within his own precinct and dominion, also to cathedral churches and others, to have their free elections, and to prosecute the same in full effect; ordering and disposing promotions, collations, provisions and dispositions of prelaties, dignities, and all other ecclesiastical benefices whatsoever, after their own arbitrement, as appeareth by the first general council

(1) Dist. 23. cap. 1. "In nomine Domini."

(2) G. Turonens. in Francorum historiâ, lib. x. cap. 18

of France;¹ by the first general council of Nice;² also by the general council of Antioch, and is to be seen in the pope's decrees;³ and likewise, beside these ancient decrees, the same is confirmed again in more later years by Louis IX. the French king, in his constitution, called "Pragmatica sanctio," made and provided by full parliament against the pope's exactions, A.D. 1268, in these words as follow.⁴ "Item, the exactions and importable burdens of money, which the court of Rome hath imposed upon the church of our kingdom (whereby our said kingdom hath been miserably hitherto impoverished), or hereafter shall impose, we utterly discharge and forbid to be levied or collected hereafter, unless there come some reasonable, godly, and most urgent cause and inevitable necessity; and even then not without the express and voluntary commandment of us, and of the aforesaid church of our kingdom." Now, contrary to and against these so manifest and express decreements of general councils, and constitutions synodal, this latter church of Rome of late presumption, degenerating from all the steps of their ancestors, have taken upon them a singular jurisdiction by themselves and for their own advantage, to intermeddle in disposing and transposing churches, colleges, monasteries, with the collations, exemptions, elections, goods, and lands, to the same belonging: by reason and example whereof have come in these impropriations, first-fruits, and reservations of benefices, to the miserable despoiling of the clergy, and horrible decay of christian faith; which things among the old Roman fathers were never known. For so far was it then from being the case that due necessities were plucked from the church, that emperors, kings, and princes, plucking from their own, did rather cumulate the church with superfluities.

Exordium.

The councils of Nice and of Antioch.

Impropriations and first fruits of benefices.

Again, when such goods were given the church by those ancestors, they were neither so given, nor yet taken, to serve the private use of certain churchmen taking no pains therein, but rather to serve the public subvention of the needy, as is contained in the canonical institutions⁵ by the emperor Louis the Pious, set forth A.D. 830. The words be these: "The goods of the church are the vows and bequests of the faithful, the fines of sinners in satisfaction for their crimes, and patrimonies to succour them with hospitality, that are needy."

Whereunto agreeth also the testimony of Prosper, whose words be these:⁶ "Good men took not the goods of the church as their own, but distributed them as given and bequeathed to the poor." And saith moreover:⁷ "Whatsoever the church hath, it hath in common with all such as have nothing."

The words of Prosper.

The words of Augustine.

Add the worthy testimony of St. Augustine to Boniface: "Si

(1) [Causa] 16. quæst. 7. cap. [10.] "Omnes Basilicæ."

(2) Can. 6.

(3) Causa 9. quæst. 3. cap. 2. "Per singulas."

(4) "Item, exactiones et onera gravissima pecuniarum, per curiam Romanam ecclesiæ regni nostri impositas vel impositas (quibus regnum miserabiliter depauperatum existit) sive etiam imponendas vel imponenda levare aut colligi nullatenus volumus: nisi duntaxat pro rationabili, piâ et urgentissimâ causâ, vel inevitabili necessitate, ac etiam de expresso, et spontaneo Jussu nostro, et ipsius ecclesiæ regni nostri," etc. [More evidence on this particular case may be seen, if desired, in Riveti Jesuita Vap. (Lug. Bat. 1635.) cap. 18. § 4 and 5.—Ed.]

(5) Institutiones Canonice sub Ludovico Pio. [lib. 1. cap. 83, in "Karoli Magni et Ludovici Pii capitula sive leges eccles. ab Ansegiso collectæ:" Paris, 1588.—Ed.] "Res ecclesiæ vota sunt fidelium, pretia peccatorum, et patrimonium pauperum." [See note in the Appendix.—Ed.]

(6) "Viros sanctos ecclesiæ res non vendicasse ut proprias, sed ut commendatas pauperibus divisisse." Prosper de Vitâ Contemplativâ, lib. ii. cap. 9.—Ed.

(7) "Quod habet ecclesia, cum omnibus nihil habentibus habet commune."—Ibid.

Exordium.

autem privatim, quæ nobis sufficient possidemus, non sunt illa nostra, sed pauperum, quorum procuracionem quodammodo gerimus, non proprietatem nobis usurpatione damnabili vendicamus," etc.¹.

Vowsons and pluralities.

Likewise vowsons and pluralities of benefices were things then as much unknown, as now they are pernicious to the church, taking away all free election of ministers from the flock of Christ.

Three points wherein the pope's church erreth in his jurisdiction.

All which inconveniences as they first came and crept in chiefly by the pretended authority and jurisdiction abused in this latter church of Rome, so it cannot be denied, but the said latter church of Rome hath taken and attributed to itself much more than either the limits of God's word do give, or standeth with the example of the old Roman church, in these three things especial. Whereof as mention is touched before, so briefly I will recapitulate the same.

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction falsely restrained and inappropriate to the church of Rome, which ought to be generally equal to all christian churches.

The first is this: that whatsoever the Scripture giveth and referreth, either to the whole church universally, or to every particular church severally, this church now of Rome doth arrogate to itself absolutely and only; both doing injury to other churches, and also abusing the Scriptures of God. For albeit, the Scripture doth give authority to bind and loose, it limiteth it neither to person nor place, that is, neither to the city of Rome only, more than to other cities, nor to the see of Peter, more than to other apostles, but giveth it clearly to the church, whereof Peter did bear the figure; so that wheresoever the true church of Christ is, there is annexed power to bind and loose, given and taken merely as from Christ, and not mediately by the pope or bishop of Peter's see.

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction abused and extended in the church of Rome further than the Word limiteth.

The second point wherein this present church of Rome abuses its jurisdiction contrary to the Scripture and steps of the old Roman church, is this: for that it extendeth its authority farther and more amply than either the warrant of God's word, or example of time, will give. For although the church of Rome hath (as other particular churches have) authority to bind and absolve, yet it hath no such authority to absolve subjects from their oath, subjection, and loyalty to their rulers and magistrates; to dispense with perjury; to pronounce remission where no earnest repentance is seen before; to number remission by days and years; to dispense with things expressly in the word forbidden, or to restrain that which the word maketh free; to divide religion into religions; to bind and burden consciences with constitutions of men; to excommunicate for worldly matters,—as for breaking of parks, for not ringing of bells at the bishops' coming, for not bringing litter for their horse, for not paying their fees and rents, for withholding the church goods, for holding on their prince's side in princely cases, for not going at the pope's commandment, for not agreeing to the pope's election in another prince's realm; with other such things more, and more vain than these. Again, although the Scripture giveth leave and authority to the bishop and church of Rome to minister sacraments, yet it giveth no authority to make sacraments, much less to worship sacraments. And though their authority serveth to baptize men, yet it extendeth not to christen bells; neither have they authority by any word of God to add to the word of God, or take from the same, to set up unwritten verities under pain of damnation, to make fresh

Christening bells.

(1) Aug. ad Bon. Epist. 135. § 25.—Ed.

articles of belief, or to institute strange worship, otherwise than He hath prescribed who hath told us how he would be worshipped.

Exordium.

The third abuse of the pope's jurisdiction standeth in this; that as in spiritual jurisdiction they have vehemently exceeded the bounds of Scripture, so they have impudently intermeddled themselves in temporal jurisdiction, wherein they have nothing to do;¹ inso-much that they have translated the empire, they have deposed emperors, kings, princes, rulers, and senators of Rome, and set up others, or the same again at their pleasure; they have proclaimed wars, and have warred themselves. And whereas emperors in ancient time have dignified them in titles, have enlarged them with donations, yet they, receiving their confirmation by the emperors, have, like ungrateful clients to such benefactors, afterward stamped upon their necks, have made them to hold their stirrup,² some to hold the bridle of their horse, and have caused them to seek their confirmation at their hand; yea, have been emperors themselves, "sede vacante, et in discordiâ electionis," and also have been senators of the city; moreover, have extorted into their own hands the plenary fulness of power and jurisdiction of both the swords, especially since the time of pope Hildebrand; which Hildebrand, deposing the emperor, Henry IV., made him give attendance at his city gate. And after him pope Boniface VIII. showed himself to the people on the first day like a bishop, with his keys before him; and the next day in his robes imperial, having a naked sword borne before him, like an emperor, A.D. 1300.

The jurisdiction of the pope abused and usurped in temporal matters where he has nothing to do.

And forsomuch as this inordinate jurisdiction hath not only been used of them, but also to this day is maintained in Rome; let us therefore now compare the usage hereof to the old manner in times past, meaning the primitive and first age of the church of the Romans; wherein the old bishops of Rome in those days, as they were then subject to their emperor, so were other bishops in like manner of other nations subject every one to his king and prince, acknowledging them for their lords; and were ordered by their authority, and obeyed their laws, and that not only in causes civil, but also in regiment ecclesiastical.

So was Gregory, surnamed the Great, subject to Mauritius, and to Phocas, although a wicked emperor. So also both the pope and people of Rome took their laws of the emperors of Constantinople, and were subject to them, not only in the time of Honorius, a hundred years after Constantine the Great, but also in the time of Martian, A.D. 451, and so further unto the time of Justinian and of Charlemagne, and also after their days.³ In all which continuance of time, it is manifest, that the imperial law of Martian did rule and bind in Rome. both in the days of Justinian, and one hundred and fifty years after, till the time of the empire being translated from Greece unto France. Whereby it is clearly false, that the city of Rome was given by Constantine I. unto the bishop of Rome to govern: for that pope Boniface I., writing to the emperor Honorius, calleth in the same place Rome the emperor's city.⁴ And

Popes submitted in the old time to emperors.

(1) As appeareth, Dist. 10, cap. 1 and 2; Dist. 97; [causa] 24, quest. 3 [cap. 6], "De illicita."

(2) See Jewel's "Defence of the Apology," part 4, chap. 7, div. 3.—Ed.

(3) [Decret. Greg. IX lib. ii.] De Juramentis calumniæ, [tit. 7.]—Ed.

(4) Dist. 97, cap. 1.

Exordium.

the emperor Lothaire also appointed magistrates and laws in Rome, as is above mentioned.¹

Moreover, for further probation hereof, that both the bishop of Rome, and all other ecclesiastical persons were in former time, and ought to be subject to their emperors and lawful magistrates, in causes as well spiritual as civil, by many evidences may appear, taken out both of God's law and man's law. And first by God's law, we have example of godly king David, who numbered all the priests and Levites, and disposed them into four-and-twenty orders or courses, appointing them continually to serve in the ministry, every one as his proper order and turn came about: which institution of the clergy good king Hezekiah, also, afterward renewed, of whom it is written: "He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all things as his father David had done before: he took away the high groves, and brake down images," etc.² The said Hezekiah also reduced the priests and Levites unto their orders prescribed by David before, to serve every one in his office of ministration.³ And this order from David still continued till the time of Zachary, at the coming of Christ our Lord, being of Abias' course, which was the eighth order of the priests appointed to serve in the tabernacle.⁴ To pass over other lighter offices translated from the priests' to the kings' authority, as concerning the ordering of oblations in the temple, and reparations of the Lord's house,⁵ king Solomon displaced Abiathar the high-priest by his kingly power, and placed Sadoc in his stead.⁶ Also, dedicating the temple of the Lord with all the people, he "blessed the whole congregation of Israel."⁷ Judas Maccabeus also elected priests, such as were without spot and had a zeal to the law of the Lord, to purge the temple, which the idolatrous Gentiles had before profaned.⁸ Also king Alexander, writing to Jonathan, appointed him chief priest in his country.⁹ Demetrius ordained Simon and Alcimus in the like office of priesthood.¹⁰ Jehoshaphat likewise, as in the whole land he did set judges, so also in Jerusalem he appointed Levites and priests, and heads of families to have the hearing of causes, and to minister judgment over the people.¹¹

By these and many other examples it is to be seen, that kings and princes in the old time, as well when priests were born priests, as when they were made by election, had the dealing also in ecclesiastical matters; as, in calling the people to God's service, in cutting down groves, in destroying images, in gathering tithes into the Lord's house, in dedicating the temple, in blessing the people, in casting down the brazen serpent within the temple, in correcting and deposing priests, in constituting the order and offices of priests, in commanding such things as pertained to the service and worship of God, and in punishing the contrary. And in the New Testament, what meaneth the example of Christ himself, both giving and teaching tribute to be given to Cæsar? to Cæsar, I say, and not to the high-priest. What meaneth his words to Pilate, not denying power to be given to him from above?¹² And again, declaring the kings of nations to have dominion over them, and willing his disciples not so to do, giving us

(1) Plat. in vitâ Eugē. ii.

(4) 1 Chron. xxiv. 10; Luke i. 8.

(7) 1 Kings viii. 14.

(10) 1 Mac. vii. 9; xiv. 38.

(2) 2 Kings xviii. 3, 4.

(5) 2 Kings xii. xxiii.

(8) 1 Mac. iv. 42.

(11) 2 Chron. xix. 8.

(3) 2 Chron. xxix. xxx. xxxi.

(6) 1 Kings ii. 27.

(9) 1 Mac. x. 19.

(12) John xix. 11.

to understand the difference between the regiment of his spiritual kingdom, and of the kingdoms of this world, willing all worldly states to be subject under the superior rulers and magistrates, in whose regiment are dominion and subjection, and not in the other. Whereunto accordeth also the doctrine of St. Paul, where it is written: "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,"¹ from whose authority, neither pope, cardinal, patriarch, bishop, priest, friar nor monk is excepted nor exempted: as Theophylact, expounding the same place declareth and saith, "He teacheth all sorts, whether he be priest, or monk, or else apostle, that they should submit themselves under their princes," etc.² And St. Augustine writing to Boniface saith in much like sort: "Whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the emperor, which make for the verity of God, incurreth the danger of great punishment," etc.³ Also, in another place, writing against Cresconius, he hath these words: "Kings, according as it is enjoined them of God, do serve God in that they are kings, if they in their kingdoms command those things that be good, and forbid things that be evil, such as appertain not only to human society, but also to God's religion," etc.⁴ And yet, to come more near to the pope's own doctors, Thomas Aquinas, not much discrepant from the injunction of the apostle above alleged, thus describeth the office of a king: "Let a king," saith he, "understand, that he hath taken this office upon him to be as the soul within the body, and as God in the world."⁵ In like agreement with the holy apostle St. Paul joineth also St. Peter: "Be you subject," saith he "to every human creature, whether it be to the king as most pre-eminent, or to others set over you," etc.⁶ Where the common gloss addeth thereto, "To obey the same, whether they be good or evil." These places rightly pondered, let any man now judge, whether the pope hath not done open wrong to the emperor, in exalting himself above the jurisdiction of his lawful prince and magistrate, notwithstanding whatsoever his own canon law saith to the contrary.

Exordium.

Theophylact.

And as it is sufficiently hitherto proved by God's law, that all ecclesiastical persons owe their due subjection to their lawful princes, in matters as well temporal as spiritual: so no less evidences may also be inferred out of man's law, and examples of the oldest fathers to prove the same. And first, to begin with the example of Gregory the Great, who in his epistle to Mauritius, writeth thus: "You were then 'my lord,' when you were not the lord of the whole empire: behold Christ himself shall make you answer by me, which am his most simple servant and yours," etc.⁷ And before him Eleutherius his predecessor, bishop of Rome, writing to Lucius, king of this realm, calleth him by the name of Christ's vicar. But what needeth much confirmation of this matter, when the pope's decrees and canons be full of records hereof, testifying how the ancient church of Rome, not

The pope calleth king Lucius Christ's vicar.

(1) Rom. xlii. 1.

(2) "Universos erudit, sive sacerdos sit ille, sive monachus, sive apostolus, ut se principibus subdant."

(3) "Quicumque autem legibus imperatoris, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande supplicium."—Aug. ad Bonifacium. [Epist. 185. § 8. Edit. Ben. 1688.—Ed.]

(4) "In hoc enim reges, sicut eis divinitus præcipitur, Deo serviunt in quantum reges sunt, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam quæ ad divinam religionem," etc.—Aug. contra Cresconium, lib. iii. cap. 51.

(5) "Hoc, inquit, officium rex se suscepisse cognoscat, ut sit in regno sicut in corpore anima, et sicut Deus in mundo," etc.—Thom. Aquinas "de Regim. princip." lib. i. cap. 32.

(6) 1 Pet. ii. 13.

(7) "Dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc dominus omnium non eras; ecce per me servum ultimum suum et vestrum respondebit Christus," etc.—Greg. ad Mauric. Aug. lib. iii. Epist. 61.

*Exor-
dium.*

only received, but also required of the emperors, laws and constitutions to be made, touching not only such causes, but also such persons as were ecclesiastical? And here, to omit by the way the chapter "Principes seculi," also the chapter "Administratores,"¹ with divers other beside, I will recite out of the epistle of Boniface I. to the emperor Honorius, so much as serveth for our purpose;² where it is mentioned, that the said Boniface, bishop of Rome, sent an humble supplication to the aforementioned emperor, desiring him, by his authority, to provide some remedy against the ambitious contentions of the clergy, concerning the bishopric of Rome: which emperor Honorius, incontinent at his request, directed and established a law, that none should be made bishop of Rome through ambition, and charging all ecclesiastical ministers to surcease from ambition; appointing moreover, that if two were elected together, neither of them both should be taken, but the election to proceed further to another, to be chosen by a full consent of voices.³

To this I adjoin also the law and constitution of Justinian the emperor, ratified and renewed afterward in the council of Paris, in time of king Louis the Pious; where all bishops and priests be expressly forbidden not to excommunicate any man, before his cause was known and proved to be such as, for the which, the ancient canons of the church would have him to be excommunicate. And if any should otherwise proceed contrary to the same, then the excommunicate person to be absolved by the authority of a higher decree, and the excommunicate to be sequestered from the communion, so long as should seem convenient to him that had the execution thereof.⁴ The same Justinian, moreover, in his laws and constitutions, how many things did he dispose and ordain in church matters; as to have a determinate number of churchmen or clerks in churches;⁵ also concerning monasteries and monks;⁶ how bishops and priests should be ordained;⁷ concerning removing of ecclesiastical persons from one church to another;⁸ also concerning the constitution of the churches in Africa;⁹ and that the holy mysteries should not be done in private houses, so that whosoever should attempt the contrary, should be deprived;¹⁰ moreover, concerning clerks leaving their churches;¹¹ also concerning the order and manner of funerals;¹² and that bishops should not keep from their flock.¹³ The same Justinian granted to the clergy of Constantinople the privilege of the spiritual court, in certain causes only civil, and not belonging to the bishop's cognizance; otherwise in all criminal causes he left them to the judgment of the secular court.¹⁴ He giveth also laws and decrees for breach of matrimony, in his Constitutions, and in divers other places. And, after the doctrine of St. Paul, he commandeth all bishops and priests to sound out their service, and to celebrate the mysteries, not after a secret manner, but with a loud voice, so as they might not only be heard, but also be understood of the faithful people, what was said and done.¹⁵ Whereby it is to be gathered, that divine prayers and service were then in the vulgar tongue.

Divine
service
used in
the vul-
gar
tongue.

(1) [Causa] 23. quæst. 5. [cap. 20.] "Principes;" cap. [26.] "Administratores."

(2) Dist. 97. cap. [1.] "Ecclesiæ;" cap. [2.] "Victor."

(3) Dist. 79. cap. 8. "Si duo."

(4) Causa 24. q. 3. cap. 6. "De illicita."

(5) Justinian. Novell. Const. 3. [Corpus Juris Canonici, Paris, 1628, tom. ii., whence the following references have been corrected.—Ed.]

(6) Ibid. 5.

(7) Ibid. 6.

(8) Ibid. 16.

(9) Ibid. 37.

(10) Ibid. 56.

(11) Ibid. 57.

(12) Ibid. 59.

(13) Ibid. 67.

(14) Ibid. 83.

(15) Ibid. 137.

And as the said Justinian, and other emperors in those days, had the jurisdiction and government over spiritual matters and persons, the like examples also may be brought of other kings in other lands, who had no less authority in their realms, than emperors had in their empire. As in France, Clovis, the first christened king, caused a council to be called at Orleans, of thirty-two bishops,¹ where thirty-one canons were instituted concerning the government of the church, about five hundred² years after Christ. Charlemagne, beside his other laws and edicts political, called five synods,³ one at Mentz, the second at Rouen,⁴ the third at Rheims, the fourth at Chalons upon the Saone, and the fifth at Arles, where sundry rites and ordinances were given to the clergy, about eight hundred and thirteen years after Christ. The same Charlemagne also decreed, that only the canonical books of Scripture should be read in the church, and none other.⁵ Which before also was decreed A.D. 397, in the third general council of Carthage.⁶ Item, he exhorteth and chargeth bishops and priests to preach the word, with a godly injunction to bishops; "The bishops, either by themselves or their deputies, shall set forth the food of God's word to the people with all diligence. For, as St. Gregory saith, the priest which goeth without the sound of preaching procureth against himself the wrath of the secret Judge. And also they shall bring up their clergy to them committed, in soberness and chastity. The superstition which in certain places is used of some, about the funerals of the dead, let them exterminate and pluck up by the roots."⁷

Exordium.

Charlemagne.

Canonical Scripture only to be read.

Bishops and priests charged to preach with diligence. Superstition at funerals forbidden.

Moreover, instructing and informing the said bishops and priests in the office of preaching, he willeth them not to suffer any to feign or preach to the people any new doctrine of their own invention, and not agreeing to the word of God; but that they themselves both will preach such things as lead to eternal life, and also that they set up others to do the same: and joineth withal a godly exhortation: "Ideo, dilectissimi, toto corde præparemus nos in scientiâ veritatis, ut possimus contradicentibus veritati resistere: et divinâ donante gratiâ verbum Dei currat et crescat, et multiplicetur, in profectum ecclesiæ Dei sanctæ, et salutem animarum nostrarum, et laudem et gloriam nominis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Pax prædicantibus, gratia obedientibus, gloria Domino nostro Jesu Christo, Amen." ⁸ Furthermore, the said Charlemagne, in his Constitutions, divideth the goods given to the church, so that, in the more wealthy places, two parts should go to the use of the poor, the third to the stipend of the clergy. Otherwise, in poorer places, an equal division to be made between the poor and the clergy, unless the gift had some special

(1) Foxe (copying Molinæus) says thirty-three; but see "Labbe," tom. iv. col. 1433, with the title "xxxii. Episcoporum;" anno 511; and the Magdeburg "Centuriators," (cent. 6. col. 244, edit. Basil. 1624).—Ed.

(2) A.D. 511.—Ed.

(3) See Labbe, tom. vii. col. 1231—71.—Ed.

(4) "Rome" (in Foxe's text) is a mere slip for Roan or Rouen, which is the reading in Molinæus, who quotes Abbas Urspergensis, a chronicler of the 13th century: but Regino, abbot of Prum, who published his chronicle about A.D. 900, says "Tours." Also Labbe, Cou. General. tom. vii. col. 1239, and M. Westmon. p. 153, an. 813.—Ed.

(5) Ansegi. Capit. lib. i. cap. 20.

(6) Conc. Carthag. 3. c. 47. Labbe places this council under 397; tom. ii. col. 1165.—Ed.

(7) "Episcopus monemus ut sive per se, sive per vicarios, pabulum verbi divini sedulo populus annuntiet; quia, ut ait beatus Gregorius, iram contra se occulti judicis excitat sacerdos, si sine prædicationis sonitu incedit: et ut ipsi clerum sibi commissum in sobrietate et castitate nutrant: et ut superstitiones quas quibusdam in locis in exequiis mortuorum nonnulli faciunt, eradcent." Ansegi., Capit. lib. i. cap. 82.

(8) Ibid. lib. i. cap. 109.—Ed.

*Exor-
dium.*

Louis the
Pious.

exception.¹ And in the same book, a little after,² the same author, Ansegisus, declareth it to be by the said Charlemagne decreed, that no ecclesiastical person or persons from thenceforth should presume to take, of any person, any such gift or donation whereby the children or kinsfolks of the said donor should be defeated of their inheritance duly to them belonging. Louis the Pious, king of France, and afterwards emperor, was son to the foresaid Charlemagne, who, being joined together with the said Charlemagne his father in the empire, ordained also with his father sundry acts and observances touching the government of the church, as in the author before alleged may be seen: as first, that no entry should be made into the church by simony;³ again, that bishops should be ordained by the free election of the clergy and of the people, without all respect of person or reward, only for the merit of life, and gift of heavenly wisdom.⁴

Also the said kings and emperors forbade that any freeman or citizen should enter the profession of monkery, without licence asked of the king before; and added a double cause wherefore: first, for that many not for mere devotion, but for idleness, and avoiding the king's wars, do give themselves to religion; again, for that many be craftily circumvented and deluded by subtle covetous persons, seeking to get from them that which they have.⁵ Item, that no young children or boys should be shaven, or enter any profession without the will of their parents. And no young maidens should take the veil or profession of a nun, before they came to sufficient discretion of years to discern and choose what they will follow. That none should be interred or buried thenceforth within the church:⁶ which also was decreed by Theodosius and Valentinian, four hundred years before them. Item, the said Charlemagne, two and twenty years before he was emperor, enacted that murderers, and such as were guilty of death by the law, should have no sanctuary by flying into the church: which also was decreed by Justinian three hundred years before this Charlemagne.⁷

Louis and
Clothaire.

Moreover, the aforesaid Louis the Pious, with his son Lothaire (or as some call him Clothaire) joined with him, among other ecclesiastical sanctions, ordained a godly law, for laymen⁸ to partake of the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, in these words: "That laymen do communicate at least thrice [a year], if not oftener, except they be let, percase, by some heinous and grievous offences." Item, they enacted that no goods of the church should be alienated under the pain "*Leoninæ constitutionis*."⁹ Unto this Lothaire, the French king and emperor, pope Leo IV. maketh suit, in these words:—"The Roman law (meaning the law of the French emperors), as it hath hitherto stood in force, so now it may continue still in its vigour and strength."¹⁰ About A.D. 848, after this Lothaire, succeeded his son Louis II. in the kingdom and empire of France, before whom the foresaid pope Leo was brought into judgment for treason,

(1) Ex Ansegiso, lib. i. cap. 87.

(2) Ibid. cap. 89.

(3) Ibid. cap. 19.

(4) Ibid. cap. 84.

(5) Ibid. cap. 120.

(6) Ibid. lib. i. cap. 101, 107, 159. "*De sacra Eccle.*"

(7) Justin. in Novel. 17. cap. 7.

(8) "*Ut si non frequentius, vel ter, laici homines communicent: nisi forte gravioribus quibusdam criminibus impediuntur.*"—Anseg. Capitul. lib. ii. cap. 45. The edition of Paris, 1588, reads, "*in anno communicent.*"—Ed.

(9) Ibid. ii. lib. cap. 29.

(10) "*Ita et nunc suum robur propriumque vigorem obtineat.*"—Dist. 10, cap. ult. "*Vestram.*" Decretum Ivonis Carnotensis, par. iv. cap. 181. [fol. L. edit. Basilæ, 1499.—Ed.]

and pleaded his cause; and there was, before the emperor, quit and released: which declareth that popes and bishops all this while were in subjection under their kings and emperors.¹

Exordium.

The pope pleadeth his cause before the emperor.

Moreover, descending yet to lower times, A.D. 1228, Louis IX. called Saint Louis, established a law or decree, against the new inventions, reservations, preventions, and exactions of the court of Rome; and in the same year, another law against the pestiferous simony prevailing in the church; also, A.D. 1268, he made a famous law for the maintenance of the liberty of the church of France, called "Pragmatica sanctio Sancti Ludovici," the which sanction was also practised long after in the kingdom of France against the pope's collectors and under-collectors, as appeareth by the Arestum of the parliament of Paris, A.D. 1463. Furthermore, king Philip the Fair, A.D. 1303, set forth a law called "Philippina," wherein was forbidden any exaction of new tithes and first fruits, and other unaccustomed collections, to be put upon the church of France. Charles V. named the Wise, A.D. 1369, by a law, commanded that no bishops nor prelates, or their officials within his kingdom of France, should execute any sentence of interdict, or excommunication, at the pope's commandment, over or upon the cities or towns, corporations, or commons of his realm.² Item, Charles VI. A.D. 1388, against the

Charles the Wise.

Charles VI.

cardinals and other officials and collectors of the pope, revoking again the power which he had given to them before, provided by a law, that the fruits and rents of benefices, with other pensions and bishops' goods, that departed, should no more be exported by the cardinals and the pope's collectors unto Rome, but should be brought to the king, and so restored to them to whom they did rightly appertain.³

The like also may be inferred and proved by the stories and examples of our kings here in England, as king Offa, and the kings Egbert, Edgar, Alfred, Ethelwold, Canute, Edward, William the Conqueror, William Rufus, Henry I., Henry II., till the time of king John, and after. Whose dealing, as well in ecclesiastical cases as temporal, is a sufficient demonstration to prove what injury the popes, in these latter days, have done unto the emperors, their lawful governors and magistrates, in usurping such fulness of power and jurisdiction over them, to whom properly they owe subjection; contrary to the steps and example of the old Roman bishops their ancestors: and therefore have incurred the danger of a *præmunire*, worthy to be deprived. Although it is not to be denied, but that ecclesiastical ministers and servitors have their power also committed unto them, after their sort, of the Lord, yet it becometh every man to know his own place and standing, and there to keep him, wherein his own precinct doth pale him; and not rashly to break out into other men's walks. As it is not lawful for a civil magistrate to intermeddle with a bishop's or a preacher's function, so unseemly and unorderedly it is again, that Boniface VIII. should have borne before him the temporal mace and naked sword of the emperor; or that any pope should bear a triple crown, or take upon him like a

(1) Causa 2. quæst. 7. cap. 41. "Nos si incompetenter." [See also Decretum Ivonis, par. 5. cap. 22.—Ed.]

(2) Ex regist. antiquarum constit. chart. 26.

(3) Ex Molinæo in Commentariis. [Molin. Opera, Par. 1681, tom. iv. pp. 308—9, § 13, 19. Some clauses have here been interchanged, to render the history correct.—Ed.]

Exordium.
The office
of the ec-
clesiasti-
cal mi-
nister.

lord and king. Wherefore let every man consider the compass and limitation of his charge, and exceed no further. The office of a bishop or servitor ecclesiastical, was in the old law to offer sacrifice, to burn incense, to pray for the people, to expound the law, to minister in the tabernacle, with which office it was not lawful for any prince or man else to intermeddle: as we read how Uzziah was punished for offering incense, and Uzzah for touching the ark, so now the office of christian ministers, is, to preach the word, to minister the sacraments, to pray, to bind and loose where cause urgently requireth; to judge in spiritual cases; to publish and denounce free reconciliation and remission in the name of Christ; to erect and comfort troubled consciences, with the rich grace of the gospel; to teach the people the true difference betwixt the law and the gospel, whereof the one belongeth to such as be not in Christ, and come not to him, the other pertaineth to the true believers in the Son of God: to admonish also the magistrates erring or transgressing in their office.

The office
of civil
rulers
and ma-
gistrates.

And as these properly belong to the function of the ecclesiastical sort, so hath the civil governor or magistrate again his proper charge and office to him assigned, which is, to see the administration of justice and judgment, to defend with power the right of the weak that suffer wrong, to defend from oppression the poor oppressed, to minister with equity that which is right and equal to every man, to provide laws good and godly, to see the execution of the same as cause moveth: especially to see the law of God maintained, to promote Christ's glory and gospel in setting up and sending out good preachers; in maintaining the same; in providing bishops to be elected that be faithful; in removing or else correcting the same being faulty or negligent; in congregating the clergy, when need is of any counsel or election, to hear their learning in causes propounded; and, according to the truth learned, to direct his judgment in disposing such rites and ordinances for the church as make to edification, not to the destruction thereof: in conserving the discipline of the church, and setting all things in a congruous order. Briefly, the office of the civil ruler and magistrate extendeth to minister justice and judgment in all courts, as well ecclesiastical as temporal; to have correction over all transgressors, whether they be laymen or persons ecclesiastical. And finally, all such things as belong to the moving of the sword whatsoever (that is to say, all outward punishment) are referred to the jurisdiction of the secular magistrate, under whose subjection the ordinance of God hath subjected all orders and states of men.

Here we have the witness also of Hormisdas, bishop of Rome, which being well weighed, maketh the matter plain, that princes have to deal in spiritual causes also, not only in temporal: where the said Hormisdas writeth to Epiphanius, patriarch of Constantinople in this sort: "*Clara celestis misericordiæ demonstratio procedit, quando reges seculi causas de fide cum gubernatione politiæ conjungunt.*" etc.¹ And thus much, and too much peradventure, concerning the matter of jurisdiction, in which point this new church of Rome hath swerved from the ancient church of Rome which was, as is sufficiently proved.

The third point wherein the church of Rome hath broken, and is

(1) Ex Act. v. univers. concil. Constantinop. anno 528; [518 in Labbe, tom. v. col. 151.—Ed.]

departed from the church of Rome, is the form of style and title annexed to the bishop of that see. As where he is called pope, most holy father, vicar general, and vicar of Christ, successor of Peter, universal bishop, prince of priests, head of the church universal,¹ head bishop of the world, the admiration of the world, neither God nor man, but a thing between both, etc.; for all these terms be given him in popish books. Albeit the name "pope," being a Greek name, derived of *Πάππας*, which soundeth as much as father in the Syracusan speech, may peradventure seem more tolerable, as one which hath been used in the old time among bishops; for so Augustine was called of the council of Africa, of Jerome, of Boniface, and others. Also Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was called *papa*.² Item, Clovis or (as Rhenanus calleth him) Louis, first christian king of France, calleth a certain simple bishop, *papam*;³ Jerome also, in his Epistle to Chromatius, calleth Valerian by the name of pope; and likewise writing to Eustathius and Fabiola, he calleth Epiphanius, "*beatum papam*." In the Apologies of Athanasius, we read oftentimes that he was called *papa*, and *archiepiscopus*. Ruffinus also calleth him *pontificem maximum*.⁴ Also Aurelius, president in the sixth council of Carthage, was called of the said council *papa*.⁵ And before this, Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, writing to king Lucius, the first christian king in this land, calleth him in his Epistle, the vicar of Christ, etc. But that any of these terms were so peculiarly applied to the bishop of Rome that other bishops were excluded from the same, or that any one bishop above the rest had the name of oecumenical, or "universal," or "head," to the derogation of other bishops, or with such glory as is now annexed to the same; that is not to be found neither in histories of the old time, nor in any example of the primitive church, nor in the testimonies of ancient approved doctors. First, before the council of Nice, it is evident by pope Pius II.⁶ that there was no [special] respect had then to the church of Rome, but every church was ruled by her own governance, till the year of our Lord, 325. Then followed the council of Nice, wherein was decreed, that throughout the whole university of Christ's church, which was now far spread over all the world, certain provinces or precincts, to the number of four, be appointed, every one to have his head church, and chief bishop, called by them metropolitan or patriarch, to have the oversight of such churches as did lie about him.⁷ In the number of which patriarchs or metropolitans, the bishop of Rome had the first place, the bishop of Alexandria was the second, the bishop of Antioch the third, the bishop of Jerusalem was the fourth patriarch. Afterward, to the number of these patriarchs came in also the bishop of Constantinople, ranking above the bishop of Alexandria.⁸ So these four or five metropolitans or patriarchs had their peculiar circuits and precincts to them peculiarly appointed, in such sort, as one of them

Exordium.

The third proof that the church of Rome is altered from the church of Rome. The titles and styles of the bishop of Rome.

Papa, a common name in the old time to all bishops of higher knowledge and virtue.

The four patriarchs appointed by the council of Nice.

(1) "Summus orbis Pontifex, Stupor mundi."
 (2) [Causa] 24. q. 1. cap. [18.] "Loquitur;" Dist. 50. cap. [35.] "De eo tamen." cap. 26. "Absit."
 [There is no title of "Papa" given to Cyprian in the first of these references in the edit. of Patis, 1687.—Ed.]
 (3) Greg. Turon. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 27.—Ed. (4) Ruffin. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 28.—Ed.
 (5) Ex Epistolâ Pii II. 301. [See his Epistles, Lugduni, 1505, but in the collected works, (Basil. 1571), the passage appears in Epist. 288, p. 802. "Ante Concilium Nicænum, sibi quisque vivebat, et ad Romanam ecclesiam parvus habebatur respectus."—Ed.]
 (6) Ex Epist. Pii II. 301. See Note (4) p. 39.
 (7) Ex concil. Nicæn. can. 6, 7. Labbe, Con. Gen. tom. ii. cols. 31 and 327.—Ed.
 (8) Ex 1. concil. Constantinop. can. 3. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 948.—Ed.

*Exor-
cium.*

should not deal within another's precinct, and also that there should be among them equality of honour, whereupon we read so oft in the decrees of the old councils of "equal degree of thrones, and of honour among priests and ministers."¹ Again, speaking of the said patriarchs or primates, we read in the second and third chapters of the council of Constantinople, "That bishops should not invade the diocese of other bishops without their borders, nor confound churches together," etc.² Moreover, the old doctors, for the most and best part, do accord in one sentence, that all bishops wheresoever placed in the church of God, "be of one merit, of like honour, and be all successors together of the apostles."³ Also, he that is the author of the book, called Dionysius Areopagita, calleth all the bishops "of equal order, and of like honour," etc.⁴ All this while the bishop of Rome was called a patriarch, and a metropolitan, or bishop of the first see; but no œcumenical bishop, nor head of the universal church, nor any such matter. Insomuch, that he, with all other bishops, was debarred from that, by a plain decree of the council of Carthage, in these words, "That the bishop of the first see shall not be called the prince of priests, or the high priest, or any such thing."⁵

And lest any here should take occasion of cavilling, to hear him called "bishop of the first see," here is to be expounded what is meant by the "first see," and wherefore he was so called: not for any dignity of the person, either of him which succeedeth, or of him whom he is said to succeed, but only of the place wherein he sitteth. This is plainly proved by the council of Chalcedon, wherein is manifestly declared the cause why the see of Rome, among all other patriarchal sees, is numbered for the first see by the ancient fathers: "The fathers," saith the council, "did worthily attribute the chief degree of honour to the see of old Rome," for why? "because," saith the council, "the principal seat of empire was in that city."⁶ The same also is confirmed by Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, who declareth, "That the excellency of the Roman empire did advance the popedom of the Roman bishop above other churches."⁷ Moreover, saith the said Eusebius, "The council," saith he, "of Nice gave this privilege to the bishop of Rome, that like as the king of the Romans is named emperor, above all other kings, so the bishop of the same city of Rome should be called pope, above other bishops."⁸ By these places hitherto alleged (and such other, many more than be

(1) "Τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα τῶν θρόνων, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς."—Ex concil. Constantinop. ii. cap. 26.

(2) "Ἐπισκόπους ταῖς ὑπερορίαις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπέναι, μηδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας."—Ex concil. Constantinop. i. can. 2. [Labbe, tom. ii. col. 948.—Ed.]

(3) "Ejusdem meriti et honoris, et successores apostolorum."

(4) "Ὁμοταγεῖς, καὶ ἰσοτιμοὺς."

(5) "Ὅστε τὸν τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἑξαρχὸν τῶν ἱερῶν, ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα, ἢ τοιοῦτότροπον τι ποτε."—Ex concil. Carthag. can. 39. [Labbe, tom. ii. col. 1069.—Ed.]

(6) "Καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας ῥώμης διὰ τὸ βασιλεῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἱ πατέρες εὐκόςως ἀποδοῦναι τὰ πρεσβεῖα."—Ex concil. Chalcedon. cap. 28. [Act 15. can. 28. p. 330, edit. Binli, 1618, or in Labbe, tom. iv. col. 770. "The modern Romanists do all they can to suppress or baffle this canon. The editors put a note before it, that it is not in their Greek MSS.; but that is no wonder, since it has been long the design of their church to conceal this canon; but that such a canon was really made at Chalcedon is apparent, not only from the 16th Action, where it was read at large, and allowed by the whole council, and confirmed by the lay-judges, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope's legates—but it is also found in all the Greek collectors, cited in Photius's 'Nomocanon,' (written above 900 years ago,) and is also extant in the old Latin interpreter," etc. See Comber's "Roman Forgeries in the Councils," (Lond. 1689,) part iii. p. 109; and Howel's "View of the Pontificate," (Lond. 1712.) p. 69.—Eu.]

(7) "Quod excellentia Romani imperii extulit papatum Romani pontificis supra alias ecclesias."—Ex Gabri. Biel. [Gabrielis Biel "Sacri Canonis Missæ Expositio," 4to. Tubingen, 1499, Lectio xxiii.—Eu.]

(8) "Nicæna synodus hoc contulit privilegium Romano pontifici, ut sicut Romanorum rex Augustus præ cæteris appellatur, ita Romanus pontifex præ cæteris episcopis papa vocaretur."—Ibid.

here alleged), it appeareth that though these titles of superiority had been attributed to the bishop of Rome, yet it remaineth certain, that the said bishop received that preferment¹ by man's law, not by the law of God. And so is the distinction of the pope's proved false, where is said, "That the church of Rome took not its primacy by any council, but only by the voice of God."² And this is to be said: although it were true that these titles and terms were so given to the bishop of Rome in the old time, yet how and by whom they were given, ye see.

Esordium.

The pope's decree proved false.

Now, to try this matter, as joining an issue with our adversaries, whether these aforesaid titles of sovereignty were applied in the old time of the primitive church to the bishop of Rome, as to be called the vicar-general of Christ, the head of the whole church, and universal bishop, remaineth to be proved. Whereto this in my mind is to be answered, that albeit the bishops of Rome of some (peradventure) were so called by the names of higher pre-eminence [in respect] of that city, of some going about to please them, or to crave some help at their hands; yet that calling, First, was used then but of a few: Secondly, neither was given to many: Thirdly, was rather given than sought for, of the most: Fourthly, was not so given that it maketh or can make any general necessity of law why every one is so bound to call them, as the bishop of Rome now seeketh to be taken and called, and that by necessity of salvation; as the decree of pope Boniface VIII. witnesseth, where is said, "That it standeth upon necessity of salvation, to believe the primacy of the church of Rome, and to be subject to the same," etc.³

Four points.

As touching therefore these titles and terms of pre-eminence aforesaid, orderly to set forth and declare what histories of times do say in that matter, by the grace of Christ, First, we will see what be the titles the bishop of Rome doth take and challenge to himself, and what is the meaning of them. Secondly, when they first came in; whether in the primitive time or not, and by whom. Thirdly, how they were first given to the Roman bishops; that is, whether of necessary duty, or voluntary devotion, whether commonly of the whole, or particularly of a few; and whether in respect of Peter, or in respect of the city, or else of the worthiness of the bishop which there sat. Fourthly, and if the aforesaid names were then given by certain bishops, unto the bishop of Rome, whether all the said names were given, or but certain, or what they were. Fifthly, or whether they were then received of all bishops of Rome, to whom they were given, or else refused of some. Sixthly, and finally, whether they ought to have been refused being given, or not. Touching the discourse of which matters, although it appertain to the profession rather of divines than historians, and would require a long and large debating, yet, forsomuch as both in these and divers other weighty

six points.

(1) Jure, non divino, sed humano.

(2) "Romanam ecclesiam non a concilio aliquo, sed a divinâ voce, primatum accepisse."

(3) "Quod sit de necessitate salutis ut credatur primatus ecclesiæ Rom. et ei subesse."—Boniface VIII. extravag. de majoritat. et obedient. [lib. i. tit. 8.] "unam." A more accurate citation of this passage will be: "Porro subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus dicimus definimus et pronunciamus esse de necessitate salutis. Datum Laterani, Pontif. nostri anno 8." See "Corpus Juris Canonici," tom. ii. pp. 394, 395. In the life of Boniface, by Rubei, (Romæ 1651,) the date is more particular, "xiv Cal. Decemb.;" p. 102. This solemn affirmation has received the distinct applause of several eminent writers in the church of Rome, which may be seen in "Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy," pp. 8, 9, edit. Oxford, 1836.—Ed.

Exordium.

controversies of divinity, the knowledge of times and histories must needs help divines disputing about the same, so much as the grace of Christ shall assist me therein, I will join to the seeking out of truth such help as I may.

What names and titles be attributed to the bishop of Rome.

The form of the pope's regality to his titles appertaining. Regalia sancti Petri.

And first, to begin with the names and titles now claimed and attributed to the see and bishop of Rome, and what they be, is sufficiently declared above, that is, "the chief priest of the world," "the prince of the church," "bishop apostolical," "the universal head of the church," "the head and bishop of the universal church," "the successor of Peter," "most holy pope," "vicar of God on earth," "neither God nor man, but a mixed thing between both," "the patriarch or metropolitan of the church of Rome," "the bishop of the first see," etc.¹ Unto the which titles or styles is annexed a triple crown, a triple cross, two crossed keys, a naked sword, seven-fold seals, in token of the seven-fold gifts of the Holy Ghost; he being carried pick-back upon men's shoulders, after the manner of the heathen kings, having all the empire and the emperor under his dominion. And that it is not convenient for any terrene prince to reign there, where he sitteth, having the plenary fulness of power, as well of temporal things as spiritual things in his hands. That all things are his, and that all such princes as have given him any thing, have given him but his own: having power at his will and pleasure to preach indulgences, and the cross against christian princes whatsoever. And that the emperor, and certain other princes, ought to make to him confession of subjection at their coronation: having authority to depose, and that he, *de facto*, hath deposed emperors and the king of France; also to absolve the subjects from their allegiance to their princes: whom kings have served for footmen to lead his horse, and the emperor to hold his stirrup. That he may and doth give power to bishops upon the bodies of men, and hath granted them to have prisons: without whose authority no general council hath any force; and to whom appellations in all manner of causes may and ought to be made. That his decrees be equal with the decrees of the Nicene council, and are to be observed and taken in no less force than if they had been confirmed with the heavenly voice of St. Peter himself.² Item, that the said bishop of Rome hath the heavenly disposition of things, and therefore may alter and change the nature of things, by applying the substance of one thing to another.³ Item, that he can of nothing make something; and cause the sentence, which before was null, to stand in effect; and may dispense above the law, and of injustice make justice, in correcting and changing laws, for he hath the fulness of power. And again,⁴ if the pope do

(1) Sext. Decret. lib. i. de elect. et electi potest. tit. 6, cap. 17, in præmio glossæ.

(2) Ex frat. Barth. et aliis.

(3) [Decretal. Greg. IX. lib. i.] tit. 7. § 3. De translat. Episc. "Quanto."

(4) "Dist. 40, cap. [6] si Papa" [The conclusion of the sentence quoted by Foxe is, "nisi deprehendatur a fide devius," which, in the present day, might be considered a great omission: but who is to judge *him* from whom there is no appeal? For we read in "Causa ix. quæst. 3, cap. 17," the following decision, "Cuncta per mundum novit ecclesia, quod sacrosancta Romana ecclesia fas de omnibus habeat judicandi, neque cuiquam de ejus liceat judicare judicio." A reforming member, however, of the church of Rome, John, bishop of Chiemsee, suffragan to the archbishop of Saltzburg, fully enters into this idea of the errability of a pope, so inconsistent to be held by a Latin priest: "At si papa, suæ et fraternalis salutis oblitus, tyrannus esse deprehenditur, aut inutilis, et remissus in suis operibus, a bono insuper taciturnus, offert sibi et omnibus: quoniam salus omnium ex ipso dependet, similiter et ejus perversitas in damnationem plurium cedit. Ideo perversus papa sine spe veniæ condemnandus est, ut diabolus." See "Onus Ecclesiæ, auctor est Joh. Epis. Chiemensis," etc. Coln. 1531, cap. 19, § 4.—Ed.]

lead with him innumerable souls by flocks into hell, yet no man must presume to rebuke his faults in this world. Item, That it standeth upon necessity of salvation to believe the primacy of the see of Rome, and to be subject to the same, etc.

These things thus declared, now let us see whether these names and titles, with the form and manner of this authority and regality above rehearsed, were ever attributed by any in the primitive time to the bishop of Rome: for all these he doth challenge and claim unto him by old possession from the time of St. Peter. And here a question is to be asked of our adversaries the papists, Whether they will avouch all these aforesaid titles, together with the whole form and tenor of regality to the same belonging as is afore touched, or not? If they will, let them come forth with their allegations; which they never have done yet, nor ever shall be able. If they will not, or cannot avouch them altogether in manner as is specified, then why doth the bishop claim them altogether so stoutly, usurp them so falsely, and obtrude them upon us so strictly? Moreover, if the said our adversaries, being convicted by plain evidence of history and examples of time, will yield unto us (as they must needs) in part, and not in the whole; let us come then to the particulars, and see what part of this regality they will defend, and derive from the ancient custom of the primitive church, that is, from the first five hundred years, I mean after Christ. First, in the council of Nice, which was A.D. 325, in the sixth canon of the said council we find it so decreed,¹ that in every province or precinct some one church, and bishop of the same, was appointed and set up to have the inspection and regiment of other churches about him. "After the ancient custom,"² as the words of our council do purport, "let the bishop of Alexandria have authority over all Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, forasmuch as the like custom hath obtained in the case of the bishop of Rome. In like manner, also, in the province of Antioch and in the other provinces let the pre-eminence be reserved to the metropolitan churches." It then follows in the seventh canon, that the bishop of Jerusalem, also, should enjoy the honour which belonged to him by usage and ancient tradition, provided only, that his metropolitan be not defrauded of his proper dignity. In this council, and in the said sixth and seventh canons, First, whereas the bishops of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch are joined together in one like manner of dignity, there appeareth no difference of honour to be meant therein: Secondly, forasmuch as in the said two canons, after mention made of them immediately followeth, that no bishop should be made without consent of the metropolitan, yea and that the bishop also of Jerusalem should be under his metropolitan, and (can. 4.) that the metropolitan should have the full power to confirm every bishop made in his province;³ therefore it may be well suspected, that the third epistle decretal of pope Anacletus and of pope Stephen, with other more, are forged;⁴ wherein these bishops, and especially the bishop of Rome, is exempted and dis severed from the name of a

(1) Ex concil. Nicæn. canon.

(2) "Secundum morem antiquum." Dist. 65, cap. 6. "Mos antiquus"

(3) Ex concil. Nicæn. canon. 4, 6, 7. Labbe, tom. ii. cols. 30, 31, 1595.

(4) [Most truly so: Blondel considers that the former was written A.D. 780. "Examen Epist. Decretal." (Genevæ, 1635,) p. 144; see also p. 336.—Ed.]

Exordium.

The bishop of Rome called metropolitan, archbishop, patriarch, primate.

The sixth council of Carthage.

Urban bishop of Sicca. The popes of Rome taken with the manner in falsifying the decree of Nicene council.

metropolitan or an archbishop, to the name of a patriarch or primate, as appeareth in the decrees.¹ Wherefore, as we must needs grant the bishop of Rome to be a metropolitan or archbishop by the council of Nice; so we will not greatly stick in this also, to have him numbered with patriarchs or primates. Which title seemeth in the old time to be common to more cities than to Rome, both by the Epistle of Anacletus, of pope Stephen, of pope Julius and Leo, etc.

After this followed a general council in Africa, called the sixth council of Carthage, A.D. 419, where were congregated two hundred and seventeen bishops, among whom was also Augustine, Prosper, Orosius, with divers other famous persons. This council continued the space of five years,² wherein was great contention about the supremacy and jurisdiction of Rome; the [occasion whereof arose the year before, by Zosimus,] then Roman bishop. This Zosimus had received into the communion of the church, without any examination, one that came to complain to him out of Africa, named Apiarius, a priest, whom Aurelius the metropolitan, with the council of Africa, had worthily excommunicated for his detestable conditions before.³ Upon this, Zosimus, after that he had received and showed such favour to Apiarius, for that he did appeal to him, sendeth to the council his legates, to wit, Faustinus, bishop of Potenza, and two priests of the church of Rome, named Philippus and Asellus, with these four requests: First, that Apiarius, whom he had absolved, might be received of them again, and that it might be lawful for bishops or priests to appeal from the sentence of their metropolitans, and [even] of a council, to the see of Rome. Secondly, that bishops should not sail over importunely "ad comitatum."⁴ Thirdly, that if any priest or deacon were wrongfully excommunicate by the bishops of their own province, it should be lawful for them to remove the hearing and judging of their cause to their neighbour bishops. Fourthly, that Urban, Apiarius's bishop, either should be excommunicated, or else sent up to Rome, unless he would correct those things that were to be corrected. For the maintenance whereof, the said Zosimus alleged for himself the words (as he pretended) taken out of Nicene council. The African council hearing this, and remembering no such thing in the council of Nice to be decreed, and yet not suspecting that the bishop of Rome would dare wrongfully to falsify the words of that council, writeth to Zosimus, declaring that they never read, to their remembrance, in their common Latin exemplar of the Nicene council any such canon, yet notwithstanding, for quietness' sake, they would observe the same till they might procure the original copies of that council to be sent to them from Constantinople, Alexandria, and from Antioch. In like effect afterward they wrote to pope Boniface, who shortly after succeeded Zosimus; and thirdly also to Celestine, who succeeded Boniface.

In the mean time this aforesaid council sent their legates, Marcellus and Innocent, to Atticus, patriarch of Constantinople, and to Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, for the authentic copies in Greek of

(1) Dist. 22. cap. 2. "Sacrosancta."

(2) This was rather a succession of councils, than one continued council.—Ed.

(3) Foxe's account of the affair of Apiarius has been made more accurate by a few changes in his text. See Appendix.—Ed.

(4) "Ad comitatum," to the imperial court, or camp.—Ed.

the Nicene council; which being sent unto them, and they, finding in the true originals no such canon as the bishop of Rome had falsely forged, [they sent them to pope Boniface. After him succeeded Celestine, A.D. 422, who likewise sent his legates to the bishops of Africa, in behalf of Apiarius: whereupon] they wrote a sharp and [yet] a handsome letter to pope Celestine, (calling him in the said letter, by the way, "Domine frater,") declaring to him, how they had perused all the copies of the council of Nice, and could find no such canon as he and his predecessors had falsely alleged, and (therewithal, reciting the sixth canon afore mentioned) declaring how the decrees of the Nicene council had committed all and singular persons ecclesiastical, as well bishops as others, unto the charge of their metropolitans. Moreover, expounding the same decree, they showed the reason thereof.

Exordium.

First, For that (say they) the fathers of that council did most prudently and justly provide, that all controversies be ended "in iisdem locis," where they began.

2. For that it is not to be supposed contrary, but that the grace of God will be as prest and ready in one province as in another, to instruct his ministers both prudently to understand judgment, and constantly to maintain the same.

3. Specially, for that there is no need to seek further to any foreign help, because that the party, who is not contented with the determination of his judges or commissioners, may lawfully appeal either to a provincial or else to a general council.

4. That way to be better than to run to any foreign judge, it must needs be granted; because it is not likely that our God will inspire justice, in hearing and determining causes, into one bishop, and deny it unto a multitude congregated in a whole council.

5. Neither can it be, that any foreign judgment can stand good, for that the necessary witnesses will never be able to attend, either through infirmity of sex, of age, or of sickness, or some other impediment. Wherefore, as by these and other reasons they thought it not convenient for them to carry their matters over thence unto Rome; so neither was it to be found (say they) by any council of the old fathers decreed, that any legates should be sent from Rome to them, for deciding of their matters. And therefore exhorted they the said bishop of Rome, that he would not introduce "Fumosum typhum (or rather as I may call it, 'typhos') seculi in ecclesiam Christi, quæ lucem simplicitatis et humilitatis Deum videre cupientibus præfert:" that is, "That he would not introduce the fuming and swelling pride of the world into the church of Christ, which church sheweth and giveth the light of simplicity and of humility to such as desire to behold God."

Five reasons why matters of controversy ought not to be had out of other countries unto Rome.

Every country to appeal first to his own metropolitan, secondly, to a provincial or general council.

In these aforesaid letters, moreover, is signified, how the forenamed malefactor Apiarius, whom the bishop of Rome before had absolved and received to the communion of the church, was afterward found culpable; and therefore the council proceeded against him, brought him to open confession of his faults, and so enjoined him due penance for his demerits, notwithstanding the absolution and inconsiderate clearing of the bishop of Rome before proceeding.

In sum, out of this council of Carthage these points are to be noted. First, How glad the bishops of Rome were to receive such as came to them for succour.

2. What pride they took by the occasion thereof, thinking and seeking thereby to have all under their subjection.

3. To the intent to allure others to seek to them, how ready they

Nine points gathered out of the council of Carthage against the pope.

(1) "Fumosum typhum seculi." [See Labbe, tom. ii. cols. 1589, 1599, 1671, 1676; "Ad rationes Campiani respons. G. Whitakeri." (Lond. 1581) rat. 7, pp. 131, 132; and Bp. Jewel's "Reple to Harding," art. 4, p. 198, edit. 1611. See also Mr. Gibbing's preface to "An exact reprint of the Roman Index Expurgatorius." Dublin, 1837, p. 82.—Ed.]

Exordium.

were to release and quit this Apiarius as guiltless, who afterwards was to be tried culpable by his own confession.

4. How, contrary to the acts and doings of the Romish bishop, this council condemned him whom the said bishop of Rome before had absolved, little respecting the proceedings of the Romish church.

5. How the bishops, of old time, have been falsifiers of ancient councils and writings, whereby it may be suspected, that they which shamed not to falsify and corrupt the council of Nice, much less would they stick to abuse and falsify the decretal epistles and writings of particular bishops and doctors for their own advantage, as no doubt they have done many one.

6. In this aforesaid council, whereat Augustine himself was present, and where Aurelius, president of the same, was called *papa*, the bishop of Rome was called expressly in their letters but "bishop of the city of Rome," and *dominus frater*, that is, "brother lord bishop."

7. The dominion of this Roman patriarch, in the said council of Carthage, was cut so short, that neither it was permitted to them of Africa to appeal over the sea to him, nor for him to send over his legates to them, for ending their controversies. Whereby it may sufficiently appear, that the bishop of Rome in those days was not at all admitted to be the chief of all other bishops, nor the head of the universal church of Christ in earth, etc.

8. We hear in this council, five causes or reasons given, why it is not necessary nor yet convenient for all foreign causes to be brought to one universal head or judge, as is before recited.

The highest title belonging to a bishop, is to be called the bishop of the first see.

The bishop of Rome forbidden to be called universal bishop.

Ninthly and lastly, By the said council of Carthage we hear a virtuous exhortation to be given to the bishop of Rome, that he would not introduce into the meek and humble church of Christ, the fuming and swelling pride of the world, as is before declared. In this, or in some other council of Carthage, it was moreover provided by express law, and also specified in the pope's decrees, that no bishop of the first see should be called the prince of priests, or the chief priest, or any such like thing; but only the bishop of the first see, as followeth more in the said decree. "Be it enacted, that no bishop, no, not the bishop of Rome, be called universal bishop."¹ And thus much concerning this aforesaid council of Carthage.

No bishop to appeal over the sea.

The bishop of the first see, what it meaneth.

Not long before this council, was celebrated in Africa another council, called the second synod of Milevis, about A.D. 416, at the which council also St. Augustine was present, where it was decreed, under pain of excommunication, that no minister or bishop should appeal over the sea to the bishop of Rome.² Whereby it may appear that the bishop of Rome, all this space, was not universally called by the term of oecumenical or universal bishop, but bishop of the first see: so that if there were any preferment therein, it was in the reverence of the place, and not in the authority of the person. And yet it was not so in the place, that the place importeth the city of Rome only, but the first see then was called the metropolitan church; as by the words of the Nicene council, and other constitutions more, is to be seen, where the four patriarchs were called *πρωτοὶ* or *πρωτεύοντες*

(1) "Universalis autem, nec etiam Romanus Pontifex appelletur."—Dist. 99, cap. 3, "Præ sedis epis."

(2) Conc. Milev. II. can. 22, 24. See Labbe, Conc. Gen. tom. ii. cols. 1542, 1667.—Ed.

or προεστῶτες, as, namely, by the words of the council of Carthage may appear, which be these, "Except he have some special license or exception, by the consent of the proper bishop of the first see in every country, that is, of him that is the primate in the said country."¹ Also the words of the thirty-ninth canon of the council of Carthage, before touched, be these, "That the bishop of the first see be not called prince of priests, or head priest, or else any such like."² Again, Anicetus, the tenth bishop of Rome, and pope Stephen, and pope Felix, making a difference between a primate and metropolitan, write thus: "Let no archbishops be called primates, but only such as have the first see."³ Thus it is made plain, how the bishop of the first see, or first bishop, or primate, is none other but he which was called patriarch, and belonged not only to the church of Rome, but to all such cities and places where before, among the gentiles, were "primi flamines."⁴ And here, by the way, is to be noted the repugnance to truth of such as craftily, but falsely, have counterfeited the pope's decretal epistles; which, besides other great and many conjectures, hereby also may be gathered. For, whereas Clement, Anacletus,⁵ Anicetus, and others, joining together the office of patriarchs and primates,⁶ do divide the same from the order of metropolitans, or archbishops, alleging there-for the constitutions of the apostles and their successors, that is to be found false by the canons of the apostles, by the council of Nice, and by the council of Antioch, with others more. For in the canons of the apostles,⁷ whereas in almost every canon mention is made of bishops, priests, and deacons, no word is there touched either of any order above the bishop, or lower than the deacon; save only in the thirty-third canon, setting an order among bishops, the canon willeth the bishops of every nation to know their first or chief bishop, and him to be taken for the head of them: he saith not the head of the church, or head of the world, but "the head of those bishops." And where? Not in Rome only, but plainly and expressly in every nation, for so the words purport: "The bishops of every nation ought to know the first or chief among them."⁸ Moreover, the council of Antioch, reciting the aforesaid canon word for word, expoundeth the matter plainly, instead of τὸν πρῶτον writing τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπίσκοπον, which is as much to say, "metropolitan;" and in the end of the said canon, calleth him τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον, that is, "metropolitanum."⁹ Whereby it is concluded that to be false, that Clement and Anacletus and Anicetus are reported (but

Exordium.

The papists in their decrees contrary to themselves.

The first bishop or head bishop expounded, how it is to be taken.

(1) "Εἰ μὴ μετὰ ψηφίσματος τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας τοῦ ἰδίου ἐκάστης χώρας ἐπισκόπων· τοῦτ' ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος κατεβαίρετον λάβῃ."—Conc. Car. can. 23. Labbe, ii. cols. 1062, 1171.

(2) "Ὡστε τὸν τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λέγεσθαι ἑξάρχον τῶν ἱερῶν, ἢ ἀκρον ἱερέα ἢ τοῦτον τι· ποτε."—Conc. Car. can. 39. Labbe, ii. col. 1070.

(3) Ex Epist. Decret. Anicet. Step. Felicis.

(4) Dist. 80, cap. "Urbes," et "loca," ibid. cap. "In illis."

(5) Epist. 3.

(6) ["Jam monuimus sæculo Anacleti Christianam ecclesiam nullos patriarchas agnovisse; idem de primatibus sentiendum. Prima primatum mentio habetur Conc. 2. Carthag. cap. 12. A.D. 390. (Valent. IV. et Neoterio Coss); et Concil. Sardic. cap. 6. num. 347. Erant autem inter Afros primates non soli Carthaginenses episcopi totius Africanæ dioceseos rectores; sed antiquissimi singularum Afric. provinciarum episcopi; sive in metropoli sive alibi sederent. Vide Augustin. Epist. 217 et 261. Patriarchæ nulli nisi inter hæreticos, ad A.D. 380. Hieronymo teste Epist. 54." Which is then quoted with other evidence by Blondel, Examen. Epist. Decret. (Genevæ, 1635), p. 127.—Ed.]

(7) Cano. Apost. 24. Labbe, tom. i. col. 29.—Ed.

(8) "Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐκάστου ἔθνους εἶδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον."—Cano. Apost. 33. Labbe, tom. i. col. 32.—Ed.

(9) Conc. Ant. Can. 9. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 565. The Greek of the Antiochian canon is also given in the "Cor. Rom." of the Corpus Jur. Can. Causa 9, quæst. 3, cap. 2, "Per singulas provincias."—Ed.

Exordium.

falsely)¹ to put a difference between primates or patriarchs, and metropolitans or archbishops: whereas, by sufficient authority it is to be proved, that in the old church both primates, first bishops, bishops of the first see, patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops of the mother-city, and archbishops, were all one. First, that primates and metropolitans were both one, is before declared by the canons of the apostles, and by the council of Antioch aforesaid. Again, that patriarchs and archbishops were all one, is evident by the 123d Novella of Justinian,² who in the said constitution, reciting the five patriarchs above mentioned,³ calleth them by the name of archbishops: and, a little after, calleth the patriarch of Constantinople archbishop, by these words: "Which be under the archbishop and patriarch of Constantinople."⁴ And after, speaking most plainly in the matter, he setteth another order, divers from that of Clement, Anacletus, and Anicetus, in placing these aforesaid persons, first beginning with bishops, then over them setting the metropolitan, and over him again the archbishop, and there stayeth, making no further mention of any other above him: whose words be these, "If a bishop be accused, the metropolitan to have the examination of those things that are brought against him: if the metropolitan be accused, then the archbishop to have the hearing thereof, under whom he dwelleth."⁵ And in the same constitution moreover, "If any suit or supplication be brought against a bishop by a minister, or any other, first the metropolitan to have the deciding of the matter, and if any default shall be found in the judgment thereof, then the hearing and ending of the case to be brought before the archbishop."⁶

Arch-bishop and metropolitan not to be both one.

An item against the forged epistles decretal.

In this constitution of Justinian, although the metropolitan be placed above the bishop, and the archbishop above the metropolitan, yet, notwithstanding, by this are sufficiently confuted the forged constitutions of Clement, Anacletus, Anicetus, Stephen, and Felix; who, in their epistles decretal, join together in one form and order both archbishop and metropolitan, and above them both do place the patriarch, and above the patriarch the apostolical see, to wit, the bishop of Rome; as may appear in reading the first epistle of Clement:⁷ the second epistle of Anacletus.⁸ Also the epistle of pope Stephen I.⁹ (where note by the way, that Gratian referreth this place of the epistle to pope Lucius): item, the first epistle of pope Felix II.¹⁰ In all which aforesaid epistles, this order and difference of degrees is taken: that the first and principal place is given to primates or patriarchs, the second to metropolitans or archbishops, the third to bishops; and finally, above all these, is extolled the apostolical see of the bishop of Rome, contrary to all that which before hath been alleged out of Justinian, the council of Nice, and of Antioch, etc.

(1) Dist. 99, cap. "Anacletus." (2) Novella Justiniani 123, cap. 3. (3) See *supra* p. 27.

(4) "Οἱ τίνες ὑπὸ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ πατριάρχην εἰσὶν." Novel. Justin. 123, cap. 9.

(5) "Εἴπερ ἐπίσκοπος εἷη ὁ κατηγορούμενος, τὸν τούτου μητροπολίτην ἐξετάζειν τὰ λεγόμενα, εἰ δὲ μητροπολίτης εἷη, τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον, ὃς ὄν τελεῖ." Novell. 137. cap. 5.

(6) "Εἰ δὲ καὶ παρὰ κληρικῶν, ἢ ἄλλου οὐδὲ ποτε προσέλευσις κατὰ ἐπίσκοπον γένηται, πρῶτον ὁ μητροπολίτης τὸ πρᾶγμα διακρίνῃ, καὶ εἰ τίς τοῖς κεκριμένοις ἀντίτοις, ἐπὶ τὸν μακαριώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ πατριάρχην τῆς διοικήσεως ἐκείνης ἀναφερῆσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα," etc. Novell. 123. cap. 22. See Appendix.

(7) "In illis autem civitatibus," etc. Labbe, tom. i. col. 91.—Ed.

(8) Art. 4. "Provinciæ," dist. 99, cap. "Nulli Archiepiscop." [Anicetus is the bishop referred to in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*; but see Blondel (*ut supra*) pp. 15, 126, 202. Labbe, tom. i. cols. 524, 528, 531.—Ed.]

(9) Art. 6. [Epist. 2. See Labbe, tom. i. col. 734, and Blondel, p. 336.—Ed.]

(10) Art. 12. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 352.—Ed.

Whereby it may appear, that either Justinian in preferring archbishops above metropolitans, had not read these epistles decretal, if they were genuine; or if they were forged, they which forged the said epistles in their names did not well consider what Justinian had written in this matter before.

Exordium.

Repugnance between the institutions of Justinian, and the epistles decretal. Terms used in the primitive time of the church.

Thus then these titles above recited, as "bishop," "metropolitan," "the bishop of the first see," "primate," "patriarch," "archbishop," that is to say, chief bishop, or head bishop to other bishops of his province, we deny not but were in the old time applied, and might be applied to the bishop of Rome, like as the same also were applied to other patriarchs in other chief cities and provinces.

High priest or high priesthood.

As touching the name likewise of "high priest," or "high priesthood," neither do I deny but that it hath been found in old monuments and records of ancient times; but in such wise and sort as it hath been common to bishops indifferently, and not singularly attributed to any one bishop or see. Whereof testimony we have out of the seventh general council, where the bishop's office is called "summum sacerdotium,"¹ "the high priesthood," in these words: "Substantia summi sacerdotii nostri sunt eloquia divinitus tradita, (id est) vera divinarum scripturarum disciplina," etc.: that is, "The substance (say they) of our high priesthood, is the word or discipline of holy Scriptures given us from above."

And likewise the council of Agda maketh relation "of bishops set in the high priesthood,"² meaning not of any one, but indefinitely and indifferently of whomsoever. Also Fabian, bishop of Rome, A. D. 240, writing in general to his brethren and to all bishops and ministers ecclesiastical, doth attribute to them the same title of "summum sacerdotium," in these words: "God, which hath pre-ordained you brethren, and all them which bear the office of high priesthood."³ With like phrase of speech Anacletus also, in his second epistle, speaking of bishops in general, calleth them "summos sacerdotes": "Unde liquet quod summi sacerdotes, (id est) episcopi, a Deo sunt judicandi," etc.: "The high priests, that is, bishops," saith he.⁴ And moreover in the same place he calleth them "apostles," and "successors of the apostles." So doth Innocent I. in A. D. 405.⁵ Also Zosimus,⁶ bishop of the said city of Rome, in A. D. 418; speaketh "de summo sacerdotio," that is, "of high priesthood," not only of the church of Rome, but of all other churches. The same Zosimus, in his writings alleged by Gratian, referreth the name and place *summi pontificis*, of "the high bishop," not only to the see of Rome, but uniformly to every bishop, as there appeareth.⁷

Bishops called the successors of the apostles.

And thus much as touching the name or title of high priest, or supreme bishop; which title as I do not deny to have been used in manner and form aforesaid, so do I deny this title and style of *summus orbis pontifex*, as it is now used in Rome, to have been used, or usually received during all the primitive time of the church

Summus orbis pontifex.

(1) Dist. 38, cap. 6, "Omnes."
 (2) "De pontificibus in summo sacerdotio constitutis." Ex Concil. Agathensi, can. 6. Labbe, tom. iv. col. 1383. Causa 12, q. 3, cap. 3, "Pontifices."—Ed.
 (3) "Deus ergo, fratres, qui præordinavit vos, et omnes qui summo sacerdotio funguntur," etc. Causa 3, q. 1, cap. 6, "Deus ergo."
 (4) Ex Anaclet. epist. prim. Labbe, tom. i. col. 521. Causa 2, q. 7, cap. 15, "Accusatio."—Ed.
 (5) Dist. 61, cap. 4, "Miserum." (6) Dist. 59, cap. 1.
 (7) Ex Urban I. dist. 59, cap. 2, "Si officia." [This chapter should be attributed to Zosimus, not to Urban See Rom. Corr. in loc.—Ed.]

*Exor-
cium.*

that is, five hundred years after Christ (after the manner and sort I mean of that authority and glory, which in these days now is used and is given to the same), until the time of Phocas, the wicked emperor, which was after the year of the Lord 608. The which title as it is too glorious for any one bishop in the church of Christ to use, so is it not to be found in any of the approved and most ancient writers of the church, namely, these: Cyprian, Basil, Fulgentius, Chrysostome, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, or Tertullian: but rather written against by the same, especially of the last. And therefore not without cause it is written and testified of Erasmus, who, speaking of the said name of "summus orbis pontifex," denieth plainly the same to be heard of among the old writers, whose words be these: "Certe nomen hoc nondum illis temporibus erat auditum, quantum ex veterum omnium scriptis licet colligere," etc.¹ as who-soever readeth the same authors, shall find to be true.

Presump-
tuous
titles.

The like is to be affirmed also of other presumptuous titles of like ambition, as "the head of the universal church," "the vicar of Christ in earth," "prince of priests," with such like: which all be new found terms, strange to the ears of the old primitive writers and councils, and not received openly and commonly before the time of Boniface III. and the aforesaid Phocas.

Papa.

Now remaineth the name of the pope, which, of its nature and by its first origin, being a word of the Syracusan speech called *πάππας*, signifieth as much as "pater," father, and was then used and frequented of them in the old time; not so as proper only to the bishop of Rome, but common and indifferent to all other bishops or personages, who-soever were of worthy excellency, as is partly before declared. But now, contrarily, the generality of this name is so restrained and abused, that not only it is appropriate to the bishop of Rome, but also distincteth and dis severeth the authority, and pre-eminence of that bishop alone from all other bishops, for which cause it is now worthily come into contempt and execrations. No less is to be rejected also the name of "universalis" or "œcumenicus pontifex," "summus orbis episcopus," "caput universalis ecclesiæ," "Christi in terris vicarius," "princeps sacerdotum," etc. All which terms and vocables, tending to the derogation of other bishops and patriarchs, as they were never received nor allowed in Rome (if we believe Gregory) during the time of the primitive church, so now are worthily of us refused.

How they
began
first at
Constantinople,
to take
the name
of uni-
versal
bishop.

It cannot, indeed, be denied, but there were certain in the primitive time which began privately to assume that proud and wicked title of "universal bishop;" as John II. and Menna, patriarchs of Constantinople; as appeareth in the Acts of the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 536, wherein both Menna,² and also John, is titled "œcumenicus patriarcha."³ Afterward, the patriarch John IV. (surnamed the Faster), holding a council at Constantinople, A.D. 588, went about to establish and ratify this title, and to dignify his throne therewith, by

(1) Ex Erasmus. epist. lib. iii. epist. 1, art. 73, [p. 119, Edit. 1540.—Ed.]

(2) Ex quinta synodo universalis, actione primâ, cap. "Post consulatum." [Foxe erroneously calls this the 5th General Council, which was indeed held at Constantinople, but not till A.D. 553, under the patriarch Eutychius; and he does not properly distinguish between John II. and John IV. his text has, accordingly, been somewhat altered here. In Labbe's Concil. General. tom. v. col. 50, actio. 2, Menna is spoken of as ἀγιοτάτου καὶ μακαριωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου; see also cols. 71, 81, 89, 97, 253.—Ed.]

(3) Labbe, ut supra, actio 3, cols. 157, 161, 180, 185. John II. was patriarch A.D. 517—520, Menna A.D. 536—552, John IV. A.D. 582—595. L'Art de Verif. des Dates.—Ed.]

the consent of the council and the emperor of Constantinople, and obtained the same. Concerning the which title, although it was then used in Constantinople through the sufferance of the emperors, being then willing to have their imperial city advanced, yet notwithstanding, this aforesaid title, all this while, was not in the city of Rome. And in Constantinople it stood not then in force "jure aliquo divino," but only by man's law. And thirdly, it was then but only "verbalis titulus," having no true domination over all other churches, nor any real authority, belonging to the same; forasmuch as neither the bishop of Rome, nor any of the west churches were subject or did acknowledge service unto them, but rather did repugn the same, namely, Pelagius II. and Gregory I., both bishops of Rome at that period; whereof Pelagius, writing to all bishops, saith plainly in these words, "That no patriarch should take the name of universality at any time; because that if any be called "universal," the name of patriarch is derogated from all others."¹ "But let this be far," saith he, "from all faithful men, to will to take that thing to him, whereby the honour of his brethren is diminished." Wherefore the said Pelagius chargeth all such bishops, that none of them in his letters will name any patriarch to be universal, lest he take from himself the honour due to him, while they give that which is not due to another. What can be more evident than these words of Pelagius, who was bishop of Rome next before Gregory, A.D. 583? In like manner, or more plainly and more earnestly, writeth also Gregory of this matter in his register, proving and disputing that no man ought to be called "universal bishop;" moreover, with sharp words and rebukes detesting the same title, calling it new, foolish, proud, perverse, wicked, profane; and such, that to consent unto it is as much as to deny the faith. He addeth further and saith, "that whosoever goeth about to extol himself above other bishops, in so doing followeth the example of Satan, to whom it was not sufficient to be counted equal or like unto other angels." In his epistles how oft doth he repeat and declare the same to repugn directly against the gospel, and ancient decrees of councils? affirming that none of his predecessors did ever usurp to himself that style or title; and concludeth that whosoever so doth, declareth himself to be a forerunner of Antichrist.² With this judgment of Gregory well agree also the words of St. Augustine,³ where, reciting the words of Cyprian, he thus saith: "For none of us doth ever set himself to be bishop of bishops, or after a tyrannical manner doth subdue and bring under his fellows unto the necessity of obedience." By these words of Cyprian and Augustine it is manifest, that in their time was no supremacy or universal title among bishops received, nor that any great respect was had to the bishop of Rome (as pope Pius II. saith⁴), before the council of Nice. And after, in that council, the said bishop of Rome had no further authority to him limited, than only over his province, and places suburban, bordering about the city of Rome.

Exordium.

Gregory against the universality of the bishop of Constantinople.

To be bishop of bishops forbidden by Cyprian and Augustine.

The pope's primacy resisted

(1) Ex Pelagio, epist. 8. [apud Blondel *examen*. p. 638;] dist. 99, cap. 4, "Nullus." Labbe, tom. v. col. 948.

(2) Ex Antonino, tit. 12 cap. 3. § 13. Labbe, tom. v. cols. 1184, 1185, 1269, 1273, 1275, 1276.—Ed.

(3) "Neque enim quisquam nostrum se episcopum episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico more ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit," etc. De Baptismo contra Donat. lib. li. cap. 2, § 3.—Ed.

(4) Epist. 301. [See supra, p. 27, Note (5).—Ed.]

(5) See note in the Appendix on p. 31.

*Exor-
dium.*

Against whose primacy divers churches also did resist long after that ; as the churches of Ravenna, Milan, and Aquileia. Also the Greek churches have resisted the same to this day, likewise the churches of Asia, Russia, Moscow, Wallachia, and other more.¹

But to return again to Gregory, who, confirming the sentence of Pelagius his predecessor above mentioned, had no small conflicts about this title-matter, both with the patriarch and with the emperor of Constantinople, as witness Antoninus and others, etc.² The history is thus : After that John, being made, of a monk, patriarch of Constantinople, by his flattery and hypocrisy had obtained of Mauritius the emperor to be extolled above other bishops, with the name of "universal patriarch," and that he would write to Gregory (then bishop of Rome) for his consent concerning the same, Gregory, abiding still in his constancy, did set himself stoutly against that antichristian title, and would give no place. At the same time the Lombards had invaded the country of Italy and the city of Rome, the emperor keeping then at Constantinople, and setting in Italy an overseer called "exarchus," to rule in Ravenna. Gregory, perceiving the emperor Mauritius to be displeased with him about the matter afore touched, writeth to Constantina the empress, arguing and declaring in his letters, that for him to be universal patriarch would be in him presumption and pride, for that it was both against the rule of the gospel and the decrees of the canons, namely, the sixth canon of the Nicene council ; and the novelty of that new-found title would declare nothing else, but that the time of Antichrist was near. Upon this, Mauritius the emperor, taking displeasure with him, calleth home his soldiers again from Italy, and inciteth the Lombards against the Romans, who, with their king Agilulph, thereupon, contrary to their league made before, set upon the city of Rome, and besieged it a whole year together ; Gregory, yet notwithstanding, still remaining in his former constancy. After these afflictions thus overpast, Eulogius, patriarch of Alexandria, writeth to the said Gregory in his letters, naming him "universal pope : " unto whom Gregory, refusing the same, answereth again as followeth.

The Letter of Gregory to the Patriarch of Alexandria.

Behold, in the preface of your epistle directed to me, ye have used a proud appellation, calling me "universal pope," which I beg your holiness hereafter not to do, for that is derogated from you, whatsoever is attributed to another more than reason requires. As for me, I seek not advancement in words, but in manners ; neither do I account that any honour, wherein I see the honour of my brethren to be hindered : for my honour I take to be the honour of the universal church : my honour is the whole and perfect vigour of my brethren. Then am I really honoured, when to no man is denied the due honour which to him belongeth ; for, if your holiness call me "universal pope," in so doing you deny yourself to be that, which ye affirm me to be, universal : but that God forbid. Let go these words, therefore, which do nothing but puff up vanity, and wound charity.³

Gregory
refuseth
the name
of uni-
versal
pope.

It were too long here to infer all such letters and epistles of his concerning this matter, written to the emperor Mauritius and Constantina the empress, but that shall more largely appear hereafter (Christ willing) in the body of the history, when we come to the

(1) Ilyricus, Tractatus "Contra Primatum Petri et Papæ," cap. 6.—Ed.

(2) Ex Antonino, tit. 12, capitul. 3. § 3, 13. See also Labbe, tom. v. col. 1184.—Ed.

(3) Dist. 99, cap. "Ecce." [Epist. 30. S. Gregorii, in tom. ii. p. 290 of "Epist. Decret. Romæ, 1591." See also Labbe, tom. v. col. 1305.—Ed.]

year and time of Gregory, which was well nigh six hundred years after Christ. In the mean season this is sufficient to declare, how the church of Rome, with the form and manner of their title of universal supremacy now used and maintained, hath utterly swerved from the ancient steps of the primitive church of Rome.

Exordium.

Now let us see what the adversary-side hath to object again for the title of their universality, or rather singularity. And first, here cometh in a blind cavillation of a certain sophister, who, glossing upon the words of Pelagius above recited, laboureth to colour the plain text with a subtle meaning, as though the sense of the canon were this, not to deny absolutely that any one may be universal bishop, but only to deny it after this sense and meaning, viz. that he should be the proper pastor of every church alone, so that there should be no other bishop beside himself.¹ Thus goeth this sophister about to dash out this text; but he cannot so discharge the matter. For neither did John the patriarch then seek any such thing as to be bishop and proper pastor of every church alone; nor, if he had, would the council of Constantinople and the emperor Mauritius² ever have agreed thereunto. Neither is it true, what this glosser saith, viz. that Pelagius does not here forbid the primacy or supremacy of that patriarch, which indeed is the only intent of Pelagius in that canon, witnessing as well other historiographers, as namely Antoninus,³ and also the gloss ordinary upon the same canon.

A sophistical cavillation upon the words of Pelagius and Gregory answered.

Out of the same fountain springeth the like or very same reason, of late renewed by a certain new-start English clerk in these our days, who, answering to the places of Gregory touching the said matter, laboureth to avoid the clear authority of him by a like blind cavillation, saying that John, bishop of Constantinople, by this title of "universal bishop," understood himself only to be a bishop, and none else; and that Gregory in resisting him, had none other meaning but the same. And to prove this to be the very meaning of Gregory, he reciteth the words of Gregory, written to the said John archbishop of Constantinople as followeth: "For thou (John bishop of Constantinople) who sometime didst grant thyself unworthy the name of a bishop, art now come to this, that thou dost seek to be called a bishop alone."⁴ Upon this word "episcopus solus," this glosser would ground a surmise, that Gregory did find fault with the archbishop, not for any primacy which he sought for above other bishops, but only for that he coveted to be a bishop and pastor alone in every church, in such sort, as there should be no other bishop or pastor else, but himself only. But, as is said, that was never the archbishop's seeking, nor the matter of Gregory's reprehension. For the said archbishop of Constantinople went not about to be bishop alone (which was much too absurd, and also impossible), but to be universal alone: nor to take away the office from others, but the honour from others; not to depose them, but to dispense them. And therefore saith Gregory "despectis fratribus," not "depositis fratribus:"

An objection of a certain late English writer refuted.

A place of Gregory examined.

(1) "Sed negari ibi aliquem posse esse universalem episcopum, sub eo sensu duntaxat, quod esset cujusque ecclesiæ proprius rector, ita quod nullus alius esset episcopus," etc.

(2) Foxe says by mistake, "the council of Calcedon and the emperor Justinian," with neither of which was John IV. contemporary.—Ed.

(3) Anton. Tit. 12, capitul. 3, § 13.

(4) "Qui enim indignum te esse fatebaris, ut episcopus dici debuisses, ad hoc quandoque perductus es, ut despectis fratribus episcopus appetas solus vocari." Labbe, tom. v. col. 1191.—Ed.

Exordium.

so that this word "solus" here noteth a despising of others, not a deposing of others, and importeth a singularity in condition above others, and not the office or substance of ministration without others; that is, to be universal among many, and not to be one alone without any; nor to diminish the number of them, but only to increase the honour to himself. For the more evident probation whereof (although the thing itself is so evident, that it needeth no proof), what can be more plain than the words themselves of Pelagius and Gregory? wherewith they charge him for running before his brethren, for challenging superiority above them, for diminishing their honour by taking more honour than to him was due, for following the angel of pride in exalting himself, in admitting that to him, which the bishops of Rome and their predecessors had refused, being offered to them before: all which words declare, that he sought not to thrust out all other bishops out of their churches, and to be bishop himself alone, for that was never offered to the bishops of Rome by the council of Chalcedon,¹ that they should be bishops alone, and none other: neither did Lucifer seek to have no more angels in all heaven but himself, but he to be above all other alone.

Likewise the word "præcurrere," that is, "to run before other," in the epistle of Pelagius,² declareth that John sought not to be bishop alone, but bishop universal. We say not that a man runneth before another, when he runneth alone and no man followeth him; that is not properly "præcurrere," but "solus currere." Moreover, in seeking to be superior to other bishops, he seeketh not to take away other bishops, but to make other bishops inferior to himself: for where no inferior is, there can be no superior, forso much as these together are correlatives, and infer necessary respect mutually. And if it were true, as this glosser saith, that he had sought to be bishop alone, how would that council either have granted that unto him, or have offered it to the bishop of Rome before? or if they had, how could it be possible for him alone to serve all churches, without any fellow-bishop to help him? And whereas this aforesaid clerk standeth so much upon the words of St. Gregory "solus episcopus," Gregory therefore shall expound Gregory, and one "solus" shall declare another. Wherefore, if this divine (whatsoever he be, doctor or bachelor) either knoweth not, or would learn, what "only bishop" meaneth in this place, another place of the said Gregory may instruct him;³ where Gregory, writing to Eulogius patriarch of Alexandria, giveth this reason why he refused the same title offered to himself, which before was offered to the said John, patriarch of Constantinople, saying, "For if one alone would be called a "patriarch universal," then should the name of patriarchs be derogated from all others." Whereby two things are to be noted; first, what thing it was which the patriarch of Constantinople did seek, for Gregory here findeth no other fault, but with the same which was given to John, which was to be called "patriarch universal." The second thing to be noted is, the cause why Gregory did rebuke this title, both given to John, and offered to him: "Because," saith he, "if one take upon him the

(1) A.D. 451. See Labbe, tom. v. col. 1192.—Ed.

(2) Pelag. II, epist. 8. [apud Blondel examen. Epist. Decret. p. 639.]

(3) "Quia videlicet si unus patriarcha universalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur, sed absit hoc," etc. Ex Epist. Greg. 36. lib. iv. [The same Epistle as is quoted supra p. 40.—Ed.]

name of universal patriarch, then is the name patriarch taken from the rest." As who would say, If I would take upon me to be named universal patriarch, then should there be no other patriarch, but I should be bishop patriarch alone. And here cometh in your "solus episcopus."

Exordium.

Furthermore the same Gregory, speaking of the said *solus* in another place by, seemeth to declare there, what he meaneth by this "solus" here, in these words as follow: "So that he would be subject to none, and would alone be chieftain to all other."¹ And so by this place may the other place be expounded: "Ut solus episcopus sit is, qui solus inter episcopos præesse appetat:" that is, "Solus episcopus meaneth one, who alone seeketh to be extolled above other bishops." But to be short in a matter that needeth not many words, he that thus cavilleth upon this place, "solus episcopus," in Gregory, must be desired here not to take "solus" alone, but join withal the word going before, which is, "despectis fratribus." By the which might seem sufficiently declared what Gregory meant by "solus episcopus;" meaning, that to despise other bishops, and to diminish their honour, to set up his own, and to be subject to none, but to prefer himself unequally before all others, is as much as to be counted bishop alone. And thus much touching this objection.

Another objection of our adversaries is this: Although (say they) no bishop of Rome was ever called, or would be called by the name of "universal bishop," yet it followeth not therefore, that they be not, or ought not, to be heads of the universal church. Their reason is this:

Another objection resolved.

'As St. Peter had the charge of the whole church (by the testimony of Gregory) committed unto him, although he were not called universal apostle: so no more absurd it is for the pope to be called the head of the whole church, and to have the charge thereof, although he be not called universal bishop.'

Wherein is a double untruth to be noted; first,² in that they pretend Peter to be the head, and to have the charge, of the whole church. If we take here "charge or head" for dominion or mastership upon or above the church in all cases judiciary, both spiritual and temporal; to that I answer, The words of the Scripture be plain, "Not as masters over the clergy," etc.³; "But you not so," etc.⁴ Again, that the church is greater, or rather the head of Peter, it is clear, "All things are yours, whether it be Paul, or Apollo, or Cephas; either the world, death, or life; you be Christ's, Christ is God's," etc.⁵ In which words the dignity of the church no doubt is preferred above the apostles, and above Cephas also. Moreover, as the dignity of the wife is above the servant, so must needs the honour and worthiness of the church (being the spouse of Christ) surmount the state of Peter or other apostles, who be but servants to Christ and to the church; yea, and though they were princes of the church, yet, after the mind of Baldus, "Magis attenditur persona intellectualis, quam organica." Otherwise, if by this word "charge" he meant only the office and diligence of teaching; to that I answer, The same Lord that said to

A double untruth in one popish argument. The first untruth.

The dignity of the church above the apostles. Proofs and reasons that there was no inequality of preeminence among the apostles.

(1) "Ut et nulli subesse, et solus omnibus præesse videretur." Ex Epist. Greg. 38, lib. iv.

(2) The second untruth is specified in p. 48 infra.—Ed.

(3) "Non dominantes in clero." 1 Pet. (4) "Vos autem non sic." Luke xxii.

(5) 1 Cor. iii. 22.

(6) Vide Baldum, Consil. 169, lib. iii. secundum novam impressionem; et secundum veterem Consil. 359, lib. i.

Exordium.

Office of teaching giveth no dominion further than the book.

Peter in no point excelleth the rest of the apostles.

Dextræ societatis.

Peter, "Feed my sheep," said also to the others, "Go and preach this gospel to all nations." And he that said to Peter, "Whatsoever thou loosest," said also to the others, "Whatsoever ye remit in the earth." Moreover, if the matter go by preaching, Paul the apostle laboured more therein than ever did Peter, by his own confession, "plus laboravi;" also suffered more for the same, "plus sustinui;" neither was his doctrine less sound, yea, and in one point he went before Peter, and was teacher and schoolmaster unto Peter, whereas Peter was by him justly corrected.¹ Furthermore, teaching is not always, nor in all things, a point of mastership, but sometimes a point of service. As if a Frenchman should be put to an Englishman to teach him French, although he excelleth him in that kind of faculty, yet, it followeth not therefore, that he hath fulness of power upon him, to appoint his diet, to rule his household, to prescribe his laws, to stint his lands, and such other. Wherefore, seeing in travail of teaching, in pains of preaching, in gifts of tongues, in largeness of commission, in operation of miracles, in grace of vocation, in receiving the Holy Ghost, in vehemency of torments, and death, for Christ's name, the other apostles were nothing inferior to Peter; why Peter then should claim any special prerogative above the rest, I understand no cause; as indeed *he* never claimed any, but the patrons of the apostolical see do claim it for him, which he never claimed himself, neither if he were here, would no less abhor it with soul and conscience than we do now; and yet our abhorring now is not for any malice of person, or any vantage to ourselves, but only the vehemency of truth, and zeal to Christ and to his congregation. Moreover, if these men would needs have Peter to be the curate and overseer of the whole universal church (which was too much for one man to take charge of), and to be prince of all other apostles, then would I fain learn of them, what meaneth "*dextræ societatis*," "the right hand of society," between Peter, Paul, and Barnabas, mentioned in the Galatians.² What taking of hands is there between subjects and their prince, in way of fellowship? or, where fellowship is, what mastership is there? Or again, what state of mastership is it likely that Christ would give to Peter, who, being indeed master of all, took such little mastership upon himself, that he washed Peter's feet, to give Peter ensample to take no mastership upon him, but rather to humble himself, and that not only in inward affection, but also in outward fact? Although I am not ignorant that Peter, in divers places of the Gospel, hath his commendation, neither do I deny Peter to be worthy of the same. But yet these words of commendation give to him no state of superiority, or jurisdiction upon all others, to have all under his subjection. As if a schoolmaster should give more special charge to some one of his scholars for his riper towardness; yet this giveth him no fulness of authority, or power coactive upon the rest, unless by special admission he be deputed thereunto. Whereof nothing can be gathered of Peter; for if it be true that St. Augustine saith,³ that such things as were spoken to Peter have no lightsome understanding except they be referred to the church, whereof Peter did bear a figure, then hath the person of Peter nothing to claim by these words, but all redoundeth to the church, which, being

(1) Gal. ii. 11.

(2) Gal. ii. 9.

(3) Aug. in Præf. Psal. ciii.

meant by Peter, hath power by this reason, both over the person of Peter, and all other persons in the Lord. *Exordium.*

But here stumbleth in an argument of our adversary again, which he, in the margin of his book, calleth an invincible argument, drawn out of the bowels of St. John Chrysostome,¹ whereby he supposeth to have given a shrewd blow to protestants, and to have gotten Hector's victory upon a certain English prisoner taken in plain field, and of all such as take his part. The text only of Chrysostome he reciteth, but maketh no argument, albeit he maketh mention of an invincible argument in the margin. But, because he either wist not, or list not to shew his cunning therein, I will form that argument for him which he would have done, but did not: and so will form it (the Lord willing) as he himself must of necessity be driven to do, if the matter ever come to the trial of act, and not to the trifling of words. First, he taketh his text out of Chrysostome, as followeth:—"For what cause, I pray you, did Christ shed his blood? Truly to redeem those sheep, whose charge he committeth to Peter and to Peter's successors." Upon this place of Chrysostome, this clerk taketh his *medium*, Christ's suffering. His conclusion is, that all which Christ died for, were committed to Peter; wherefore the form of the argument must needs stand thus, in the third figure:—Christ suffered for all men: Christ suffered for them whom he committed to Peter. *Ergo*, all that Christ died for, were committed to Peter. *Answer to an invincible argument, proving by Chrysostome, the whole church to be committed to St. Peter.*

Ergo, all that Christ died for, were committed to Peter. *A popish perilous paralogism.*

If this be the form of his insoluble argument, as it seemeth to be by the order of his reasoning, and also must needs be, taking that *medium*, and making that conclusion as he doth (for else in the first figure and first mood, the text of Chrysostome will not serve him), then must the form and violence of this inexpugnable argument be denied, for that it breaketh the rules of logic, making his conclusion universal, which in that figure must needs be particular, either affirmative or negative. And so this "argument invincible" falleth into one of these two straits; either concluding thus, the form will not serve him, or concluding, in another figure, the words of Chrysostome will not answer to his purpose, to prove that all the world was committed to Peter. Which proposition, as it is strange in Scripture, so neither is it the proposition of Chrysostome. And though it were, yet both without inconvenience might be granted of us, and being granted, serveth his purpose nothing, so long as the proposition is not exceptive, excluding other apostles. For the words of Chrysostome do not so sound, that the whole world was committed to Peter only, and to none other. Likewise then, as it may be well affirmed of us, that the world was committed to Peter: so can it not be denied of them that the world was also committed to John, James, Bartholomew, Paul, Barnabas, and other all and singular apostles. For he that said to Peter, "Feed my sheep," said also to all and singular his apostles, "Go into all the world and preach," etc.² Moreover, forasmuch as this man collecteth out of Chrysostome, that the whole world was committed to Peter, how shall we then join this meaning of Chrysostome with St. Paul, which saith that the gospel was committed to Peter over the circumcision, as was Paul over the uncircum-

The world was committed as well to other apostles as to Peter. A place of Chrysostome examined by St. Paul.

(1) Chrysost. lib. ii. "De Sacerd." [p. 454, tom. i. Edit. Paris, 1834.—Ep.]

(2) Matt. xxviii. 19.

Exordium. cision? And here an answer to this doughty argument, both to the form and to the matter thereof: albeit concerning the matter, here lacketh much to be said more of Peter's successors in the text of Chrysostome. By the which successors is not meant the bishop of Rome only (as the papists would bear us in hand), but all such true and faithful pastors, whom the Lord's calling sendeth, and setteth over his flock, wheresoever, or whatsoever they be. For as Peter beareth a representation of the church, by the testimony of Augustine,¹ so the successors of Peter be all faithful pastors and overseers of Christ's church, to whom Christ our Lord hath committed the charge of his flock. Wherefore they are not a little deceived, who, looking upon the rock only of the person and not the rock of confession (contrary to the rule of Hilary,²) do tie the apostleship or rock of Peter to one only bishop, and the succession of Peter to one only see of Rome; whereas this being a spiritual office and not carnal, hath no such carnal race or descent, after any worldly or local understanding; but hath a more mystical meaning, after a spiritual sense of succession, such as Jerome speaketh of, "All," saith he, speaking of bishops, "be successors of the apostles," etc.³

The successors of Peter. Of like force and fashion, and out of the same figure, the same author patcheth, moreover, another argument; proving that the bishop of Rome was titled the head of Christ's church, in the primitive time of the old ancestors, before the age of Gregory. His argument proceedeth thus, in the third figure: St. Peter was called by the ancient fathers, head of Christ's church: St. Peter was bishop of Rome: *ergo*, the bishop of Rome was called head of the church in the old ancient time.

Augustine. This argument expository, being clouted up in the third figure, and concluding singularly, hath rather a show of an argument, than maketh any necessary conclusion; standing upon no mood in the said figure, if the author thereof were put to his trial. Albeit, to leave the form, and to come to the matter of the argument. First, how well will he dispatch himself of the major, and prove us that St. Peter, although he were at Rome, and taught at Rome, and suffered at Rome; yet that he was bishop and proper ordinary of that city and special see of Rome? As touching the allegation of Abdias, Orosius, Ado, Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome, Optatus, Augustine,⁴ brought forth for his most advantage, to prove his major: thus I answer concerning Orosius, Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome, and Augustine, that whereas they speak of St. Peter's chair, or planting the faith at Rome, straightway this man argueth thereupon, that Peter was bishop of Rome. But that doth not clerkly follow: for the office of the apostles was to plant the faith in all places, and in every region, yet were they not bishops in every region. And as for the chair, as it is no difference essential that maketh a bishop (forsomuch as a doctor may have a chair, and yet be no bishop), so cannot he conclude, by the chair of Peter, that St. Peter was bishop of Rome. For all this proveth no further but that Peter was at Rome, and there taught the faith of Christ, as Paul did also; and peradventure in a

Hilary.

An argument of the papists.

Answer to the argument.

1) In Johan. Tract. 124. Prefat. in Psal. cviii.

2) De Trinitate, lib. vi. [Bas. 1550, pp. 102, 103.—Ed.]

3) "Omnes apostolorum successores sunt," etc. Epist. ad Evagrium.

4) Orosius; Tertul. lib. de Præscript. advers. Hæres.; Cypr. lib. i. epist. 3; Hier. in Catal. et epist. 42.

chair likewise; yet we say not that Paul was therefore bishop of Rome; but that he was there as an apostle of Christ, whether he taught there standing on his feet, or sitting in a chair. In the Scripture commonly the chair signifieth doctrine or judgment, as sitting also declareth such as teach or judge, whether they sit in the chair of Moses, or in the chair of pestilence. "Planting," likewise, is a word apostolical, and signifieth not only the office of a bishop. Wherefore it is no good consequent, he sat, he taught, he planted at Rome, his chair and seat was at Rome; *ergo*, he was bishop of Rome.—And thus much touching Orosius, Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine.

Exordium.

As for Abdias, Ado, Optatus, and such others—although we should have much wrong offered, and never should make an end, if we should be prest with the authority of every one that could or did move pen, in all the whole first age of the church, to be our judges in every ecclesiastical matter; and much more wrong should have, if the authors either corrupted or counterfeited should be laid unto us, speaking not in the same sense, or in the same tongue, or in the same time wherein they wrote;—yet, to help and to salve the authorities of these authors, so much as we may, I answer to their allegations with this distinction of a bishop, which is to be taken either generally, or specially. After the first, a bishop is he to whomsoever the public cure and charge of souls is committed, without any limitation of place. And so the name of bishop is coincident with the office of apostle, or any public pastor, doctor, or curate of the universal flock of Christ. And thus may Paul, Peter, or any other of the apostles be called bishops. So also is Christ himself by express word called *ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ποιμὴν*, that is, "bishop and pastor;"¹ and thus may Peter well be named a bishop of these foresaid authors after this manner of taking. But this public and general charge universally over the whole, without limitation, ceased after Christ and the apostles. For then were bishops by places and provinces appointed, to have special oversight of some particular flock or province, and so to be resident and attendant only upon the same.

A double taking of the word bishop.

Christ himself a bishop.

The other diversity of this name "bishop," is to be taken after a more special sort; which is, when any person, orderly called, is assigned namely and specially to some one certain place, city, or province, whereunto he is only bound to employ his office and charge, and no where else; according to the old canons of the apostles, and of the council of Nice.² And this bishop, differing from the other, is called "Episcopus intitulatus," having his name of his city or diocese. And thus we deny that Peter the apostle was ever bishop elected, installed, or intituled to the city of Rome: neither doth Optatus, Abdias, Ado, or Jerome affirm the same. And if Ado say that Peter was bishop of Rome five and twenty years, until the last year of Nero, that is easily refuted both by the scriptures and histories: for so we understand by the declaration of St. Paul,³ that, fourteen years after his conversion, St. Paul had Peter by the hand at Jerusalem.

Peter's being at Rome.

Moreover, the said Paul in the aforesaid epistle witnesseth that the

(1) 1 Pet. ii. 25.

(2) Canon. Apo. 13. 14. 34; Con. Nicæ. can. 15; Con. Antioch. cap. 3. 13. Labbe, tom. i. cols. 28, 32; tom. ii. cols. 36, 564.—Ed.

(3) Gal. ii. 1.

*Esor-
dium.*

charge apostolical was committed unto Peter over the circumcised, and so was he intituled. Also St. Paul writing to the Romans, in his manifold salutations to them in Rome, maketh no mention there of St. Peter, who doubtless should not have been unremembered, if he had been then in Rome. Again, St. Peter, dating his epistle from Babylon, was not then belike at Rome.

Furthermore, histories do record that Peter was at Pontus five years, then at Antioch seven years. How could he then be five and twenty years at Rome? Finally, whereas our adversary, alleging out of Ado, saith, that St. Peter was there five and twenty years, until the last year of Nero, how can that stand, when St. Paul, suffering under Nero, was put to death the same day twelve months, that is, a whole year after Peter? But especially how agreeth this with Scripture, that Christ should make Peter an apostle universal to walk in all the world? "*Ite per universum orbem.*" Item, "*Eritis mihi testes usque ad fines terræ.*" And our papists would needs make him a sitting bishop, and intitle him to Rome. How accord these, "*apostolus*" and "*episcopus*," "*ire*" and "*sedere*," "*omnes gentes*" and "*Roma*" together?

And thus have I resolved the first untruth of that popish demonstration before rehearsed, wherein they think to prove that as Peter, although he was not called "*universal apostle*," yet was the head of the whole church: so the pope might have had, and hath had, after him, the charge of the whole church, although he was not called "*universal bishop*" in the old time.

The
second
untruth
of the
argument
above
mention-
ed.

Now followeth the second untruth¹ to be touched in the same argument; which is, that because Peter was the head of the church, so therefore the pope must also be the head of the church, and was; albeit he was not called "*universal bishop*" for a long time. But this we do deny, yea, the matter denieth itself by their own position; for, being granted by them, that the title of "*universal bishop*" was not received at Rome, but refused to the time of Gregory, then must it necessarily be granted, that the bishops of Rome, before St. Gregory, had not the charge of the whole church, neither could be admitted by that reason to be heads of the church: forsomuch as there can be no head, but that which is universal to the whole body, neither can any have charge of the whole, but he must needs be universal to all and singular parts of that, whereof he hath the charge. As in sciences, whosoever hath knowledge and cunning in all the seven liberal sciences, and all the parts thereof pertaining to liberal knowledge, is said to be a universal learned man: so, in office, to whomsoever the public charge of all churches doth appertain, how is he not to be called "*bishop universal*?" Now if before St. Gregory's time the name of "*universal bishop*" was repealed in Rome, how then can the name be refused, and the definition of the name be admitted? Or else let our adversaries tell us how they define a universal bishop, seeing this word "*bishop*" is properly the name of office whereto is annexed charge. Wherefore, if a bishop be he which hath the charge of all souls in his diocese committed to him, and must render account for them all; then to him whose charge extendeth to all and singular churches, and must render account for

What is
an "*uni-
versal
bishop.*"

(1) The first untruth was stated *suprà* p. 43.—Ed.

every christian soul within the whole world, the name of an universal bishop cannot be denied, having the office of an universal bishop. Or, if he be not an universal bishop, he cannot then have the charge of the whole, that is, of all and singular churches of Christ. For such is the rule of true definition: "cui convenit definitio, eidem convenit definitum." Et contra: "cui adimitur definitio, eidem et definitum adimitur."

Exordium.

Regula definitio- nis: cui convenit definitio, convenit et definitum.

Although this word "universal" in the Greek writers signifieth that which we in our vulgar English tongue call "catholic," yet I suppose our adversaries here will not take "universal" in that sense. For after that meaning, as we do not deny that the bishops of Rome may be universal bishops, so neither can they deny but other bishops may also be as universal, that is, as catholic as they. But such as more distinctly and school-like discuss this matter, define universal or catholic by three things; to wit, by time, place, and person; so that whatsoever extendeth itself to all times, all places, and all persons, that is properly universal or catholic. And contrariwise, what thing is to be called universal or catholic, reacheth to all those things aforesaid, comprehending all places, times, and persons, and extendeth itself of his own nature to the same; or else it is not to be called properly universal or catholic. And thus three things there are, which most commonly we call catholic or universal: that is, the church, which is called the catholic church: faith, which is called the catholic faith: a man, whom also we call a man catholic: because these three of their own nature and disposition (no contrary obstacle letting) extend themselves so to all, that no time, place, nor person is excluded. Which three conditions, if they altogether concur in the charge of the bishop of Rome, then is it an universal charge, and he an universal bishop: if not, then neither is his charge universal, nor he the head of the church, nor yet universal bishop. For how these three can be separated, I cannot see, except the adversary-part do prove it more evidently than they have done.

Universal, de- fined by three things, time, place, and person.

Three things common- ly called catholic or uni- versal.

To have universal charge, to be head of the universal church, and to be universal bishop, are all co- incident together.

And thus much to the objection of our adversaries; arguing thus, that as St. Peter being not called universal apostle, yet was the head of the universal church; so the pope, although he was not first called universal bishop, had, and might have the charge of the whole church, and was the universal head of the same. Which objection containing (as is said) a double untruth, our adversaries, yet notwithstanding, do busy themselves greatly to fortify by sundry testimonies and allegations, patched out of old and ancient doctors, but specially out of Theodoret, Irenæus, Ambrose and Augustine, proving by them, that the see of Rome, having the pre-eminence and principality, hath been honoured above all other churches; whereupon the said adversary, before minded, grounded this consequent.

Irenæus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoret affirm, that the church of Rome is the chief of all other churches:¹—*ergo*, the bishop and head of that church is chief and head over all bishops, and head over all other churches.

An argu- ment of the pa- pists.

But this consequent is to be denied, for that the excellency of

Answer.

(1) Irenæus, lib. iii. cap. 3; Amb. de Vocatione Gentium, lib. ii. cap. 16; [This work is now ascribed to Prosper, and is printed in his name. Cave, Hist. Lit. A passage to our purpose is in Ambrose, Epistol. Classis I. Ep. xi. § 4. See also Rivet. Crit. Sac. lib. iii. cap. 17.—Ed.] Aug. Epist. 162.

<i>Exordium.</i>	<p>the church or place doth not always argue the excellency of the minister or bishop, nor yet necessarily doth cause the same. For, in matters of the church which are spiritual, all pre-eminence standeth upon spiritual and inward gifts: "spiritualia enim spiritualibus comparantur," as faith, piety, learning and godly knowledge, zeal and fervency in the Holy Ghost, unity of doctrine, etc.; which gifts many times may excel in a church, where the minister or bishop is inferior to bishops or ministers of other churches. As the most famous school in a realm hath not alway the most famous school-master, neither doth make him thereby most excellent in learning above all others; so, if our adversaries do mean by this pre-eminence of the church of Rome such inward gifts of doctrine, faith, unity, and peace of religion, then, say I, the excellency hereof doth not infer or argue the excellency of the bishop. And thus concerning the principality of the church of Rome, commended at that time of the doctors, it may be true, and so well expounded one way. And thus do I grant the antecedent of this argument, and deny the consequent. But here will our adversaries peradventure reply again, and say, that the principality of the church of Rome, which is commended by the doctors, is not meant here so much of inward gifts and endowments belonging to a christian church, as of outward authority and domination over other churches. Whereto is to be answered, first, What necessity is there, or where did our papists learn, to bring into the spiritual church of Christ this outward form of civil regiment and policy; that as the Roman emperors, in times past, governed over all the world, so the Roman bishop must have his monarchy upon the universal clergy, to make all other churches to stoop under his subjection? And where then be the words of our Saviour, "Vos autem non sic?" If they hold¹ their affirmative "quod sic," where then is Christ's negative "non sic?" If they say, there must needs be distinction of degrees in the church, and in this distinction of degrees superiority must necessarily be granted for the outward discipline of the church, for directing matters, for quieting of schisms, for setting orders, for commencing of convocations and councils, as need shall require, etc.; against this superiority we stand not, and therefore we yield to our superior powers, kings and princes, our due obedience, and to our lawful governors under God of both regiments, ecclesiastical and temporal. Also in the ecclesiastical state, we take not away the distinction of ordinary degrees, such as by the scripture be appointed or by the primitive church allowed, as patriarchs or archbishops, bishops, ministers, and deacons; for of these four we specially read as chief. In which four degrees, as we grant diversity of office, so we admit in the same also diversity of dignity; neither denying that which is due to each degree, neither yet maintaining the ambition of any singular person. For as we give to the minister place above the deacon, to the bishop above the minister, to the archbishop above the bishop: so we see no cause of inequality, why one minister should be above another minister; one bishop in his degree above another bishop to deal in his diocese; or one archbishop above another archbishop. And this is to keep an order duly and truly in the church, according to the</p>
Objection.	
The first answer to the objection. Outward pre-eminence becometh length unto outward kingdoms, not to the church of Christ.	
Superiority.	
Distinction of degrees.	
Diversity of dignities in degrees.	
Order kept in the church.	

(1) "Non sic," saith Christ: "Quod sic," saith the pope.

true nature and definition of order by the authority of Augustine, where he thus defineth that which we call order: "Order," saith he, "is a disposition or arrangement of all things, according as they are matches or not matches, giving to every one respectively his own right and proper place."¹

Exordium.
Order defined.

This definition of St. Augustine standing with the things before premised, now here joineth the question between us and the papists; whether the metropolitan church of Rome, with the archbishop of the same, ought to be preferred before other metropolitan churches and archbishops through universal christendom, or not? To the answer whereof, if the voice of order might here be heard, it would say, "Give to things that be matches and alike, like honour; to things unlike, unlike honour." Wherefore, seeing the see of Rome is a patriarchal see appointed by the primitive church, and the bishop or archbishop thereof limited within his own bordering churches (which the council of Nice calleth "suburbicarias ecclesias,"²) as other archbishops be; he ought therefore orderly to have the honour of an archbishop (ordering himself thereafter), and such outward pre-eminence as to other archbishops is due. More if he do require, he breaketh the rule of right order, he falleth into presumption, and doeth wrong unto his fellows: and they also do wrong unto themselves, whosoever they be, who, feeding his humour of ambition, give more unto him than the aforesaid rule of order doth require. For, so much as they yield to him more than is his right, so much they take from themselves which is due to them. And the same is the cause, why Gregory reprehendeth them, who gave to the archbishop of Constantinople that which now the bishop of Rome claimeth to himself, charging them with the breach of order in these words: "Lest that while any singular thing is given to one person, all other priests be deprived of their due honour."³ And for the like cause, Pelagius his predecessor exhorteth that no priest do give to any one archbishop the name of "universal bishop," "lest," saith he, "in so doing, he take from himself his due honour, while he yieldeth to another that which is not his due."⁴ And also in the same epistle, "for," saith he, "if he be called the chief universal patriarch, then is the name of patriarch derogated from others," etc.⁵ Wherefore, as is said, seeing the bishop of Rome is an archbishop, as others be, order giveth that he should have the dignity which to archbishops is due; whatsoever is added more, is derogation to the rest. And thus much concerning distinction of degrees, and order in giving to every degree his place and honour.

The second reason and answer to the objection before moved is this: That being granted to the papists, that the doctors aforesaid (speaking of the principality of the church of Rome) do mean not only of the inward virtues of that church, but also of the outward

The second answer to the objection before moved.

(1) "Ordo est parium dispariumque rerum sua cuique loca tribuens dispositio." [Lib. xix. "De Civit. Dei," cap. 13.—Ed.]

(2) See Rufinus' Version of the Nicene Canons, given in note on p. 31 in the Appendix; also Beveregii, Annotat. p. 51, tom. ii. "Pandectæ canonum." Oxon, 1672.—Ed.

(3) "Ne dum privatim aliquod daretur uni, honore debito sacerdotes privarentur universi." Ex Registro Greg. lib. iv. epist. 32. [See *supra*, p. 39.—Ed.]

(4) "Ne sibi debitum subtrahat, cum alteri honorem offert indebitum." Ex Epist. 8. Pelagii II. dist. 99. cap. "Nullus."

(5) "Quia si summus patriarcha universalis dicitur, patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur." Ibid.

Exordium.

authority and jurisdiction of the same, above other churches: yet the cause wherefore they did attribute so much to that church, is to be considered; which was this, as before was alleged out of the council of Chalcedon, "for the rule and empery which that city of Rome had then above other cities;"¹ which cause, being outward and carnal, was neither then cause sufficient, and, now ceasing, importeth not to us the like effect, according as they say, "Sublatâ causâ tollitur effectus." So that by the reason thereof, the aforesaid principality of the church of Rome did not hold them "jure divino, sed humano." And as it holdeth by man's law, so by man's law it may be repealed again.

Certain demands for the papists to answer unto.

Wherefore, be it admitted that both the pope sitteth and succeedeth in the chair of Peter, and also that he is the bishop of the greatest city in the world; yet it followeth not thereby that he should have rule and lordship over all other bishops and churches of the world. For First,² touching the succession of Peter, many things are to be considered: First, Whether Peter sat and had his chair in Rome, or not. Secondly, Whether he sat there as an apostle, or as a bishop. Thirdly, Whether the sitting in the outward seat of Peter maketh successors of Peter. Fourthly, Whether he sitteth in the chair and seat of Peter, which sitteth not in the doctrine of Peter. Fifthly, Whether the succession of Peter maketh not rather an apostle than a bishop, and so should we call the pope the "apostle" of Rome, and not the "bishop" of Rome. Sixthly, Whether ecclesiastical functions ought to be esteemed by ordinary succession of place, or by God's secret calling and sending. Seventhly and lastly, Whether it stand by scripture, any one succession at all to be appointed in Christ's church, or why more from Peter, than from other apostles.

All which interrogatories being well discussed (which would require a long process), it should well appear what little hold the pope hath to take this state upon him, above all other churches, as he doth. In the mean time, this one argument by the way may suffice, instead of many, for our adversaries to answer to at their convenient leisure. Which argument thus I form and frame in *Camestres*.³

An argument proving the popes of this latter church of Rome not to be successors of Peter.

Ca- All the true successors of Peter sit in the chair of the doctrine of Peter, and other apostles uniformly:
me- No popes of this latter church of Rome sit in the chair of St. Peter's and other apostles' doctrine uniformly:
stres. *Ergo*, No popes of this latter church of Rome be the true successors of Peter.

And when they have well perused the minor of this argument, and have well conferred together the doctrine taught them of St. Peter with the doctrine taught now by the popes, of justification of a christian man, of the office of the law, of the strength and largeness of sin, of men's merits, of free-will, of works of supererogation, of setting up images, of seven sacraments, of auricular confession, of satisfaction, of sacrifice of the mass, of communicating under one kind, of elevating

(1) Διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην. Ex Concil. Chalced. cap. 28. [Labbe, Conc. Gen. tom. iv. col. 769.—Ed.]

(2) This "First" answers to "Secondly" in next page.—Ed.

(3) See note page 8 of this volume.—Ed.

and adoring the sacramental elements, of Latin service, of invocation, of prohibition of meats and marriage, of vowing chastity, of sects and rules of divers religions, of indulgences and pardons; also with their doctrine taught now of magistrates, of the fulness of power and regality of the see of Rome, with many others like to these;—then will I be glad to hear what they shall say to the premises.

Esordium.

Secondly,¹ if they would prove by the allegation of the doctors, Irenæus, Ambrose, Augustine, Theodoret aforesaid, the bishop of Rome to be the chief of all bishops therefore, because the city whereof he is bishop is the chief and principal above all other cities, that consequent is to be denied. For it followeth not (taking, as I said, the principality of that church to stand *δὲ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν*, that is, upon the principal dominion of that city), no more than this consequent followeth

London is the chief city in all England: *ergo*, the bishop of London is the chiefest of all bishops in this realm: which argument were derogatory to the archbishops both of Canterbury and York.

Yea, to grant yet more to our adversaries (which is all they can require) viz. that the aforesaid doctors, as Irenæus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoret, in giving principality unto Rome, meant to have respect unto the virtue of succession from Peter, and not unto the greatness of the city: yet notwithstanding, for all this, their argument holdeth not, if it be rightly considered; to say,

The apostolic see of Rome, having succession from Peter, with the bishops thereof, was chief then of all other churches in the primitive time of these doctors: *ergo*, the apostolical see of Rome, with the bishops thereof, having succession from Peter, ought now to be chief of all other churches in these our days.

A false consequent of the papists.

This consequent might well follow, if the times were like, or if succession, which gave then the cause of principality, were the same now, as it was then. But now the time and succession is not correspondent, for then succession, in the time of these doctors, was as well in doctrine apostolical, as in place apostolical. Now, the succession of doctrine apostolical hath long ceased in the see apostolical: and nothing remaineth but only place, which is the least matter of true spiritual and apostolical succession. And thus much to the authority and testimony of these forenamed doctors.

Answer to the consequent.

Succession apostolical double-wise to be considered.

Besides these objections heretofore recited out of Irenæus, Ambrose, Augustine, and Theodoret; our adversaries yet object and heap up against us, moreover, examples of the primitive time of the church, testimonies of general councils, and opinions of ancient writers taken out of the book of councils and epistles decretal, whereby their intent is to prove the foresaid terms of “the head of the church,” “ruler of the church,” “chief of all other priests,” to be applied not only to Peter, but also to the bishop of Rome within the compass of the primitive time. And here cometh in the testimony cited of Vincentius of Lerins; of the epistle of Paschasius and his fellows, writing to Leo from the council of Chalcedon; the testimony also of Justinian the emperor in his Codex, where John, then pope, is called “caput omnium ecclesiarum.”² The testimony also of Athanasius, with his

Testimonies alleged for the principality of the pope.

(1) See note (2) last page.—Ed.

(2) Codex Justin. lib. i. tit. i. “De summâ trinitate et fide cath.” [Corpus Juris Civilis, Par. 1628. tom. ii. col. 12; Labbe, Conc. Gen. tom. iv. col. 1743, 1745. This letter appears to be forged.—Ed.]

Exordium.

Answer
by a dis-
tinction.

"Caput"
and
"prin-
ceps"
have a
double
under-
standing.

How
Peter is
"prin-
ceps apo-
stolo-
rum."
"Prin-
ceps elo-
quentiæ"
Cicero.
"Prin-
ceps phi-
losopho-
rum"
Cratip-
pus.

fellow-bishops of Egypt, of Thebais, and Lybia, in their epistles to popes Marcus, Liberius, and Felix. Likewise the testimony of Jerome,¹ of St. Ambrose,² of St. Augustine to Boniface,³ of Theodoret, in his epistle to pope Leo,⁴ and of Chrysostome.⁵ By which testimonies our adversaries would prove St. Peter, and after him the bishop of Rome, to be called and taken for head of the church, chief bishop, prince and ruler of the whole clergy.⁶ To all which objections fully and exactly to answer in order, would require a whole volume by itself. In the mean time, leaving the rest unto them unto whom it doth more properly appertain, briefly with this one short distinction I answer these and all other such-like places, where St. Peter with his successors is called head of the church, chief of bishops, prince of the apostles, etc. In which places, the words "head," "chief," and "prince of the apostles," may be taken two manner of ways; to note either dominion or else commendation. For so we read sometimes "caput" and "princeps" to be words not of authority, but of excellency, whereby is declared the chiefest and worthiest part among many parts, and not possessor and governor of the whole. Like as, in the person of man, the head is the principal part of the whole body, being endued with reason, and furnished with most excellent senses, by the which the whole body of man is directed: so, thereof is derived by a metaphor, to what man or thing soever nature or condition hath given the greatest excellency of gifts and properties above other parts or members of the same society, that the same should be called "caput" or "princeps," head or prince, of the said parties. And yet the same head or prince, so called, hath not always dominion or jurisdiction of the rest. So we call those, in our vulgar speech, the head or chief men of the parish, who, for their riches, wisdom, or place, are most specially noted; after like phrase of speech we call him the head man of the inquest, that hath first place: and yet neither they, nor these, have any dominion or jurisdiction upon the residue. In a school, the chiefest scholar in learning is not therefore the master or governor of his fellows. Neither hath Marcus Cicero any title thereby to claim subjection and service of all other orators, because he is named "princeps eloquentiæ," and goeth before them in that kind of phrase. The same Cicero⁷ calleth Cratippus, "principem hujus ætatis philosophorum:" as Homer may

(1) In Præf. in 4. Evang. Item Ep. 42. tom. i. Item Ep. 41. tom. ii.

(2) Epist. 66, tom. iii. fol. 209. Edit. Paris, 1529.—Ed.

(3) Ad Bonif. contra duas Epist. Pelag. lib. i. cap. 1. Item lib. ii. De Bapt. cap. 1.

(4) Epist. commentar. in Pauli Ep. præfixa.

(5) Epist. ad Innocentium, tom. x.

(6) "*Princeps* Latinis est idem ac primus; qua de re mox. Apud interpretes Græcorum patrum observavi hanc vocem sæpè esse positam pro Græca ἀρχηγός; quæ ductorem ordinis designat, non monarcham: sic quod dixerat de Petro Hieronymus in Catalogo, *principes apostolorum*, recte verum est a Sophronio, ἀρχηγός τῶν Ἀποστόλων: vel pro κορυφαῖος, id est, *præsulor in choro*: vel alia simili, quæ dominationis nullam significationem continet: quam hodie in voce *Principes* inesse volunt ex homonymia ejus vocis mox explicanda. Meminerit igitur lector, cum apud Græcorum patrum interpretes, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, Eusebii, Hippolyti, aliorum, occurrat ea dictio Petro attributa, in Græco textu ejusmodi nomen extare, quod sine ulla ambiguitate primum in ordine significet, non eum qui cæteris dominetur. Exemplum unum afferam insigne. Eusebius Hist. lib. 2. cap. 14. Petrum appellat τὸν τῶν λοιπῶν πάντων προήγορον, ad verbum, *reliquorum omnium prolocutorem*. Rufinus hæc verba sic vertit: *primorum principem Petrum*; ineptissime, unde enim illud *primorum*? In Græco nihil ejusmodi: deinde προήγορος non est *princeps*; quod verbi apud Rufinum si accipias pro dominatore, falsissimam Eusebio sententiam affinges: si pro primo, mentem illius ex altera tantum parte expresseris; nam προήγορος non est primus simpliciter; sed *primus locutor*; itaque absurdissima est Rufini versio: nec multo melior aut fidelior *Christophoroniæna*, *reliquorum omnium apostolorum facile principem*." Casaubon, "Exerc. xv. ad Annal. Eccles. Baronii," p. 268. edit. Francof. 1615.—Ed.

(7) Lib. i. Offic. [Rather "Principe hujus memoriæ philosophorum:" De Officiis, lib. iii. cap. 2. See also "De Naturâ Deorum;" lib. ii. § 66. "Socrates princeps philosophorum."—Ed.]

be also called "poetarum princeps:" and yet neither philosophers to Cratippus, nor poets to Homer, owe any thing else, but only fame and praise.

*Eccor-
dium.*

And what if St. Peter, the blessed apostle, be called and counted by the old ancient doctors "Coryphæus apostolorum," which is, head and prince of the apostles, for his excellent faith, for his divine confession, and singular affection to the Lord Jesus; yet what interest or charge either hath he to challenge over the apostles, or the pope after him over all other bishops and the whole church of Christ, although the pope have the like excellency of Christ's faith which Peter had; as would God he had! As concerning these allegations therefore out of the doctors, two things are to be observed: first, that neither these names and titles, though they be given to Peter, do give him any state or dominion over other apostles; nor yet the succession of him doth further, any whit, this celsitude and regality of the pope to advance him above his fellow archbishops, as now he doth.

*Petrus
'prin-
ceps et
Cory-
phæus
apostolo-
rum."*

And (speaking of the writers and councils of the primitive age) if our adversaries would needs provoke us to the numbering of testimonies and dividing the house, for these aforesaid testimonies alleged on their side I could, on the contrary part, recite out of the witness of doctors, out of the examples of councils, and practices of emperors, no less than sixty voices, much more repugnant against their assertion, than there is for the pope. The tractation whereof for this present I do either refer to them that have more leisure at this time to discourse them, or else defer to another time, if the good pleasure of the Lord shall be to grant me further leisure in another book to treat thereof at large; in such order, as (if the Lord so grant) shall appear sufficient matter, to prove by the doctors, general councils, examples and histories of time, that the bishops of Rome, during the first five hundred years after Christ, although for the greatness of the empire they were somewhat more magnified than the others, and therefore were sought of many, and were flattered of some, and they themselves divers times did set forth themselves more than they should, yet, by the common consent of churches, were stopped of their purpose, so that by the consent of the most part, within the compass of that age, the bishops of Rome had not this regal state of title, jurisdiction, and fulness of power, which now they usurp, but were taken as archbishops of equal honour, of equal merit, with other archbishops and rulers of the church. And if any preferment was given unto them something above the rest, yet neither was it so given of all, nor of the most part: secondly, neither was it so given of them for any such necessity of God's word, "aut jure aliquo divino," as which did so bind them thereunto; nor yet so much for the respect of Peter, and his succession, as for certain other causes and respects, as may be gathered to the number of thirteen.¹

1. Of which, the first is the greatness of the city and monarchy of Rome.

*Thirteen
causes of
advanc-
ing of the
see of
Rome.*

2. The second is the authority of the emperor Constantine the Great, the first of the emperors converted to the faith, and ruling in the same city; by whom the universal liberty of the church was first

(1) Taken apparently from Illyricus, "Cat. Test." Goul. col. 271, whence Foxe's text has been in several places improved.—Ed.

Exordium.

promoted; and by whom the causes of bishops, who might be at variance, were sometimes (as a matter of indulgence) committed to the bishop of Rome, and to other bishops near at hand, to be decided; as appeareth in Eusebius.¹

3. The third was the council of Nice, which confirmed the pre-eminence of that church to have the oversight of the churches bordering about it.²

4. The fourth cause of advancing the church of Rome, was the unquiet state of the eastern church, much troubled in those days with sects, factions, and dissensions, whereof we may read in Socrates and Sozomen.³

5. The bishops of Rome being wont to be summoned, like other metropolitans, to attend synods, then, if it chanced them to be absent, and their sentence nevertheless to be required, by the occasion thereof they began at length to take it for a canon or rule ecclesiastical that their sentence *must* be required, and thereupon to disallow those acts of synods, whereto their sentence was not required.

6. Another cause was, that when any matter affecting the common interests of the church was in hand at any particular place, whatsoever was done, commonly the manner was to write to the Roman bishop for his approbation in the same, for public unity and consent to be had in Christ's church, as appeareth by Ambrose.⁴

7. Item, for that the testimonial sometimes of the Roman bishop was wont in those days also to be desired for admitting teachers and bishops in other churches, whereof we have example in Socrates.⁵

8. Moreover, this was a great setting-up of that church, when their sentence not only was required, but also received divers times of other bishops.⁶ And when bishops of other provinces were at any dissension among themselves, they of their own accord appealed to the bishop of Rome, desiring him to cite up both parties, and to have the hearing and deciding of the cause, as did Macarius and Hesychius send to Julius then bishop of Rome.⁷

9. Item, in that certain of the Arians, returning from their Arianism, offered up and exhibited unto the bishops of Rome their recantations, and were thereupon of them received again, as Ursacius and Valens did to Julius.⁸

10. The tenth cause was also, for that Gratian the emperor made a law, that all men should retain that religion which Damasus bishop of Rome, and Peter bishop of Alexandria did hold.⁹

11. And also, if the bishop of Rome happened to disallow the appointment of any minister or ministers, the popes, perceiving how diligent and ready such were to seek their favour, and to send up their messengers to Rome for their purgation, took thereby no little means of exaltation.¹⁰

12. Besides these aforesaid, the bishops of Rome had also another artificial practice, that in sending out their letters abroad, as they did so many, in all their epistles (if the epistles be theirs, and not forged)¹¹

(1) Euseb. lib. x. cap. 5.

(2) See note in Appendix on p. 31.—Ed.

(3) Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 15; Sozom. lib. iii. cap. 8.

(4) Lib. x. Epist. 78. Ambros. ad Theophilum.

(5) Socrat. lib. iv. cap. 37.

(6) Sozom. lib. vi. cap. 22.

(7) Athanas. Apol. 2.

(8) Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 24.

(9) Sozom. lib. vii. cap. 4.

(10) Theodoret. lib. v. cap. 23.

(11) If any one cares to examine into this well-grounded suspicion of these letters being "forged," he may consult Blondel's "Examen Epist. Decretal." pp. 430—433, etc.—Ed.

ever they were harping of the greatness of their name, and of their apostolic see, and of the primacy of St. Peter, their predecessor and prince of all the apostles, etc. And this they used in every letter whensoever they wrote to any, as appeareth in all their letters decretal, namely, in the letters of Melchiades, Marcellus, and Marcus, etc.

Exordium.

13. Again, if any of the eastern church directed any writing to them, wherein any signification was contained of ever so little reverence given unto them (as learned men commonly use for modesty's sake), that was taken by and by and construed for plain subjection and due obedience, as declareth the letter of Damasus, written to the bishops of the eastern church beginning thus: "*Quod debitam reverentiam,*" etc. In English thus: "Whereas your charity yieldeth due reverence to the apostolical see, you in so doing, dear children, do much for yourselves," etc.¹ Whereas the bishops of the eastern church, notwithstanding, had shewed little or no reverence in their epistle to pope Damasus before.

Thus have ye the first and original grounds, by the means whereof, the archbishops of the Romish see have achieved this their great kingdom and celsitude over Christ's church, first beginning the mystery of their iniquity by that which was modestly and voluntarily given them; afterward, by use and custom, claiming it ambitiously unto them of duty and service; and lastly, holding fast (as we see) that which once they had gotten into their possession, so that now in no case they can abide the birds to call home their feathers again, which they so long have usurped.

And thus much concerning the life, jurisdiction, and title of the Roman bishops: in all which (as is declared) they, and not we, have fallen from the church of Rome. To these I might also join the manner of government, wherein the said Romish bishops have no less altered, both from the rule of scripture, and from the steps of the true church of Rome; which government as it hath been, and ought to be, only spiritual, so hath the bishop of Rome used it of late years no otherwise than an earthly king or prince governeth his realm and dominions—with riches, glory, power, terror, outward strength, force, prison, death, execution, laws, policies, promoting his friends to dignities, revenging his affections, punishing and correcting faults against his person more than other offences against God committed, using and abusing in all these things the word of God for his pretext and cloak to work his worldly purpose withal: whereas indeed, the word of God ministereth no such power to spiritual persons, but such as is spiritual: according to the saying of the apostle, "*The armour and artillery,*" saith St. Paul, "*of our warfare, are not carnal, but spiritual: such as serve not against flesh and blood, nor against the weak person of man; but against Satan, against the gates of hell, and the profundities of the wicked power.*"² Which armour as it is all spiritual, so ought they which have the dealing thereof to be likewise spiritual, well furnished with all such gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost, as are meet for the governance of his spiritual church: as, with wisdom and knowledge in the scripture to instruct the ignorant; with inward intelligence and foresight of the crafty cogitations and opera-

This latter church of Rome differing from the first church of Rome in form of government.

How the church of Christ ought to be governed.

(1) Theodoret. lib. v. cap. 9, 10.

(2) "*Arma militiæ nostræ non sunt carnalia, sed spiritualia,*" etc. 2 Cor. x. 4; Eph. vi. 12.

*Exor-
dium.*

Prepos-
terous
govern-
ment of
the
church by
the pope.

tions of Satan, and with power of the Spirit to resist the same ; with practice and experience of temptations, to comfort such as be afflicted and oppressed of Satan ; with heavenly discretion to discern spirits, and truth from untruth ; with judgment and knowledge of tongues, and learning to convict error ; with zeal of God's glory ; with fervency of prayer ; with patience in persecution ; with a mind contented with all cases and states incident ; with tears and compassion on other men's griefs ; with stoutness and courage against proud and stout oppressors ; with humility toward the poor and miserable ; with the counsel of the Lord Jesus by his word and Spirit to direct him in all things to be done ; with strength against sin ; with hatred of this world ; with gift of faith ; power of the keys in spiritual causes—as to minister the word, the sacraments, and excommunication when the word biddeth, that the spirit may be saved, and to reconcile again as case requireth, etc. These and such like are the matters wherein consist the sinews and strength of the church, and for true governance of the same. But, contrary to these aforesaid, both the bishop and clergy of this latter church of Rome proceed in their administration and governance as those who, under the name and pretence of Christ and his word, have exercised of long time nothing else but a worldly dominion, seeking indeed their own glory, not the glory of Christ ; riches of the world, not the lucre of souls ; not feeding of the flock, but filling the purse ; revenging their own wrongs, but neglecting God's glory ; striving against man only, and killing him, but not killing the vice, nor confuting the error of man ; strong against flesh and blood, but weak against the devil ; stout against the simple, but meek against the mighty : briefly, doing almost all things preposterously, more like to secular princes, than spiritual pastors of Christ's flock, with outward enforcement, and fear of punishment, with prisoning, famishing, hanging, racking, drowning, heading, slaying, murdering and burning, and warring also : on the other side, with their riches and treasures ; with their guard and guardiance ; with strength of men ; with court and cardinals ;¹ with pomp and pride about them ; with their triple crown ; with the naked sword ; with their ordinary succession ; with their laws and executions ; their promotions and preferments ; their biddings and commandings ; threatenings and revengings, etc.

Compa-
rison be-
tween the
kingdom
of this
world,
and the
kingdom
of the
pope.

In fine, to compare therefore the image of a worldly kingdom, with this kingdom of the pope, there is no difference, save only that this kingdom of the pope, under hypocrisy, maketh a face of the spiritual sword, which is the word of God ; but, in very deed, doeth all things with the temporal sword ; that is, with outward forcement and coercion, differing nothing from civil and secular regiment in all properties and conditions, if it be well considered. For, as in an earthly kingdom, first there is a prince or some chief magistrate

¹ (1) The majesty, which attached to this rank formerly, is thus spoken of by an Italian writer, and we quote it the more readily, as the existence of such pretensions and ideas is not, we imagine, much known in England ; nor, we may add, much believed :—"Tanta est hujus dignitatis majestas, ut non cardinalis solum, velut sacrosanctus, *absque sacrilegii culpa, tangi non possit*, verum nec ille, qui ad capitale supplicium ducitur, si cardinali obviam factus, ejusque pileum aut vestem attigerit, (teste Baldo, quem alii, Barbatio et Albano testibus, communiter sequuntur) occidi nequeat."—Anast. Germonii de Sacrorum Immunitatibus ; lib. iii. cap. 6. de Cardinalibus in Oper. Romæ, 1623. Nor were the privileges of the vestal virgins less in *Pagan* Rome ; nay, a greater benefit was apparently derived by a criminal in meeting a vestal virgin, than in the other case of a cardinal : "Ῥαβδοῦχόνται δὲ προϊούσαι (αἱ παρθένοι), κἄν ἀγομένην τινὶ πρὸς θάνατον αὐτομῶς συντύχῳσιν, οὐκ ἀναίρεται."—Plutarch. Vit. Numæ," § 10.—Eu.

appointed, having dominion over his nobles and commons, containing all his subjects under his statutes and laws (with the which laws notwithstanding he dispenseth at his pleasure), under whom all other inferior magistrates have their order and place to them appointed to rule over the subjects, and yet to be subject under him : so, if the state and form of the pope be well considered, we shall see it altereth nothing from the same, but only in the names of the persons. In civil government, all subjection is referred to one head ruler, whose authority surmounteth all the rest, and keepeth them under obedience : in like manner the government of the popish church is committed to one man, who, as chief steward, overseer, and ruler of Christ's household in his absence, hath supreme power over all churches, to moderate and direct all the affairs thereof. But here standeth the difference ; in civil policy he is called a king or prince ; here he is called a pope.

Exordium.

The king hath next unto him his dukes and earls ; the pope's nobility standeth in his cardinals and legates, who, though they be no dukes in name, yet in pomp and pride, will not only give check to them, but also mate to kings themselves, if they might be suffered, as did Theodore, Lanfranc, Anselm, and Thomas Becket ; and so would Thomas Wolsey have done, had not the king given him a check to his mate betime. In civil policy, next to dukes and earls, followeth the order of lords, barons, knights, esquires, gentlemen, with mayors, sheriffs, constables, bailiffs, wardens, etc. The like race is to be seen also, although under other names, in the pope's policy : of primates, bishops, suffragans, provosts, deans, canons, vicars, archdeacons, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, lectors, door-keepers, singsters, with other clerks. And as, in the other, under wardens cometh the order of scavengers, so neither doth the pope's monarchy lack his channel-rakers, to whom may well be compared the rabblement of abbots, provincials, priors, monks, friars, with their convents, and nunneries.

Secular nobility compared with ecclesiastical nobility.

Civil magistrates with ecclesiastical.

Moreover, from justices, judges, lawyers, sergeants, attorneys, which be necessary officers in the commonwealth, what differ the pope's inquisitors, canonists, doctors, and bachelors of the pope's law, commissaries, officials, proctors, promoters, with such others, which serve no less in the spiritual court and in the consistory, than the other aforesaid do in the temporal court or in the Guildhall ? Now, whoso listeth to compare the glory and magnificence of the one, with the glory of the other ; also the power and strength of the one regiment, with the power of the other, and so the riches of the one, with the riches of the other, I suppose he shall see no great odds between them both, taking the pope's kingdom, as it hath stood in his full ruff, and yet doth stand where churches are not reformed. As for subtlety and politic practice, there is no man, that is indifferent, that doubteth, or that hath his eyes, that seeth not, that the pope's hierarchy in holding up their state, far excelleth all the empires and kingdoms of worldly princes, of whom all others may take example to learn.

Officers of the temporal court with officers of the spiritual court. Glory and power compared. Riches.

Subtlety.

Thus, in comparing the pope's regiment with civil governance, as they do little or nothing disagree, so, in comparing again the same with the order of Scriptures, or with the regiment that was in the old

Exordium. ancient church of Rome, we shall see no resemblance between them. As we read in the apostles' time, all the armour of Christ's ministers was spiritual, and full of godly power against the spiritual enemies of our salvation, governing the church then with peace, patience, humility, true knowledge of God, the sword of the spirit, the shield of faith, the breast-plate of righteousness, hearty charity, sincere faith, and a good conscience. [¶] so, after the apostles, in the time of Ambrose, by his own testimony it is to be understood, that the armour of churchmen was then "*preces et lachrymæ*," prayers and tears; whereas now the armour of the pope's priesthood is nothing else but "*ignis et ferrum*," fire and sword, wherewith they keep all things under their subjection. And here cometh in the enormous and horrible abuse of excommunication, suspension, and interdiction, in cases frivolous or worldly; and for such things as for which the civil magistrate will not commit any citizens to the stocks, the pope's censure will not stick to commit a christian to the devil: not to speak of their other usurped dealings and doings in matters that belong to the civil sword, and which be to them impertinent; as, in punishing whoredom and adultery; in administration and probates of testaments; in bearing civil office, as, popes to be senators of Rome, and emperors also *sede vacante*; cardinals to be captains in war, and rulers of regions; bishops to be presidents or chancellors; priests to be stewards in great men's houses, or masters of mints, or clerks of the market, or gardeners to gentlemen, etc.: all which here I overpass, referring them to the deeper consideration of such as have more leisure to mark the order of their doings, and so to judge of the same with indifferency, according to the rule of truth taught in God's word, and public examples of the ancient church of Christ in the primitive time.

Corrupt doctrine of the pope's church. Thus, having discoursed sufficiently so much as concerneth the manner of life, title, jurisdiction, and government of the pope's see (in all which points it is to be seen how this latter church of Rome hath receded from the true ancient church of Rome), it now remaineth, according to my promise, and order prefixed, consequently to proceed to the fourth and last point, which is of Doctrine: wherein consisteth the chiefest matter that maketh with us, and against them; in such sort as (their doctrine standing as it doth) neither are they to be reputed for true catholics, being altered so far from them; nor we otherwise than heretics, if we should now join with these. For the more trial whereof, let us examine the doctrine and rites of the said church of Rome, now used, and compare the same with the teaching of the ancient catholics; to the intent that such simple souls as have been hitherto, and yet are, seduced by the false vizard and image of this pretended and bastardly church, perceiving what lieth within it, may be warned betime, either to eschew the peril, if they list to be instructed, or, if not, to blame none but themselves for their own wilful destruction. And albeit I could here charge this new-fangled church of the pope with seven or eight heinous crimes, as blasphemy, idolatry, heresy, superstition, absurdity, vanity, cruelty and contrariety (in which it neither agreeth with the old learning of their fore-

False image of the pope's church.

elders, nor yet with themselves in sundry points), yet, after a more temperate sort to pass this matter with them, these two things I will and dare boldly affirm, that in this doctrine of the pope now taught in the church of Rome, there is neither any consolation of conscience, nor salvation of man's soul. For, seeing there is no life, nor soul's health, but only in Christ, nor any promise of salvation or comfort made, but only by faith in the Son of God ; what assurance can there be of perfect peace, life, or salvation, where that which only maketh all, is least made of, and other things which make least, are most esteemed? For, to say the simple truth, what else is the whole course and body of the pope's law now set forth, but a doctrine of laws, a heap of ceremonies, a teaching of traditions, a meditation of merits, a foundation of new religions? all which confer not one jot to the justification of our souls before the terrible judgment of God. And therefore, as it may be truly said that this doctrine of the pope is void of all true comfort and salvation, so likewise it seemeth that these, who addict themselves so devoutly to the pope's learning, were never earnestly afflicted in conscience, never humbled in spirit, nor broken in heart, never entered into any serious feeling of God's judgment, nor ever felt the strength of the law and of death. For if they had, they should soon have seen their own weakness, and have been driven to Christ; then should they have seen what a horrible thing it is, to appear before God the Father, or once to think on him (as Luther saith) without Christ. And, on the contrary side, then should they know what a glory, what a kingdom, what liberty and life it were, to be in Christ Jesus by faith, holding their inheritance, not with the bond son of Hagar, but with the free son of Sarah; by promise, and not by the law; by grace, and not by works; by gift, and not by deserving: that God only might be praised, and not man.

Exordium.

No comfort nor salvation in the pope's doctrine now taught.

The scope and sum of it, whither it tendeth

Papists never afflicted deeply in conscience.

A horrible thing, to think of, God without Christ.

And thus were the old Romans first taught by St. Paul writing to the Romans. The same did Cornelius the Roman, who was the first that was baptized of all the Gentiles, learn of St. Peter when he received the Holy Ghost, not by the deeds of the law, but only by hearing the faith of Jesus preached: and in the same doctrine the said church of the Romans many years continued, so long as they were in affliction. And in the same doctrine the bishop of Rome, with his Romans, now also should still remain, if they were such ancient catholics as they pretend, and would follow the old mother church of Rome, and hold the first liquor wherewith they were first seasoned. But the sweet verdour and scent of that liquor and pleasant must¹ is now clean put out through other unsavoury infusions of the pope's thrusting in; so that almost no taste nor piece remaineth of all that primitive doctrine, which St. Paul and other apostles first planted among the Gentiles. And what marvel if the Romans now, in so long tract of time, have lost their first sap, seeing the church of the Galatians then, in the very time of St. Paul their schoolmaster, he being amongst them, had not so soon turned his back a little; but they were all turned almost from the doctrine of faith, and had much ado to be recovered again.

The right faith of the old Romans. Cornelius, a Roman, first baptized of all the Gentiles.

The church of Rome hath lost the liquor wherewith it was first seasoned. The Galatians almost gone from the faith, in Paul's time.

Of this defection and falling from faith, St. Paul expressly fore-

(1) "Must," sweet wine, fresh from the grapes. Perhaps it is in reference to the idea of freshness, that Foxe uses the term "verdour," which otherwise might be thought a slip for "odour."—Er.

Exordium.

telleth us in his letters both to the Thessalonians, and also to Timothy, where he sheweth, that a defection shall come, and that certain shall depart from the faith, attending to spirits of error.¹ And to know what errors these shall be, the circumstance plainly leadeth us to understand in the same place; where the said apostle speaketh of marked consciences, forbidding men to marry, and to eat meats, ordained of God to be taken with thanksgiving, for man's sustenance; most evidently, as with his finger, pointing out unto us the church of Rome, which, not in these points only, but also in all other conditions almost, is utterly revolted from the pure original sincerity of that doctrine, which St. Paul planted in the church of the Romans, and of all other Gentiles.

The Sum of St. Paul's Doctrine delivered to the Gentiles.

First, the doctrine of St. Paul ascribeth all our justification freely and merely to faith only in Christ, as to the only means and cause immediate, whereby the merits of Christ's passion be applied unto us, without any other respect of work or works of the law whatsoever; and in this doctrine, the church of the Romans was first planted.

Salvation by mercy only, not by merits. 2. Secondly, the same doctrine of St. Paul, cutting off, and excluding all glory of man's deserving, stayeth only upon God's promise and upon grace, not man's merits; upon mercy, not man's labouring or running; upon election and calling, not man's willing, etc.

All flesh concluded under sin. 3. Thirdly, the same doctrine, casting down the strength of man and his integra naturalia (as the schools do term them), concludeth all flesh under sin, and maketh the same destitute of the glory of God.

Justitia Dei, justitia propria. 4. Item, it maketh manifest difference between the law and the gospel, declaring the use and end of them to be diverse: the one to kill, the other to quicken; the one to condemn, the other to justify; the one to have an end and a time, the other to be perpetual, etc.

Difference between the law and the gospel. 5. Item, the same doctrine of St. Paul, as it sheweth a difference between the law and the gospel; so it maketh no less difference between "justitia Dei," and "justitia propria;" that is, the righteousness of God and the righteousness of man, abhorring the one, that is, man's own righteousness, coming by the law and works; and embracing the other, which God imputeth freely and graciously to us for Christ his Son's sake, in whom we believe.

The righteousness of God, and that of man, how they differ in Scripture. 6. Item, it wipeth away all traditions, and constitutions of men whatsoever, especially from binding of conscience; calling them beggarly elements of this world.

A true christian knoweth nothing but Christ crucified. 7. Likewise it rejecteth and wipeth away all curious subtleties and superfluous speculations, and knoweth nothing else but Christ only crucified, which is the only object whereunto our faith looketh.

Original sin. Original justice. 8. Furthermore, as the same doctrine of St. Paul defineth all men to be transgressors by disobedience of one Adam, though they never touched the apple, they coming of his stock by nature; so doth it prove all men to be justified by the obedience of one, though they did not his obedience, they being likewise born of him by spiritual regeneration and faith.

All men condemned by one. All men saved by one. 9. And therefore, as all men, coming of Adam, are condemned originally, before they grow up to commit any sin against the law; so all men regenerated by faith in Christ, are saved originally, before they begin to do any good work of charity, or any other good deed.

10. Item, the doctrine of St. Paul, perpending the high glory of a christian man's state in Christ Jesus by faith, first setteth him in a perfect peace with Almighty God:² secondly, exempteth him from all condemnation;³ thirdly, it matcheth him with angels: it equalleth him with saints and fellow-citizens of heaven; it numbereth him with the household of God; and co-inheriteth him with Jesus Christ himself:⁴ fourthly, it adopteth him from the state of a servant, to the state of a son of God, crying "Abba," Father:⁵ fifthly, it

(1) 1 Tim. iv. 1.

(4) Eph. ii. 19.

(2) Rom. v. 1.

(5) Gal. iv. 6.

(3) Rom. viii. 1.

openeth to him a bold access and entrance to the high majesty and throne of grace:¹ sixthly, it subjecteth all things under him as ministers (yea, the apostles themselves in their highest office), death, life, things present, things to come, with the whole world besides; and assigneth him no spiritual head, but only Christ, saying, "And you are Christ's, and Christ is God's:"² seventhly, it advanceth and setteth him in a spiritual liberty or freedom, above all terrors of spirit, rising either of God's law or man's law, above all dreadful fears of sin, damnation, malediction, rejection, death, hell, or purgatory; above all servile bondage of ceremonies, men's precepts, traditions, superstitious vices, yokes, customs, or what else soever oppresseth and entangleth the spiritual freedom of a conscience, which Christ hath set at liberty; and requireth, moreover, that we walk and stand stout in that liberty whereto we are brought with the free son of Sarah, and not suffer ourselves any more to be clogged with any such servile bondage—that is to say, although we must be content to subject our bodies to all service, and to all men, yet must we not yield our spiritual consciences and souls as slaves and servants, to be subject to the fear or bondage of any terrene thing in this world,³ forso much as we are in that part made lords and princes over all things, whatsoever can harm, or bind, or terrify us.

Exordium.

The glorious state of christian liberty and spiritual freedom is Christ Jesus.

11. Item, the right vein of St. Paul's doctrine putteth no difference nor observation in days and times.⁴

Days and times indifferent.

12. Item, it leaveth all meats to be indifferent, with thanksgiving, to serve the necessity of the body, and not the body to serve them.⁵

Meats indifferent with thanksgiving.

13. Item, it permitteth marriage without restraint or exception, lawful and also expedient for all men, having need thereof.⁶

Marriage.

14. Item, it admitteth no sacrifice for sin but the sacrifice of Christ alone, and that done, once for all, with blood. For without blood there is no remission of sin, which is applied to us by faith only, and by nothing else.⁷

One sacrifice for sin, and no more.

15. Item, as touching the holy communion, by the letters of St. Paul to the Corinthians,⁸ we understand, that the use then amongst them was, to have the participation of the bread called the Lord's body, and of the cup called the Lord's blood, administered not at an altar, but at a plain board or table, the congregation there meeting together after the time of their supper; where, not the minister alone did receive, while the others looked on, but the whole congregation together did communicate with reverence and thanksgiving; nor lifting over the priest's head, nor worshipping, nor kneeling, nor knocking their breasts; but either sitting at the supper, or standing after the supper. According to which form the Muscovites yet, to this day, following the old rite of their country (although being drowned otherwise in much superstition), use to receive it after they be risen from their dinner, standing. Experience whereof was seen here at London the first day of October, 1569.

The use of the holy communion in ancient time of the primitive church.

Muscovites.

16. Item, the said apostle, besides the sacramental supper, maketh mention of baptism, or washing of regeneration, although he himself baptized but few.⁹ Of the other sacraments, he maketh no mention.

No more sacraments mentioned in St. Paul, but the Lord's supper and baptism.

17. Item, by the same doctrine of St. Paul, no tongue is to be used in the congregation, which is not known, and doth not edify.¹⁰

The authority and office of the civil magistrates.

18. Item, the rule of St. Paul's doctrine subjecteth every creature under the obedience of kings and princes and ordinary magistrates, ordained of God to have the sword and authority of public regiment, to order and dispose in all things, not contrary to God, whatsoever pertaineth to the maintenance of the good, or to the correction of the evil; from whose jurisdiction there is no exemption of vocations or persons, whether they be ecclesiastical or political. And therefore to this office it appertaineth to preserve peace, to set things in lawful order, to conserve christian discipline in the church of Christ, to remove offences, to bridle the disobedient, to provide and procure wholesome and faithful teachers over the people, to maintain learning and set up schools, to have oversight, not only of the people, but also of all ecclesiastical ministers, to see every one to do his duty, and to remove or punish such as be negligent; also to call councils and synods, and to provide that the church goods be faithfully dispensed by the hands of true dealers; to the sustentation of the church, of true teachers, and to the public necessity of the poor, etc.

(1) Eph. ii. 20; Heb. iv. 16.

(2) 1 Cor. iii. 23.

(3) Gal. iv. 3; Col. ii. 20.

(4) Gal. iv. 10; Col. ii. 8.

(5) Col. ii. 21; 1 Tim. iv. 3.

(6) 1 Cor. vii. 2.

(7) Heb. ix. 22.

(8) 1 Cor. x. 16, 17, 21; xi. 20, &c.

(9) 1 Cor. i. 16.

(10) 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

Exordium.

The office and authority of bishops how far it doth extend.

19. Furthermore, by St. Paul's doctrine, the ministers and superintendents of Christ's church have their authority and armour likewise to them limited; which armour is only spiritual and not carnal, whereby they fight not against flesh and blood, but against the power of darkness, error, and sin; against the spiritual seduction and craftiness in heavenly things, against the works and proceedings of Satan, the prince of this world, in comforting weak consciences against the terrors of the devil and desperation; and, finally, against every cogitation lifted up against Christ, to subdue every celsitude to the subjection and power of Christ Jesus the Son of God.

Another Brief Recapitulation of St. Paul's Doctrine, reduced to Five Points.

Briefly to reduce the whole doctrine of St. Paul into a compendious sum, it consisteth chiefly in these five points:—

The great mercy of God in Christ.

1. First, in setting forth the grace, great love, and good will, and free promises of God the Father in Christ Jesus his Son, to mankind, "which so loved the world, that he hath given his own Son for the redemption thereof:"¹ "Which gave his Son to die for us being his enemies:"² "Which hath quickened us, being dead in sin:"³ "Which so mercifully hath reconciled the world to himself by his Son, and also by his ambassadors desireth us to be reconciled unto him:"⁴ "Who hath given his own Son to be sin for us:"⁵ "To be accursed for us:"⁶ "Which, by firm promise, hath assured us of our inheritance:"⁷ "Which, not by the works of righteousness that we have done, but of his own mercy, hath saved us by the washing of regeneration."⁸

The glory and majesty of Christ Jesus set forth by St. Paul.

2. The second point consisteth in preaching and expressing the glorious and triumphant majesty of Christ Jesus the Son of God, and the excellency of his glory; "Who, being once dead in the infirmity of flesh, rose again with power, and ascending up with majesty, hath led away captivity captive:"⁹ "Sitteth and reigneth in glory on the right hand of God in heavenly things above all principates and potestates, powers and dominations, and above every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in the world to come:"¹⁰ "At whose name every knee is to bend both in heaven and in earth, and under the earth, and every tongue to confess our Lord Christ Jesus to the glory of God the Father:"¹¹ "In whom and by whom all things are made both in heaven and earth, things visible and invisible, whether they be thrones or dominations, or principates or potestates, all are by him and for him created, and he is before all, and all things consist in him who is the head of his body the church, the beginning and first born from the dead, in whom dwelleth all fulness:"¹² "To whom the Father hath given all judgment, and judgeth no man himself any more:"¹³ "To whom the Father hath given all things to his hands:"¹⁴ "To whom the Father hath given power of all flesh:"¹⁵ "To whom all power is given in heaven and earth:"¹⁶ "In whom all the promises of God are Yea and Amen."¹⁷

The virtue and effect of Christ's death, and what exceeding benefits proceed thereof.

3. Thirdly, he declareth the virtue of his cross and passion, and what exceeding benefits proceed to us by the same. "By whose blood we have redemption and remission of our sins:"¹⁸ "By whose stripes we are made whole:"¹⁹ "By whose cross all things are pacified, both in heaven and in earth:"²⁰ "By whose death we are reconciled:"²¹ "Who hath destroyed death, and brought life to light:"²² "Who by death hath destroyed him which had the power of death, that is, the devil; and hath delivered them which lived under fear of death all their life in bondage:"²³ "By whose obedience we are made just; by whose righteousness we are justified to life:"²⁴ "By whose curse we are blessed, and delivered from the malediction of the law:"²⁵ "By whose blood we that once were far off, are made near unto God:"²⁶ "Who in one body hath reconciled both Jews and Gentiles unto God:"²⁷ "Who, by his flesh, hath taken away the division and separation between God and us, abolishing the law which was set against us in precepts and decrees:"²⁸ "Who is our peace, our advocate, and

(1) John iii. 16.

(5) 2 Cor. v. 21.

(9) Eph. iv. 8.

(13) John v. 22.

(17) 2 Cor. i. 20.

(21) Rom. v. 10.

(25) Gal. iii. 13.

(2) Rom. v. 10.

(6) Gal. iii. 13.

(10) Eph. i. 20.

(14) John xiii. 3.

(18) Ephes. i. 7.

(22) 2 Tim. i. 10.

(26) Eph. ii. 13.

(3) Eph. ii. 1.

(7) Rom. iv. 16.

(11) Phil. ii. 11.

(15) John xvii. 2.

(19) Isaiah liii. 5.

(23) Heb. ii. 14.

(27) Eph. ii. 16.

(4) 2 Cor. v. 20.

(8) Tit. iii. 5.

(12) Col. i. 16—19.

(16) Matt. xxviii. 18.

(20) Col. i. 20.

(24) Rom. v. 9.

(28) Eph. ii. 14, 15.

propitiation for the sins of the whole world :"¹ "Who was made accursed, and sin for us, that we might be the righteousness of God in him :"² "Who is made of God for us, our wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption :"³ "By whom we have boldness, and entrance with all confidence through faith in him :"⁴ "Who forgiveth all our sins, and hath torn in pieces the obligation or hand-writing, which was against us in the law of commandments; and hath crucified it upon the cross, and utterly hath dispatched and abolished the same; and hath spoiled principates and potestates, as in an open show of conquest, triumphing over them openly in himself :"⁵ "Who justifieth the wicked, by faith :"⁶ "In whom we are made full and complete," etc.⁷

Exordium.

Faith only the mean cause of salvation and nothing else.

4. The fourth branch is, to teach us and inform us, to whom these benefits of Christ's passion and victory do appertain, by what means the same is applied and redoundeth unto us; which means is only one, that is, only faith in Christ Jesus, and no other thing; which faith it pleaseth almighty God to accept for righteousness. And this righteousness it is, which only standeth before God, and none other, as we are plainly taught by the scriptures, and especially by the doctrine of St. Paul. Which righteousness, thus rising of faith in Christ, St. Paul calleth the righteousness of God, where he, writing of himself, utterly refuseth the other righteousness which is of the law, and "desireth to be found in him, not having his own righteousness, which is of the law, but the righteousness of Christ, which is of faith."⁸ Again, the said apostle, writing of the Jews, which sought for righteousness and found it not; and also of the Gentiles, which sought not for it, and yet found it, sheweth the reason why: "Because," saith he, "the one sought it as by works and the law, and came not to it; who, knowing the righteousness of God, and seeking to set up their own righteousness, did not submit themselves to the righteousness which is of God. The other, which were the Gentiles, and sought not for it, obtained righteousness, that righteousness which is faith."⁹ Also, in another place of the same epistle, St. Paul, writing of this righteousness which cometh of faith, calleth it the righteousness of God, in these words: "Whom God," saith he, "hath set up for a propitiation by faith in his blood, whereby to make manifest the righteousness which is of himself, in tolerating our sins," etc.¹⁰ By the which righteousness it is evident that St. Paul meaneth the righteousness of faith, which Almighty God now revealeth and maketh manifest by preaching of the gospel. Wilt thou see yet more plainly this righteousness of God, how it is taken in St. Paul for the righteousness of faith, and therefore is called the righteousness of God, because it is imputed only of God to faith, and not deserved of man?—In the same epistle to the Romans, and in the third chapter aforesaid, his words be manifest: "The righteousness of God," saith he, "is by faith of Jesus Christ, in all, and upon all that do believe," etc.

The righteousness of the law.

The righteousness of the gospel. The places of St. Paul expounded. The righteousness of faith, God's righteousness.

Wherefore, whosoever studieth to be accepted with God, and to be found righteous in his sight, let him learn diligently, by the doctrine of St. Paul, to make a difference and a separation, as far as from heaven to earth, between these two, that is, between the righteousness of works, and the righteousness of faith; and in any wise beware he bring no other means for his justification or remission of his sins, but only faith, apprehending the body or person of Christ Jesus crucified. For, as there is no way into the house but by the door, so is there no coming to God but by Christ alone, which is by faith.¹¹ And as the mortal body, without bodily sustenance of bread and drink, cannot but perish; so the spiritual soul of man hath no other refreshing but only by faith in the body and blood of Christ, whereby to be saved. With this faith the idolatrous Gentiles apprehended Jesus Christ, and received thereby righteousness. Cornelius, the first baptized Roman, so soon as he heard Peter preach Christ, received straightway the holy Ghost.¹² Peter himself confessed, and, for his confession, had the keys of heaven.¹³ Zaccheus received the person of Christ into his house, and, withal, received salvation both to him and his whole household.¹⁴ What a sinner was Mary, who had no less in her than seven devils; and yet, because she set her heart and affection upon that person, many sins were forgiven her.¹⁵ The right-hand thief, how far was he from all works of

A lesson out of St. Paul's doctrine, of all christians to be observed.

Salvation cometh only by faith.

(1) 1 John ii. 12.

(2) 2 Cor. v. 21.

(3) 1 Cor. i. 30.

(4) Eph. iii. 12.

(5) Col. ii. 13—15.

(6) Rom. iv. 5.

(7) Col. ii. 10.

(8) Phil. iii. 9.

(9) Rom. ix. 30, 32.

(10) Rom. iii. 25.

(11) Rom. ix. 32.

(12) Acts x. 45.

(13) Matt. xvi. 19.

(14) Luke xix. 9.

(15) Luke vii. 47.

Exordium.

That which is lost by the law is recovered by faith.

the law; and yet by faith entered he justified into paradise the same day with Christ.¹ In like manner, although the poor publican came to the church with less holiness, after the law, yet went he home to his house more justified than the Pharisee with all his works, and all by reason of faith.² The parable of the prodigal son who was lost, yet revived again; also of the lost groat, and of the lost sheep which went astray and was found again: what do these declare, but that which is lost by the law is to be recovered by faith and grace? And how oft do we read in the gospels, "Thy faith hath saved thee," etc.³ "Jesus seeing their belief," etc.⁴ "He that believeth in me, I will raise him up in the last day," etc.⁵ "Believe also in me," etc.⁶ "He that believeth in me hath everlasting life," etc.⁷ "Without me ye can do nothing," etc.⁸ "He that is in me," etc.⁹ "He that loveth me," etc.¹⁰ "He that heareth me," etc.¹¹ "He that abideth in me," etc.¹² "He that receiveth me," etc.¹³ "Unless ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood," etc.¹⁴ "That they may receive remission of sins, by their faith in me," etc.¹⁵ "To him all the prophets give witness, to have remission of sins, whosoever believeth in his name," etc.¹⁶ "He that believeth and is baptized," etc.¹⁷ "He that believeth in me, shall do the works that I do, and greater than these," etc.¹⁸

The writings of St. Paul full of the name of Christ Jesus. Belief only in Christ saveth.

The efficient and instrumental causes of salvation.

Christ the only object of faith. The brazen serpent.

What faith is by St. Paul.

Faith only.

Divers sorts of believing. The Turk's faith. The Jew's faith.

And likewise in the writings of St. Paul, how often do we hear the name of Christ almost in every third or fourth line, where he still repeateth: "In Christo Jesu," "per Christum Jesum," "per Jesum Christum dominum nostrum," etc. "Qui credunt in ipso," etc. "Omnes qui credunt in eo," etc. "Credentes in illo, in eum," "credentes illi," "in nomen ejus," "in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi," etc. "Believe," saith St. Paul to the jailor, "in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved and thy whole house," etc.¹⁹

Thus, then, thou seest, as the passion of Christ is only the efficient or personal cause immediate of our salvation; so is faith only the instrumental or mean cause that maketh the merits of Christ to us available. For as the passion of Christ serveth to none but such as do believe, so neither doth faith itself (as it is only a bare quality or action in man's mind) justify, unless it be directed to the body of Christ crucified, as to its object, of whom it receiveth all its virtue. And therefore these two must always jointly concur together; faith, and Christ Jesus crucified. As for example, when the children of Israel were bidden of Moses to look up to the brazen serpent, neither could the serpent have helped them, except they had looked up, nor yet their looking upward have profited them, unless they had directed their eyes upon the said serpent, as the only object set up to the same purpose for them to behold; so our faith, in like case, directed to the body of Jesus our Saviour, is the only means whereby Christ's merits are applied unto us, and we now justified before God; according to the doctrine of St. Paul, who, in express words defining to us what this faith is, and how it justifieth, saith: "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe with thy heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be saved," etc.²⁰ Besides this, what action or quality soever is in man, either hope, charity, or any other kind of faith and believing, be it never so true, except it apprehend this object, that is, the body of Christ the Son of God, it serveth not to justification. And that is the cause why we add this particle "only" to faith, and say that faith only in Christ justifieth us; to exclude all other actions, qualities, gifts or works of man, from the cause of justifying; forasmuch as there is no other knowledge nor gift given of God to man, be it never so excellent, that can stand before the judgment of God unto justification, or whereunto any promise of salvation is annexed; but only this faith looking up to the brazen serpent, that is, to the body of Christ Jesus for us crucified.

As for example, when the Turk saith, that he believeth in one living God that made heaven and earth, his belief therein is true, yet it justifieth him not, because it lacketh the right object, which is Christ. So, when the Jew saith, that he believeth in one God, maker of heaven and earth, and believeth also the same God to be omnipotent, merciful, just, and true of promise, and that he hath elected the seed of Abraham: true it is that he believeth, and yet all this

(1) Luke xxiii. 43.

(5) John vi. 40.

(9) John vi. 56.

(13) Matt. x. 40.

(17) Mark xvi. 16.

(2) Luke xviii. 14.

(6) John xiv. 1.

(10) John xiv. 21.

(14) John vi. 54.

(18) John xvi. 12.

(3) Luke xviii. 42.

(7) John vi. 47.

(11) John v. 24.

(15) Acts xxvii. 18.

(19) Acts xvi. 31.

(4) Matt. ix. 2.

(8) John xv. 5.

(12) John xv. 5.

(16) Acts x. 43.

(20) Rom. x. 9.

serveth him not, because Christ the Son of God is not joined withal. And though the said Jew should be never so devout in his prayers, or charitable in alms, or precise in keeping the law, and believe never so steadfastly that he is elect to be saved; yet he is never the nearer to salvation for all this, so long as his faith is not grounded upon the head corner-stone, which is the person and body of Jesus Christ, the true Saviour. After like sort it may be said of the papist, when he saith, that he is baptized, and believeth in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, and also confesseth Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, who died for our sins, and rose again for our righteousness, etc.; his belief therein is true, and indeed would save him, if he did stay his salvation in this faith, and upon Christ his Saviour only, according to the promise and grace of God, and go no further. But that he doth not: for neither doth he admit Christ only to be his perfect Saviour without the help of other patrons, heads, advocates, and mediators, nor yet permitteth his faith in Christ only to be the means of his justification; but setteth up other bye-means, as hope, charity, sacrifice of the mass, confession, penance, satisfaction, merits, and pardons; supposing thereby to work his justification before God, contrary to the word of promise, to the gospel of grace, and to the doctrine of St. Paul, whereof we shall see more, the Lord willing, hereafter.

Exordium.

Every truth may be believed; but the believing of every truth saveth not. The papist's faith.

Hope and charity no parts of our justification.

And thus much of the true causes of our justification after the doctrine of St. Paul. Concerning which causes this distinction furthermore, by the way, is to be added, that, as touching the original causes of our salvation, which be divers and sundry, some are external and without us; some are internal and within us. Of the external causes which are without us, the first and principal is the mercy and grace of God. Of this followeth predestination and election. Then cometh vocation. The last and next cause to us is the death and bloodshed of Christ, whereby we are redeemed, and all these be external causes, because they are without us.

Divers causes of our salvation distinguished.

Of internal causes that be in man through the gift of God, there is but one, and no more in Scripture appointed, that is our faith in Christ, which is the gift of God in us. Besides this, there is no gift of God given to man, virtue, work, merit, nor any thing else, that is any part or cause of salvation, but only this gift of faith, to believe in Christ Jesus. And this is the cause why we hold that faith only justifieth; meaning that amongst all the works, deeds, actions, labours, and operations, whatsoever man doeth or can do, there is nothing in man that worketh salvation, but only his faith given to him of God to believe in Christ his Son; following therein the true trade of St. Paul's teaching, who, in precise words, so ascribeth justification to faith, that he excludeth all other actions of man, and works of the law. And therefore in the same epistle to the Romans, St. Paul, reasoning of the glory of justifying, asketh this question, How this glory is excluded; whether by the law of works? And concludeth No, ascribing only the glory thereof to the law of faith; and consequently upon the same he inferreth: "We hold that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law."¹

The meaning and cause why faith only justifieth.

All works of man excluded from the glory of justifying.

And how then can that be accounted for any part of our justification, which St. Paul utterly debarreth and excludeth in that behalf? Of such like exclusives and negatives, the whole course of St. Paul's doctrine is full, where he still concludeth: "It is the gift of God, not of works, that no man should glory," etc. "Not of the works of righteousness, which we have done, but of his own mercy," etc. "Not after our works, but after his own purpose and grace which is given to us," etc. Again, "A man is not justified by works," etc. Also, "To him that worketh not, but believeth in him which justifieth the wicked, his faith is imputed for righteousness," etc.²

By these exclusives and negatives in St. Paul's doctrine, what doth he else mean, but utterly to seclude all kind of man's merits, and works of the law from the office and dignity of justifying? And although he expresseth not the word, "only," yet, upon his exclusives and negatives, this exceptive must needs be

The exclusives and negatives of St. Paul.

(1) "Colligimus enim justificari hominem per fidem sine operibus legis." Rom. iii. 28.

(2) "Sine operibus;" "absque operibus legis;" "non ex operibus, Dei donum est;" "secundum misericordiam;" "non ex operibus, ne quis gloriatur." Eph. ii. "Non ex operibus justitiæ quæ fecimus nos, sed secundum propositum suum et gratiam," etc. Tit. iii. 5. "Non secundum opera nostra," etc. 2 Tim. i. 9. "Non justificatur homo ex operibus," etc. Gal. ii. 16. "Ei qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum qui justificat impium, fides imputatur ad justiciam," etc. Rom. iv. 5.

Exordium.

inferred. For in all logic the consequence is necessary and formal, as, One man is suffered to come into the house, and no person else is suffered but one : *ergo*, one man only is suffered to enter into the house. And thus much concerning faith in Christ proved to be the only mean, or instrumental, or conditional cause of our salvation, and no other besides the same alone, by the doctrine of St. Paul taught to the ancient Romans.

The fifth branch.

The true use and end of good works.

5. The fifth branch, which I note in St. Paul's doctrine, is this : that after he hath thus established us in certainty of our salvation through faith in Christ, then after that, he exhorteth us vehemently, and with all instance, to good works, showing the true use and end of good works ; which is, First, to show our obedience and dutiful service (as we may) unto God, who hath done so great things for us : secondly, to relieve our neighbours with our charity and kindness, as God hath been kind to us his enemies : thirdly, to stir up others, by our example, to praise God, to embrace the same religion, and to do the like. For requisite it is, that as God hath been so merciful to us and gracious in eternal gifts, we should be merciful likewise to others, in temporal commodities. And seeing it hath pleased him, of his fatherly goodness (of our parts so little deserved), to call us to so high a vocation, to give the blood of his Son for us, to forgive us all our sins, to deliver us from this present wicked world, to make us citizens of heaven, yea, his children, more than servants : little then can we do, and well may we think those benefits ill bestowed, if we forgive not our neighbours, and show not something again worthy that holy calling wherewith he hath called us, in mortifying our worldly lusts here, and studying after heavenly things : and finally, if we, being provoked with such love and kindness, render not again some love for love, some kindness for kindness, seeking how to walk in the steps which he hath prepared for us to walk in, serving him (so much as we may) in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. And though our obedience shall always be imperfect, do the best we can, yet reason would that some obedience we should show, as loving children to such a loving Father.

Good works justify not but follow the justified.

And this is the cause why St. Paul is so vehement and urgent to call for good works, not that works should justify, but that we, being justified so mercifully and tenderly through his grace, should not abuse his grace in vain, but endeavour ourselves to our uttermost to render our service again to him, in such conversation of life as may most make to his glory, and profit of our neighbour. And though the words of our Saviour seem, in some places, to attribute to our obedience and charity here in earth great rewards in heaven, that is, of his own free grace and goodness, so to impute small matters for great deserts, and not for us to claim any meed thereby or thank at his hand, as by any worthiness of our doings : no more than the servant can, who, when he cometh from the plough and serving the cattle in the field, serveth first his master at home and waiteth upon his table : the master is not bound (saith Christ) to thank his servant there-for, and bid him sit down : " So you," saith he, " when you have done that is commanded you, say ye are unprofitable servants ; ye have done but what your bound duty was to do." ¹

Faith justifieth three manner of ways.

Again, here also is to be understood, that where such rewards be ascribed unto men's deeds, it is not for the worthiness of the deed itself, but for the faith of the doer, which faith maketh the work to be good in God's sight ; for else if an infidel should do the same work that the christian doth, it were nothing but mere sin before God. In that, therefore, the christian man's work is accepted, be it never so small (as to give a cup of cold water), the same is only for his faith's sake that doth it, and not for the work which is done. Whereby again we may learn how faith only doth justify a man, and that three manner of ways.

The office of faith, and the office of the law compared.

First, it justifieth the person, in making him accepted, and the child of God by regeneration, before he begin to do any good work. Secondly, it justifieth a man from sin, in procuring remission and forgiveness of the same. Thirdly, it justifieth the good deeds and works of man, not only in bringing forth good fruits, but also in making the same works to be good and acceptable in the sight of God, which otherwise were impure and execrable in his sight.

The office therefore of faith and works is divers, and must not be confounded. Faith first goeth before, and regenerateth a man to God, and justifieth him in the sight of God, both in covering his ill deeds, and making his good deeds

(1) Luke xvii. 10.

acceptable to God ; climbing up to heaven, and there wrestling with God and his judgment for righteousness, for salvation, and for everlasting life. Works and charity follow faith, and are exercised here upon the earth, and glory only before man, but not before God, in showing forth obedience both to God and to man. Further than this, our good works do not reach, nor have any thing to do in the judgment of God touching salvation. I speak of our good works (as St. Paul speaketh) as they be ours, and imperfect. For else, if our works could be perfect according to the perfection of the law, as Christ wrought them in the perfection of his flesh, that is, if we could perform them, and transgress never a jot, so might we live in them ; as it is said, "Qui fecerit ea, vivet in eis." But now, seeing the imbecility of our flesh cannot attain thereto, it followeth thereof that all glory of justifying is taken from works, and transferred only to faith.

Exordium.

The works of man be imperfect, and therefore have nothing to do with justification

And thus much concerning the principal contents of St. Paul's doctrine ; wherein the church of the ancient Romans was first grounded and planted, and so continued in the same, or at least did not much alter, during the primitive state of the church. Likewise the same form of doctrine the latter Romans also, that followed, should have maintained, and not have fallen away for any man's preaching, but hold him accursed, yea if he were an apostle or angel from heaven, teaching any other doctrine besides that institution which they have received ;² for so were they warned before by the apostle St. Paul to do. And yet, notwithstanding all this forewarning and diligent instruction of this blessed apostle of the Gentiles, what a defection of faith is fallen among the Gentiles, especially among the Romans, whereof the said apostle also foretold them so long before, fore-propheying : "that the day of the Lord shall not come, except there come a defection before, and that the man of sin should be revealed, the proud adversary of God," etc.³ meaning, no doubt, by this defection, a departing and a falling from that faith which the Holy Ghost had then planted by his ministry among the Gentiles, as we see it now come to pass in the church of Rome, which church is so gone from the faith that St. Paul taught, that if he were now alive, and saw these decrees and decretals of the bishop of Rome, these heaps of ceremonies and traditions, these mass-books, these portuses, these festivals and legends, these processions, hymns, and sequences, these beads and graduals, and the manner of their invocation, their canons, censures, and later councils, such swarms of superstitious monks and friars, such sects, and so many divers religions, the testament of St. Francis,⁴ the rule of St. Benedict, of St. Bridget, of St. Anthony, etc. ; the intricate subtleties and labyrinths of the schoolmen, the infinite cases and distinctions of the canonists, the sermons in churches, the assertions in schools, the glory of the pope, the pride of the clergy, the cruelty of persecuting prelates with their officials and promoters : he would say, this were not a defection, but rather a plain *destruction*, and a ruin of faith ; neither that this were any true church of Christ, but a new-found religion, or paganism rather, brought in under the shadow of Christianity ; wherein remaineth almost nothing else but the name only of Christ, and the outward form of his religion, the true vein and effect whereof is utterly decayed ; as to them which list to examine all the parts of this new Romish religion may soon appear.

Defection of faith in the church of Rome.

A view of the pope's catholic church.

The church of Rome degenerated again almost to new paganism.

(1) Rom. vii. 18.

(2) Gal. i. 8.

(3) 2 Thess. ii. 8.

(4) Such characters, as are here alluded to by Foxe, are not necessarily to be estimated according to the qualities for which their professed followers and eulogizers have most eagerly desired to honour them, and for which they have been most celebrated. The fictions of Romish hagiographers are quite notorious. Some Protestant writers have proposed to set aside all the peculiarities, miracles, and extravagances attributed to the heroes and founders of the various Romish orders, and have then claimed for them our approbation, or at least an absence of blame. 'Let the Franciscans, the Antonians, and the Dominicans' (say they) 'be stripped of their variegated fooleries and juggleries, then they become such as in all probability they were,—reasonable men, and still very praiseworthy characters.' We may charitably hope that this was the case with many of them. Protestants may then easily praise what they have themselves first purified, and helped to render respectable. But their professed admirers and followers, we apprehend, would then find nothing very attractive in them, and would strongly object to this mode of dealing with them : as it is these very peculiarities in their founders, which form the great boast of the different orders, and the ground for inducing persons to enter them. For an examination into the biographical representations of three eminent canonized Romish captains, we may refer to Zimmerman's "De miraculis, quæ Pythagoræ, Apol. Tyan., Francisco Assis., Dominico, et Ignatio Loyolæ, tribuuntur, libellus," Duaci. 1734 ; and to "Ordres Monastiques—histoire extraite de tous les auteurs qui ont conservés ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans chaque ordre," 6 vols. Berlin, 1751. The fourth chapter in Bishop Stillingfleet, "On the Idolatry practised in the Church of Rome" will repay consultation.—Ed.

Errordium.

For, save only that they pretend the solemn form and words of the Creed, and are baptized, confessing the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: as touching all other points and true sincerity of the christian faith, which they outwardly profess, they are utterly degenerated from that which St. Paul and the word of God first had taught them.

The pope's church only in words catholic, in deed heathenish.

First, they confess the Father in word, but his will, in his word expressed, they renounce. His grace they acknowledge not; his benefits and promises, given unto us in his Son, they receive not; the vigour of his law they feel not; the terror of his judgments earnestly they fear not; his commandments they obscure by traditions and commandments of their own.

Likewise the name of Christ his Son in word they confess, but his office in deed they deface and diminish: his glory they seek not, but under his name they do seek their own; the power of his blood and passion they know not, or else dissemble it, whom neither they admit to be the head of his church alone, nor Saviour alone, nor to be our only patron and advocate, but match him with our Lady and other patrons, so that every parish almost in Christendom hath its peculiar patron besides Christ to hold by.

The pope's church proceedeth contrary to the working of the Holy Ghost.

In like manner they confess the name of the Holy Ghost; but God himself knoweth how far they are from the comfort, knowledge, and taste of the Holy Ghost; as well may appear by their councils, by their expounding of scripture, by their superstitious ceremonies; by their outward worshipping and idolatrous invocation to stocks and stones, and to dead creatures; by their scrupulous observation of days, times, places, numbers and gestures: and no less also by their doctrine, which defraudeth the poor hearts of simple Christians of their due consolation, joy, and liberty in the Holy Ghost, and keepeth them still in a servile bondage, and a doubtful uncertainty of their salvation, contrary to the working of the Holy Spirit of God.

Pretendeth a fair face of religion, but is void of the effect thereof. The old pharisees and the latter church of Rome. The pope's church, under the name of the catholic church, persecuteth the true catholic church.

And thus the church of Rome, pretending only the name of Christ and of his religion, is so far altered from the truth of that which it pretendeth, that, under the name of Christ, it persecuteth both Christ and his religion; working more harm to the church of Christ, than ever did the open tyrants and persecuting emperors among the heathen: not much unlike herein to the old synagogue of the scribes and pharisees, who, under the name of God, crucified the Son of God, and, under pretence of the law, fought against the gospel; and, under the title of Abraham's children, persecuted the children of Abraham. And as they, bragging so highly of "the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord," did indeed destroy the true temple of the Lord; right so these pretended catholics, in these days, after they have raised up a catholic church of their own, and have armed the same with laws, and have gathered unto them a power of priests, prelates, abbots, priors, of religious men, of cardinals, and also of secular princes to take their part; now, under the name of the catholic church they persecute the true catholic church, and, colouring their proceeding still with "in nomine Domini," most cruelly put them to death who die "pro nomine Domini;" condemning them for heretics, schismatics, and rebels, not who deny any part of the creed, which they themselves profess, nor such whom they can convict by any scripture; but only such, who will not join with their errors and heresies, contrary to the honour of God and truth of his word.

And lest any should think this, that we here protest against the corrupt errors and manifold deformities of this latter church of Rome, to proceed of any rancour or private affection, rather than upon necessary causes and demonstrations evident, my purpose is (by the Lord's leave) to take herein some little pains, as I have collected, a little before, the sum and contents of St. Paul's doctrine, wherewith the old church of Rome was first seasoned and acquainted, so now as in a like summary table to descry the particular branches and contents of the pope's doctrine now set forth, to the intent that all true christian readers, comparing the one with the other, may discern what great alteration there is between the church of Rome that now is, and the church of Rome that was planted by the apostles in the primitive time. And to the end to open unto the simple reader

some way whereby he may the better judge in such matters of doctrine, and not be deceived in discerning truth from error; first we will propound certain principles or general positions, as infallible rules or truths of the scripture, whereby all other doctrines and opinions of men being tried and examined, as with the touchstone, may the more easily be judged whether they be true or the contrary, and whether they make against the scripture or no.

Exordium.

Certain Principles, or general Verities, grounded upon the truth of God's Word.

The first principle.—As sin and death came originally by the disobedience of one to all men of his generation by nature: so righteousness and life come originally by the obedience of one to all men regenerated of him by faith and baptism.¹

The second.—The promise of God was freely given to our first parents, without their deserving, that “the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head.”²

The third.—Promise was given freely to Abraham before he deserved any thing, that in “his seed all nations should be blessed.”³

The fourth.—To the word of God neither must we add, nor take from it.⁴

The fifth.—“He that doeth the works of the law shall live therein.”⁵

The sixth.—“Accursed is he which abideth not in every thing that is written in the book of the law.”⁶

The seventh.—God only is to be worshipped.⁷

The eighth.—“All our righteousness is like a defiled cloth of a woman.”⁸

The ninth.—“In all my holy hill they shall not kill nor slay, saith the Lord.”⁹

The tenth.—God loveth mercy and obedience more than sacrifice.¹⁰

The eleventh.—The law worketh anger, condemneth and openeth sin.¹¹

The twelfth.—The end of the law is Christ, to righteousness, to every one that believeth.¹²

The thirteenth.—Whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.¹³

The fourteenth.—A man is justified by faith without works, freely by grace, not of ourselves.¹⁴

The fifteenth.—There is no remission of sins without blood.¹⁵

The sixteenth.—Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.¹⁶ Without faith it is impossible to please God.¹⁷

The seventeenth.—One mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus.¹⁸ And he is the propitiation for our sins.¹⁹

The eighteenth.—Whosoever seeketh by the law to be justified, is fallen from grace.²⁰

The nineteenth.—In Christ be all the promises of God, *Est* and *Amen*.²¹

The twentieth.—Let every soul be subject to superior powers, giving to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and to God that which is God's.²²

These principles and infallible rules of the scripture, as no man can deny, so, if they be granted, the doctrine then of the pope's church must needs be found not to be catholic, but rather full of errors and heresies, as in the sequel following remaineth more expressly and particularly, by the grace of Christ, to be convinced

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| (1) Rom. v. 17. | (2) Gen. iii. 15. | (3) Gen. xii. 3. | (4) Deut. iv. 2. |
| (5) Gal. iii. 12. Lev. xviii. 5. | (6) Deut. xxvii. 26. Gal. iii. 10. | (7) Deut. vi. 5. Luke iv. 8. | |
| (8) Isa. lxiv. 6. | (9) Isa. xl. 9; lxxv. 25. | (10) Hosea vi. 6. 1 Sam. xv. 22. | |
| (11) Rom. iii. 19. | (12) Rom. x. 11. | (13) Mark xvi. 16. | (14) Gal. ii. 16; Eph. ii. 8. |
| (15) Heb. ix. 22. | (16) Rom. xiv. 23. | (17) Heb. xi. 6. | (18) 1 Tim. ii. 5. |
| (19) 1 John ii. 2. | (20) Gal. v. 4. | (21) 2 Cor. i. 20. | (22) Rom. xiii. 1. |

Exordium.

A SUMMARY COLLECTION OF THE ERRORS, HERESIES, AND
ABSURDITIES, CONTAINED IN THE POPE'S DOCTRINE,
CONTRARY TO THE RULES OF GOD'S WORD, AND
THE FIRST INSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH
OF ROME:—AND FIRST: OF FAITH
AND JUSTIFICATION.

The means of applying Christ's merits unto us by the pope's doctrine. The taking away of this article of faith only to justify, is the root of great inconvenience in Christ's church.

No heresy to be compared to the heresy of papists.

The first inconvenience.

No condition limited of God to man for salvation but one.

First, as touching the only means and instrumental cause of our justification, whereby the merits of Christ's passion be applied to us and made ours, ye heard before how St. Paul ascribeth the same only to faith; as appeareth by all his epistles, especially that to the Romans, wherein he, excluding all kind of works, ascribeth all our salvation, justification, righteousness, reconciliation, and peace with God, only unto faith in Christ. Contrary to which doctrine, the pope and his church have set up divers and sundry other means of their own devising, whereby the merits of Christ's passion (they say) are applied to us and made ours, to the putting away of sins, and for our justification; as hope, charity, sacrifice of the mass, auricular confession, satisfaction, merits of saints, and holy orders, the pope's pardons, etc. So that Christ's sacrifice, stripes, and suffering, by this teaching, doth not heal us, nor is beneficial to us, though we believe never so well, unless we add also these works and merits above recited. Which if it be true, then it is false what Isaiah the prophet doth promise: "In his stripes we are all made whole," etc.¹ This error and heresy of the church of Rome, though it seem at first sight to the natural reason of man to be but of small importance, yet, if it be earnestly considered, it is in very deed the most pernicious heresy that ever almost crept into the church; upon the which, as the only foundation, all, or the most part of all the errors, absurdities, and inconveniences of the pope's church are grounded. For, this being once admitted, that a man is not justified by his faith in Christ alone, but that other means must be sought by our own working and merits to apply the merits of Christ's passion unto us; then is there neither any certainty left of our salvation, nor end in setting up new means and merits of our own devising for remission of sins. Neither hath there been any heresy that either hath rebelled more presumptuously against the high majesty of God the Father, nor more perniciously hath injured the souls of the simple, than this doctrine.

First of all it subverteth the will and testament of God: for whereas almighty God of mercy hath given us his Son to die for us, and with him hath given out his full promise, that whosoever believeth upon him should be saved by their faith; and assigneth none other condition, either of the law, or any of works, but only of faith, to be the means between his Son and us: these men take upon them to alter this testament that God hath set, and adjoin other conditions, which the Lord in his word never appointed nor knew. To whom the words of Jerome upon the epistle to the Galatians, speaking of such, may be well applied: "Which make of the gospel of Christ the gospel of men, or rather the gospel of the devil," etc.²

(1) Chap. liii. 5.

(2) "Qui de evangelio Christi faciunt hominis evangelium, vel quod pejus est, diaboli," etc. Hierom. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. 1.

Secondly, whereas the christian reader in the gospel, reading of the great grace and sweet promises of God given to mankind in Christ his Son, might thereby take much comfort of soul, and be at rest and peace with the Lord his God; there cometh in the pestiferous doctrine of these heretics, wherewith they obscure this free grace of God to choke the sweet comforts of man in the Holy Ghost, and oppress christian liberty, and bring us into spiritual bondage.

Exordium.

The second hurt which cometh by taking away the article of justification.

The third inconvenience.

Thirdly, as in this their impious doctrine they show themselves manifest enemies to God's grace, so are they no less injurious to christian men, whom they leave in a doubtful distrust of God's favour and of their salvation, contrary to the word and will of God, and right institution of the apostolic doctrine. And whereas our new schoolmen of late, to maintain the said wicked point of doctrine, do object unto us that we rather leave men's consciences uncertain, forso much as, if life, say they, were not a due reward, it were uncertain; and now forso much as due debt is certain, and mercy or favour is uncertain, therefore, say they, we, leaving men's consciences to the mercy of God, do leave them in a doubtful uncertainty of their salvation:—to this I answer, that due debt, if it be proved by the law duly deserved, must be certain; but if the law shall prove it imperfectly or insufficiently due, then it is not certain, neither can there be any thing duly claimed. Now, as touching mercy, so long as it remaineth secret in the prince's will, and not known to his subjects, so long it is uncertain. But, when this mercy shall be openly published by proclamation, ratified by promise, conferred by will and testament, established in blood, and sealed with sacraments, then this mercy remaineth no more doubtful, but ought firmly to be believed of every true faithful subject. And therefore St. Paul, to establish our hearts in this assurance, and to answer to this doubt, in his epistle to the Romans doth teach us, saying, "And therefore of faith, that, after grace, the promise might be firm and sure to the whole seed of Abraham," etc.:¹ meaning hereby, that works have nothing to do in this case of justifying; and noteth the reason why. For then our salvation should stand in a doubtful wavering, because, in working, we are never certain whether our deserts be perfect and sufficient in God's judgment or no. And therefore, saith St. Paul, to the intent our salvation should be out of all doubt, and certain, it standeth not of works in deserving, but of faith in apprehending, and of God's free grace in promising.

Objection of the papists answered.

The papists do teach the mercy of God to be uncertain. Mercy of God made certain by his promises.

Salvation standeth sure and certain by God's promise.

Fourthly, as in this their sinister doctrine, they break this principle of christian religion, which saith that a man is justified by "faith without works," so again it breaketh another principle above rehearsed. For this rule being granted, that nothing is to be added to God's word, nor taken from it, then have these men done wickedly in adding (as they do) to God's word. For whereas the word of God limiteth our justification to no condition but faith; "Believe," saith he, "in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved and thy whole house," etc.;² these justiciaries do add thereto divers and sundry other conditions besides, and such as the word also precisely excludeth, as hope, charity, the sacrifice of the mass, the work of the

The fourth principle, above recited, broken.

(1) Rom. iv. 16.

(2) Acts xvi. 31.

Exordium. priest *ex opere operato*, auricular confession, satisfaction, meritorious deeds, etc.

And thus much concerning the doctrine of faith and justification ; whereby it may appear into what horrible blindness and blasphemy the church of Rome is now fallen ; where this kind of doctrine is not only suffered, but also publicly professed, which, speaking against faith, thus blasphemously dare say : “ That faith wherewith a man firmly believeth, and certainly assureth himself, that for Christ’s sake his sins be forgiven him, and that he shall possess eternal life, is not faith, but rashness ; not the persuasion of the Holy Ghost, but presumption of a man’s boldness.”¹

OF WORKS AND THE LAW.

As touching the doctrine of good works and the law, what the teaching of St. Paul was to the Romans, ye heard before ; who, although he excludeth good works from the office of justifying, yet excludeth he them not from the practice and conversation of christian life, but most earnestly calleth upon all faithful believers in Christ, to walk worthy their vocation, to lay down their old conversation, to give their members servants of righteousness, and to offer their bodies up to God a lively sacrifice. The like example of whose teaching, if the churches now reformed do not follow, let their sermons, their preachings, writings, exhortings, and lives, also bear record ; who, although they cannot say with Christ, “ Which of you can blame me of sin ?” yet they may say to the adversaries, Whosoever of you is without fault, cast the first stone of reproach against us. Wherefore Hosius² and Pighius, with their fellows, do them open wrong, and slanderously belie them in comparing them in this behalf to Ætius, Eunomius, and other heretics called *Anomoi*, who, taking the good sentences of St. Paul, did abuse the same to filthy license of the flesh, and corruption of wicked life.

The first error of the papists, touching good works.

But to let these slanders pass, now what the errors be of the church of Rome touching this part of doctrine, remaineth to be declared ; whose error first standeth in this ; that they, misunderstanding the definition of good works, do call good works, not such as properly are commanded by the law of God, but such as are agreeable to the pope’s law ; as building of abbeys and churches, giving to the high altar, founding of trentals, finding of chantries, gilding of images, hearing of masses, going on pilgrimage, fighting for the holy cross, keeping of vows, entering to orders, fasting of vigils, creeping to the cross, praying to saints, etc. All which are not only reputed for good works, but so preferred also before all other works ; that to these is given pardon from the pope, double and triplefold, more than to any other good work of charity commanded in the law of almighty God.

The second error.

Another error also may be noted in the papists, touching the efficient or formal cause of good works : for, albeit they all confess

(1) “ Fides illa qua quis firmiter credit, et certo statuit propter Christum sibi remissa esse peccata, seseque possessurum vitam æternam, non fides est, sed temeritas ; non Spiritus sancti persuasio sed humanæ audaciæ præsumptio.” Ex Lindano, in epitome doctrinæ evangelicæ. [The passage will be found in a small collection, entitled “ De M. Lutheri et aliorum sectariorum doctrinæ varietate opuscula.” etc. (Colon. 1579,) p. 277.—Ed.]

(2) Hosius in ii. tom. Confessionis, cap. 1.

in their books, that "*Gratia Dei gratis data*" is the chief and principal cause thereof, and worketh in us "*justitiam primam*," as they call it, yet the good works after regeneration they refer to other subordinate causes, under God; as to free will, or to "*habitus virtutis*," or "*ad integra naturalia*," and nothing at all to faith, whereas faith only, next under God, is the root and fountain of all well doing: as in the fruits of a good tree, albeit the planter or the husbandman be the principal agent thereof, and some cause also may be in the good ground; yet the next and immediate cause is the root that maketh the tree fruitful. In like manner, the grace of God, in a soft and repentant mollified heart, planteth the gift of faith. Faith as a good root cannot lie dead or unoccupied, but springeth forth, and maketh both the tree fruitful, and also the fruit thereof to be good, which otherwise had no acceptation or goodness in them, were it not for the goodness of the root from whence they spring. So St. Paul, although he had certain works in him (such as they were) before his conversion, yet had he no good works before the grace of Christ had rooted faith in him. So Mary Magdalene the sinner, and Zaccheus the publican—so all the nations of the Gentiles—began to bring forth fruit, and especially good fruit, when they began to be engrafted in Christ, and to receive the root of his faith, whose fruits, before that, were all damnable and unsavoury. As touching the cause therefore of good works, there is no other in man but faith, whose office as it is to justify us in heaven, so the nature of it is here in earth to work by love, as the root worketh by the sap. For as a man seeth and feeleth by faith the love and grace of God toward him in Christ his Son, so beginneth he to love again both God and man, and to do for his neighbour as God hath done to him.¹ And hereof properly springeth the running fountain of all good works and deeds of charity.

Exordium.

Faith the root and cause of good works.

Works are not to be called good, but by reason of faith. Faith justifies, and brings forth good works.

Fides per dilectionem operans.

Thirdly, as they err in the cause of good works, so do they err much more in the end of the law, and of good works; for, whereas St. Paul teacheth the law to be given to this use and end, to convict our transgressions, to prove us sinners, to show and condemn our infirmity, and to drive us to Christ, they take and apply no other end to the law, but to make us perfect, to keep us from wrath, and to make us just before God. And likewise whereas St. Paul proveth all our good works to be imperfect, and utterly secludeth them from the end of justifying, they, contrariwise, do teach as though the end of good works were to merit remission of sins, to satisfy unto God, to deserve grace, to redeem souls from purgatory, and that by them the person of the regenerate man doth please God, and is made just before God. For so they teach most wickedly and horribly, saying, that Christ suffered for original sin, or sins going before baptism; but the actual sins, which follow after baptism, must be done away by men's merits.² And so they assign to Christ the beginning of salvation, or obtaining the first grace, as they call it; but the perfection or consummation of grace they give to works and our own strength. Neither can they in any case abide, that we be justified freely by the mercy of God through faith only, apprehending the merits of Christ. Howbeit neither do all papists in this their error

The third error, touching the end of the law, and good works. Perversion.

(1) Gal. v. 14.

(2) Tho. Aquin.; Hosius in ii. tom. Confessionis, cap. 1.

Exordium.

Divers opinions of the papists, about faith.

The pope's doctrine against the principles of scripture.

The fourth error, touching the imperfection of man in satisfying the perfection of the law. Against the principles of scripture. Precepts and counsels. Works of supererogation. Men's traditions preferred before the works of God's law. Against the principles of scripture.

agree in one; for some make distinction, and say, that we are justified by Christ; "principaliter," that is, "principally:" "et minus principaliter," that is, "less principally," by the dignity of our own deeds, contrary to the eighth principle before mentioned. Others hold that we are made righteous before God, not by our works that go before faith, but by our virtues that follow after. Some again do thus expound the saying of St. Paul, "We are justified by faith:" that is (say they) by faith preparing us, or setting us in a good way to be justified. Others expound it by the figure *synecdoche*, that is, by faith conjoined together with other virtues; others thus: "by faith," that is, being formed with charity. Thus all these do derogate from the benefit of Christ, and attribute unto works a great or the greatest part of our justification, directly against the true vein of St. Paul's doctrine, and first institution of the ancient church of Rome, and against all the principles of holy scripture.

Furthermore, as touching the said doctrine of the law and good works, they err in misunderstanding the nature of the law, and works. For whereas St. Paul disputeth that the law is spiritual, and requireth of us perfect obedience of the whole power of man, which we, being carnal, are never able to accomplish; they affirm otherwise, that the law doth require but only outward obedience of man, and therewith is contented. And this obedience (they say) man is not only able to perform, but also to do more and greater things than the law requireth. Whereof rise the works of supererogation, contrary to the sixth and eighth principles above specified. Also there be, say they; among others, certain works of the law, which pertain not to all men, but are "consilia," counsels, left for perfect men, as matter for them to merit by, and these they call "opera perfectionis," or "opera indebita;" adding unto these other new devices to serve God, after their own traditions and beside the word of God; as monastical vows, wilful poverty, difference of meats and garments, pilgrimage to relics and saints, worshipping of the dead, superstitious ceremonies, rosaries, etc., with such like: And these they call works of perfection, which they prefer before the others commanded in the law of God; insomuch that in comparison of these, the other necessary duties and functions commanded and commended by the word of God (as to bear office in the commonwealth, to live in the godly state of matrimony, to sustain the office of a servant in a house), are condemned, and accounted as profane in comparison of these, contrary to the tenth principle above mentioned.

OF SIN.

Erroneous doctrine of the latter church of Rome concerning sin.

Of sin, likewise, they teach not rightly, nor after the institution of the apostles and the ancient church of Rome, while they consider not the deepness and largeness of sin; supposing it still to be nothing else but the inward actions with consent of will, or the outward, such as are against will: whereas the strength of sin extendeth not only to these, but also comprehendeth the blindness and ignorance of the mind, lack of knowledge and true fear of God, the untowardness of man's mind to God-ward, the privy rebellion of the heart against the law of God, the undelighting will of man to God

and his word. The sense of flesh¹ St. Paul also calleth an enemy against God, and feeleth in himself, that is, in his flesh, nothing dwelling but sin. *Exordium.*

As touching also original sin, wherein we are born, which is the destruction of original justice, and of God's image in us (remaining in us, and bringing forth in us wicked cogitations, affections, and motions of naughtiness against the law of God, and never ceasing so long as man liveth), this original sin the pope's doctrine doth not deny, but yet doth much extenuate the same; and holdeth that this inward concupiscence and vicious affections, not bursting out in us with consent of will, are no mortal nor damnable sin, but only "fomes peccati:" and say moreover, that this "concupiscentia" in us is no depravation of the higher, but only of the lower, parts of man, being a thing *ἀδιάφορον*, indifferent, and no less natural in us, than is the appetite to eat and drink; and that the same is left to remain in the saints after baptism, to be to them occasion of more meriting. *Original sin, what it is.*
"Fomes peccati."
"Concupiscentia."
Original sin extenuated.

OF PENANCE OR REPENTANCE.

Of penance, this latter Lateran church of Rome, of late, hath made a sacrament; contrary to the fourth principle before: which penance (say they) standeth of three parts; contrition, confession, and satisfaction canonical. Contrition (as they teach) may be had by strength of free-will without the law and the Holy Ghost, "per actus elicitos," through man's own action and endeavour. Which contrition first must be sufficient, and so it meriteth remission of sin. In confession they require a full rehearsal of all a man's sins, whereby the priest, knowing the crimes, may minister satisfaction accordingly. And this rehearsing of sins *ex opere operato* deserveth remission; contrary to the fourteenth principle before. satisfactions they call "opera indebita," enjoined by the ghostly father. And this satisfaction (say they) taketh away and changeth eternal punishment into temporal pains, which pains also it doth mitigate. And again, these satisfactions may be taken away by the pope's indulgence. *Their false doctrine touching penance.*
Contrition, Confession.
Satisfaction.

This unsavoury and heathenish doctrine of penance far differeth from the true teaching of holy scripture; by the which teaching, repentance properly containeth these three parts: contrition, faith, and new life. Contrition is called in scripture the sorrow of heart, rising upon the consideration of sin committed, and of the anger of God provoked, which sorrow driveth a man to Christ for succour; whereupon riseth faith. Faith bringeth afterward amendment or newness of life, which we call new obedience, working fruits worthy of repentance. *True doctrine of repentance by the scripture.*
Parts of repentance.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL.

As there is nothing more necessary and comfortable for troubled consciences, than to be well instructed in the difference between the law and the gospel, so is the church of Rome much to blame in this behalf, because it confoundeth together those two, being in nature so diverse and contrary one from another; as threatenings with *Blind ignorance of the pope's church.*

(1) Τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκός. Rom. viii. 6.

Exordium.

Babylonical confusion in doctrine.

Difference of the papists between Moses and Christ.

Papists make the gospel a new law.

How papists divide the law.

The pope's church blind to the office of Christ.

The times of the law, and of the gospel.

Malediction of the law ceaseth in Christ.

Christ and the law cannot reign together.

The power of the law is for a time.

The power of Christ is eternal.

The malediction of the law giveth place to Christ.

promises, things temporal with things eternal, sorrowful things with glad tidings, death with life, bondage with freedom, etc.: teaching the people that whatsoever the law saith, the gospel confirmeth; and whatsoever the gospel saith, the same is agreeable to the law, and so make they no difference between Moses and Christ; save only that Moses (they say) was the giver of the old law, Christ is the giver of the new and a more perfect law. And thus imagine they the gospel to be nothing else but a new law given by Christ, binding to the promises thereof the condition of our doings and deservings, no otherwise than to the old law. And so divide they the whole law after this distinction, into three parts: to wit, the law of nature, the law of Moses, and the law of Christ. And as for the gospel, they say it is revealed for no other cause, but to show to the world more perfect precepts and counsels, than were in the old law, to the fulfilling whereof they attribute justification; and so leave the poor consciences of men in perpetual doubt, and induce other manifold errors; bringing the people into a false opinion of Christ, as though he were not a remedy against the law, but came as another Moses to give a new law to the world.

Furthermore, as they make no difference between the nature of the law, and the nature of the gospel, confounding Moses and Christ together, so neither do they distinguish or discern the time of the law, and the time of the gospel, asunder. For whereas St. Paul bringeth in the law to be a schoolmaster, and limiteth him his time unto Christ, and saith that Christ is "the end of the law" (that is, where the law ceaseth, there Christ beginneth, and where Christ beginneth, there the law endeth), they, contrary, make the law to have no end nor ceasing, but give to it immortal life and kingdom equal with Christ, so that Christ and the law together do reign over the soul and conscience of man. Which is untrue; for either Christ must give place, and the law stand; or else the law (the condemnation and malediction of the law, I mean) must end, and Christ reign.¹ For both these, Christ and the law, grace and malediction, cannot reign and govern together. But Christ the Son of God, who once died, can die no more, but must reign for ever. Wherefore the law with his strength, sting, and curse, must needs cease and have an end. And this is it that St. Paul, speaking of the triumph of Christ, saith, that he, "ascending up, led away captivity captive,"² and hath set man at liberty; not at liberty to live as flesh lusteth, neither hath freed him from the use and exercise of the law, but from the dominion and power of the law, so that, "there is now no condemnation to them that be in Christ Jesus, which walk not after the flesh."³ And in another place St. Paul, speaking of the same power and dominion of the law, saith, that "Christ had taken the obligation written against us in decrees, and hath nailed it upon the cross, triumphing over all."⁴ So that as the kingdom of Christ first began upon the cross, even so upon the same cross, and at the same time, the kingdom of the law expired; and the malediction of the law was so crucified upon the cross, that it shall never rise again, to have any power against them that be in Christ Jesus. For like as if a woman be discharged from her first husband being dead, and

(1) Eph. i. 20.

(2) Eph. iv. 8.

(3) Rom. viii. 1.

(4) Col. ii. 14.

hath married another man, the first husband hath no more power over her; even so we, now being espoused unto Christ our second husband, are discharged utterly from our first husband, the Law,¹ and (as St. Paul in another place² saith) "are no more under the law," that is, under the dominion and malediction of the law, "but under grace;" that is, under perpetual remission of all sins, committed not only before our baptism, but as well also after baptism, and during all our life long. For therein properly consisteth the grace of God, in not imputing sin to us, so often as the repenting sinner, rising up by faith, flieth unto Christ, and apprehendeth God's mercy and remission promised in him, according to the testimony both of the psalm, "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord imputeth no sin,"³ and also of all the prophets, "who," as St. Peter saith, "give record to him, that, through his name, all that believe in him shall receive remission of their sins."⁴ Which being so, as it cannot be denied, then what need these private and extraordinary remissions to be brought into the church by ear-confession, by meritorious deeds, and by the pope's pardons? For if there be no condemnation but by the law, and if this law itself, which was the first husband, be captived, crucified, abolished, and departed, what condemnation then can there be to them that be in Christ Jesus, or by whom should it come? If there be no condemnation, but a free and general deliverance for all men, once gotten by the victory of Christ, from the penalty of the law, what needeth then any particular remission of sins at sundry times to be sought at the priest's hands, or the pope's pardons? He that hath a general pardon, needeth no particular. If remedy for sin be general and perpetual, once gotten for ever, to all them that be in Christ Jesus, what needeth any other remedy by auricular confession? If it be not general and perpetual, how then is it true that St. Paul saith, "The law is crucified, and condemnation abolished?" or how standeth redemption perpetual and general, if remission be not general? For what is redemption else, but remission of sin, or sins bought out? or what else to kill the law, but to discharge us from condemnation for ever? He that delivereth his friend for a time out of his enemy's hand, doth him a pleasure; but he that killeth the enemy once out of the way, giveth perpetual safety. So, if remission of sins by Christ were for some sins, and not for all, the law then must needs live still. But now the killing and crucifying of the law importeth full remission and absolute, and our safety to be perpetual. But here, percase, will be objected of some: How standeth remission of sins certain and perpetual, seeing new offences, being daily committed, do daily require new remission? Hereto I answer: Albeit sins do daily grow, whereby we have need daily to desire God to "forgive our trespasses;" yet, notwithstanding, the cause of our remission standeth ever one and perpetual; neither is the same to be repeated any more, nor any other cause to be sought besides that alone. This cause is the body of Christ sacrificed once upon the cross for all sins that either have been or shall be committed. Besides this cause there is no other, neither confession, nor men's pardons, that remitteth sins.

Furthermore, as the cause is one and ever perpetual which worketh

Exordium.

The curse of the law is crucified, and shall never rise again.

To be under the law and under grace expounded.

One remedy for the remission of sins, and no more.

Auricular confession no remedy for remission.

Remission standeth upon a general cause, not a particular.

The law crucified by Christ, what it meaneth.

Objection.

Answer.

The cause of remission ever one and perpetual.

(1) Rom. vii. 3.

(2) Rom. vi. 14.

(3) Ps. xxxii. 2.

(4) Acts x. 43.

Exordium.

The promise of remission ever perpetual.

Remission of sins freely promised.

Remission is by faith. The promise free and absolute.

Man's infirmity impairereth not the grace of Christ, but augmenteth it.

Four things concur in remission of sins.

The pope's errors touching remission of sins.

remission of sins unto us, so is the promise of God ever one, once made, and standeth perpetual, that offereth the same to the faith of the repenting sinner. And because the said promise of God is always sure and cannot fail, which offereth remission to all them that believe in Christ, being limited neither to time nor number, therefore we may boldly conclude, that what time soever a repenting sinner believeth, and by faith applieth to himself the sacrifice of Christ, he hath, by God's own promise, remission of his sins, whether they were done before, or after, baptism.

And moreover, forso much as the said promise of God offereth remission to the repentant sinner by no other means nor condition, but only one, that is, by faith in Christ, therefore, excluding all other means and conditions of man's working, we say, that what repenting sinner soever believeth in Christ, hath already in himself (and needeth not to seek to any priest) perpetual assurance of remission, not for this time or that time only, but for ever and a day. For the promise saith not, He that believeth in Christ shall be pardoned this time, so he sin no more; neither doth it say, that the law is stayed, or the sentence reprieved, but saith plainly, that the law, with her condemnation and sentence itself, is condemned and hanged up, and shall never rise again to them that be in Christ Jesus; and promiseth indeterminately, without limitation, remission of sins, "to all that believe in his name."¹ And likewise in another place, the scripture, speaking absolutely, saith, "Sin shall not prevail over you," and addeth the reason why, saying, "Because ye are not under the law, but under grace."² Adding this lesson withal (as followeth in the same place), not that sinners should sin more therefore, because they are under grace, but only that weak infirmities might be relieved, broken consciences comforted, and repenting sinners helpen from desperation, to the praise of God's glory. For, as God forgiveth not sinners because they should sin, so neither doth infirmity of falling diminish the grace of Christ, but rather doth illustrate the same, as it is written, "My strength is made perfect in infirmity."³ And again, "Where sin aboundeth, there grace superaboundeth also."⁴

In remission of sins therefore, these four things must concur together: first, the cause that worketh, which is the sacrifice of Christ's body; secondly, the promise that offereth; thirdly, faith that apprehendeth; fourthly, the repenting sinner that receiveth. And, although sins daily do grow, which daily provoke us to crave remission, yet as touching the cause that worketh remission of our daily sins, and the means which apprehend and apply the said cause unto us, they remain always one and perpetual; besides which no other cause nor means is to be sought of man. So that to them that be repenting sinners, and be in Christ Jesus, there is no law to condemn them, though they have deserved condemnation: but they are under a perpetual kingdom, and a heaven, full of grace and remission, to cover their sins and not to impute their iniquities, through the promise of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.

And therefore wicked and impious is the doctrine of them, first, which seek any other cause of remission, than only the blood of our

(1) Acts x. 35.

(2) Rom. vi. 14.

(3) 2 Cor. xii. 9.

(4) Rom. v. 20.

Saviour ; secondly, which assign any other means to apply the blood-shedding of Christ unto us, besides only faith ; thirdly and especially, which so limit and restrain the eternal privilege of Christ's passion, as though it served but only for sins done without and before faith, and that the rest, after baptism committed, must be done away by confession, pardons, and satisfactory deeds. And all this riseth because the true nature of the law and the gospel is not known, nor the difference rightly considered between the times of the one and of the other. Neither again do they make any distinction between the malediction of the law, and use of the law. And therefore, whensoever they hear us speak of the law (meaning the malediction of the law) to be abolished, thereupon they maliciously slander us, as though we spake against the good exercises of the law, and gave liberty of flesh to carnal men to live as they list : whereof more shall be said (by the Lord's grace) as place and time shall hereafter require.

Exordium.
What inconvenience riseth for lack of distinction between the law and the gospel.

OF FREE-WILL.

Concerning free-will, as it may peradventure in some case be admitted, that men without grace may do some outward functions of the law, and keep some outward observances or traditions, so, as touching things spiritual and appertaining to salvation, the strength of man, being not regenerate by grace, is so infirm and impotent, that he can perform nothing, neither in doing well, nor willing well ; who, after he be regenerated by grace, may work and do well, but yet in such sort that still remaineth, notwithstanding, a great imperfection of flesh, and a perpetual repugnance between the flesh and spirit. And thus was the original church of the ancient Romans first instructed. From whom see now how far this latter church of Rome hath degenerated, which holdeth and affirmeth, that men without grace may perform the obedience of the law, and prepare themselves to receive grace by working, so that those works may be meritorious, and, of congruity, obtain grace. Which grace once obtained, then men may (say they) perfectly perform the full obedience of the law, and accomplish those spiritual actions and works which God requireth : and so those works of condignity deserve everlasting life. As for the infirmity which still remaineth in nature, *that* they nothing regard nor once speak of.

Erroneous doctrine of the papists concerning free-will. Meritum de congruo. Meritum de condigno.

OF INVOCATION AND ADORATION.

Over and besides these uncatholic and almost unchristian absurdities and defections from the apostolical faith, above specified, let us consider the manner of their invocation, not to God alone, as they should, but to dead men ; saying that saints are to be called upon, "tanquam mediatores intercessionis," "as mediators of intercession : " "Christum vero tanquam mediatorem salutis ;" "and Christ as the mediator of salvation." And affirm moreover, that Christ was a mediator only in time of his passion : which is repugnant to the words of St. Paul, writing to the old Romans, where he speaking of the intercession of Christ :¹ "which is," saith he, "on the right

False doctrine concerning invocation. Mediators of intercession, and of salvation. Christ a continual mediator.

(1) Rom. viii. 34.

Exordium.

What needeth any other mediation? Salvation falsely attributed to the blessed virgin.

Idolatrous adoration of relics and sacraments. Profanation of the Lord's supper.

hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us." And if Christ be a mediator of salvation, what needeth then any other intercession of the saints for our suits? for salvation being once had, what can we require more? or what lacketh he more to be obtained of the saints, who is sure to be saved only by Christ? And then, in their catholic devotions, why do they teach us thus to pray to the blessed virgin, "Save all them that glorify thee," &c.;¹ if salvation belong only to Christ? unless they study of purpose to seem contrary to themselves.

Hitherto also pertaineth the worshipping of relics, and the false adoration of sacraments; that is, the outward signs for the things signified, contrary to the seventh principle before. Add to this also the profanation of the Lord's supper, contrary to the use for which it was ordained, in reserving it after the communion ministered, in setting it to sale for money, and falsely persuading both themselves and others, that the priest doth merit both to himself that saith, and to him that heareth, "Ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis," that is, "Only by the mere doing of the work, though the party that useth the same hath no motion in him."

OF SACRAMENTS, BAPTISM, AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

False doctrine touching sacraments.

As touching sacraments, their doctrine likewise is corrupt and erroneous.

First, They err falsely in the number: for where the institution of Christ ordaineth but two, they (contrary to the fourth principle above prefixed) have added to the prescription of the Lord's word, five other sacraments.

Cause final.

Secondly, In the cause final they err: for where the word hath ordained those sacraments to excite our faith, and to give us admonitions of spiritual things, they, contrariwise, do teach that the sacraments do not only stir up faith, but also that they avail and are effectual without faith; "Ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis." As is to be found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, Catharinus, and others more.

The operation.

Thirdly, In the operation and effect of the sacraments they fail, where they, contrary to the mind of the Scriptures, do say that they give grace, and not only do signify, but also contain and exhibit that which they signify; to wit, grace and salvation.

The application.

Fourthly, They err also in application, applying their sacraments both to the quick and the dead; to them also that be absent; to remission of sins, and releasing of pain, etc.

Errors and abuses of baptism.

Baptizing of bells.

Concerning the Lord's supper.

In the sacrament of baptism they are to be reprov'd, not only for adding to the simple words of Christ's institution divers other new-found rites and fantasies of men; but also, where the use of the old church of Rome was only to baptize men, they baptize also bells; and apply the words of baptism to water,² fire, candles, stocks, and stones, etc. But especially in the supper of the Lord their doctrine most filthily swerveth from the right mind of the Scripture, all order, reason, and fashion; most worthy to be exploded out of all christian

(1) "Salva omnes qui te glorificent."

(2) See vol. vi. p. 381.—Ed.

churches. Touching which sacrament, the first error is their idolatrous abuse by worshipping, adoring, censing, knocking, and kneeling unto it; in reserving also and carrying the same about in pomp and procession in towns and fields. Secondly, also in the substance thereof their teaching is monstrous, leaving there no substance of bread and wine to remain, but only the real body and blood of Christ, putting no difference between calling and making. Because Christ called bread his body, therefore (say they) he made it his body, and so, of a wholesome sacrament, make a perilous idol: and that which the old church of Rome did ever take to be a mystery,¹ they turn into a blind mist of mere accidents, to blear the people's eyes, making them believe they see that they see not, and not to see that which they see: and to worship a thing made, for their Maker, a creature for their Creator: and that which was threshed out of a wheaten sheaf, they set up in the church, and worship for a Saviour: and when they have worshipped him, then they offer him to his Father: and when they have offered him, then they eat him up, or else close him fast in a pix, where, if he corrupt and putrefy before he be eaten, then they burn him to powder and ashes. And notwithstanding they know well, by the Scriptures, that the body of Christ can never corrupt and putrefy, yet, for all this corruption, will they needs make it the body of Christ, and burn all them which believe not that which is against true christian belief.

Exordium.

Idolatry committed in the sacrament.

The sacrament turned to an idol. Changing, worshipping, offering, eating, burning the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

OF MATRIMONY.

What order and rule St. Paul hath set for marriage in his epistle to the Corinthians it is manifest; where, as he preferreth single life, in such as have the gift of continence, before the married estate, so again, in such as have not the gift, he preferreth the coupled life before the other; willing every such one to have his wife, "because of fornication."² Furthermore, how the said apostle alloweth a bishop to be the husband of one wife (so he exceed not, after the manner of the Jews, who were permitted to have many), and how vehemently he reproveth them that restrain marriage, his letters to Timothy do record.³ Moreover, what degrees be permitted by the law of God to marry, in the book of Leviticus is to be seen, chap. xviii. 3—20. Also how children ought not to marry without consent of their parents, by manifest examples of the Scriptures it is notorious.

Absurdities and errors of the pope's church touching matrimony.

Contrary to these ordinances of the Scripture, the new catholics of the pope's church, first do repute and call marriage a state of imperfection, and prefer single life, be it never so impure, before the same; pretending that where the one replenisheth the earth, the other filleth heaven. Furthermore, as good as the third part of Christendom, if it be not more, both men and women, they keep through co-acted vows from marriage, having no respect whether they have the gift or no. Ministers and priests, such as are found to have wives, not only they remove out of place, but also pronounce sentence of death upon

Single life, never so impure, preferred before matrimony. The third part of Christendom stoop from marrying.

¹ It will be remembered that Transubstantiation was no point of faith till the Council of Lateran, in 1215.—Ep.

(2) 1 Cor. vii. 2.

(3) 1 Tim. iii. 12; iv. 3.

Exordium

The third part of the year exempted from marriage.

Gossips inhibited to marry by the pope's law.

them, and account their children for bastards and illegitimate. Again, as good as the third part of the year they exempt and suspend from liberty of marriage. Degrees of copulation forbidden they extend further than ever did the law of God, even to the fifth or sixth degree; which degree notwithstanding they release again, when they list, for money. Over and besides all this, they have added a new-found prohibition of spiritual kindred, that is, that such as have been gossips (or godfathers and godmothers) together, in christening another man's child, must not by their law marry together. Briefly and finally in this doctrine and cases of matrimony, they gain and rake to themselves much money from the people, they augment horrible sodomitry, they nourish wicked adultery and much fornication, they fill the world with offenses and bastards, and give great occasion of murdering infants.¹

OF MAGISTRATES AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Corrupt doctrine of the pope's church concerning civil rulers and magistrates.

Ye heard before what rules and lessons St. Paul gave to the old Romans concerning magistrates, to whose authority he would have all human creatures to be subjected; and how they are the ministers of God, having the sword given unto them, wherewith they ought to repress false doctrine and idolatry, and maintain that which is true and right.² Now let us survey, a little, the pope's proceedings, and mark how far he transgresseth in this, as he doth in all other points, almost, from true christianity.

First, the pope with all his clergy exempt themselves from all obedience civil.

Secondly, they arrogate to themselves authority to ordain and constitute, without all leave or knowledge of the ordinary magistrate.

Thirdly, yea they take upon them to depose and set up rulers and magistrates, whom they list.

OF PURGATORY.

The fantasies and antics of the pope's church concerning purgatory.

The paradoxes, or rather the fantasies of the latter church of Rome concerning purgatory, be monstrous; neither old nor apostolical.

1. First (say they), there is a purgatory, where souls do burn in fire after this life.
2. The pain of purgatory differeth nothing from the pains of hell, but only that it hath an end: the pains of hell have none.
3. The painful suffering of this fire fretteth and scoureth away the sins before committed in the body.
4. The time of these pains endureth in some longer, in some less, according as their sins deserve.
5. After which time of their pains being expired, then the mercy of God doth translate them to heavenly bliss, which the body of Christ hath bought for them.
6. The pains of purgatory be so great, that if all the beggars of the world were seen on the one side, and but one soul of purgatory on the other side, the whole world would pity more that one, than all the others.
7. The whole time of punishment in this purgatory must continue so long,

(1) See vol. ii. p. 13 (note 1), and p. 645; also Bp. Hall, "Honour of the Married Clergy," b. i § 2; b. iii. § 3.—Ed.

(2) Rom. xiii. 4.

till the fire have clean fretted and scoured away the rusty spots of every sinful soul there burning, unless there come some release.

Exordium.

8. Helps and releases that may shorten the time of their purgation, by the pope's pardons and indulgences, sacrifice of the altar, diriges and trentals,¹ prayer, fasting, meritorious deeds out of the treasure-house of the church, alms and charitable deeds of the living, in satisfying God's justice for them, etc.

9. Lack of belief of purgatory bringeth to hell.²

Many other false errors and great deformities, heresies, absurdities, vanities, and follies, besides their blasphemous railings and contumelies, may be noted in the said latter church of Rome, wherein they have made manifest defection from the old faith of Rome, as in depriving the church of one kind of the sacrament; in taking from the people the knowledge and reading of God's word; in praying and speaking to the people, and administering sacraments in a tongue unknown; in mistaking the authority of the keys, in their unwritten verities; in making the authority of the Scripture insufficient; in untrue judgment of the church, and their wrong notes of the same; in the supremacy of the see of Rome; in their wrong opinion of Antichrist.

Manifest defection of the pope's church from the old faith of Rome.

But because these, with all other parts of doctrine, are more copiously and at large comprehended in other books, both in Latin and English, set forth in these our days, I shall not need further herein to travail; especially seeing the contrariety between the pope's church and the church of Christ; between the doctrine of the one, and the doctrine of the other, is so evident, that he is blind that seeth it not, and hath no hands almost that feeleth it not.

Contrariety between the religion of Christ and of the pope briefly noted.

For (briefly in one note to comprehend that which may suffice for all), whereas the doctrine of Christ is altogether spiritual, consisting wholly in spirit and verity, and requireth no outward thing to make a true christian man, but only baptism (which is the outward profession of faith), and receiving of the Lord's supper; let us now examine the whole religion of this latter church of Rome, and we shall find it, wholly from top to toe, to consist in nothing else but altogether in outward and ceremonial exercises; as outward confession, absolution at the priest's hand, outward sacrifice of the mass, buying of pardons, purchasing of obits, extern worshipping of images and relics, pilgrimage to this place or that, building of churches, founding of monasteries, outward works of the law, outward gestures, garments, colours, choice of meats, difference of times and places, peculiar rites and observances, set prayers, and number of prayers prescribed, fasting of vigils, keeping of holidays, coming to church, hearing of service, external succession of bishops and of Peter's see, external form and notes of the church, etc. So that by this religion to make a true christian and a good catholic, there is no working of the Holy Ghost almost required; as for example, to make this matter more demonstrable, let us here define a christian man after the pope's making: whereby we may see the better what is to be judged of the scope of his doctrine.

No outward thing is required in Christ's doctrine to make a christian man, but only baptism and the Lord's supper.

All doctrine of the pope's standeth only in outward things.

(1) A "trental," *trigintal*, or *tricennial*, was a service of thirty masses, rehearsed for thirty days successively, after the death of the party. It takes its name from the Italian "trenta," *thirty*. See Du Cange in v. "Trentale;" and Mr. Russell's note, from which the above is extracted, vol. i. page 553 of the "Works of the English Reformers; Tyndale and Frith:" London. 1831. —Ed.

(2) Ex Thom. Moro et aliis.

*Exor-
dium.*

A CHRISTIAN MAN AFTER THE POPE'S MAKING, DEFINED.

Corporal
exercise
serveth to
small
profits.
1 Tim. iv.
8.

After the pope's catholic religion, a true christian man is thus defined: first, to be baptized in the Latin tongue (where the god-fathers profess they cannot tell what); then confirmed by the bishop; the mother of the child to be purified; after he be grown in years, then to come to the church; to keep his fasting-days; to fast the Lent; to come under *Benedicite* (that is, to be confessed of the priest); to do his penance; at Easter to take his rites; to hear mass and divine service; to set up candles before images; to creep to the cross; to take holy bread and holy water; to go on procession; to carry his palms and candle, and to take ashes; to fast the ember-days, rogation-days, and vigils; to keep the holidays; to pay his tithes and offering-days; to go on pilgrimage; to buy pardons; to worship his Maker over the priest's head; to receive the pope for his supreme head, and to obey his laws; to receive St. Nicholas' clerks; to have his beads, and to give to the high altar; to take orders, if he will be a priest; to say his matins; to sing his mass; to lift up fair; to keep his vow, and not to marry; when he is sick to be annealed, and take the rites of the holy church; to be buried in the church-yard; to be rung for; to be sung for; to be buried in a friar's cowl; to find a soul-priest, etc.

All which points being observed, who can deny but this is a devout man, and a perfect christian catholic; and sure to be saved, as a true faithful child of the holy mother-church?

Now look upon this definition, and tell me, good reader, what faith or spirit, or what working of the Holy Ghost, in all this doctrine, is to be required. The grace of our Lord Jesus give the true light of his gospel to shine in our hearts. Amen!

Σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING

THE THREE HUNDRED YEARS NEXT AFTER CHRIST, WITH
THE TEN PERSECUTIONS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

THESE things before premised, having thus hitherto prepared the way unto our story, let us now (by the grace and speed of Christ our Lord) enter into the matter : that as we have heretofore set forth, in a general description, the whole state as well of the primitive as of the latter times of this church of Rome, so now consequently, we may discourse, in particular sort, the acts and doings of every age, by itself, in such order as is before prefixed : declaring—

First, of the suffering time of the church, which containeth about the time of three hundred years after Christ.

Secondly, of the flourishing and growing time of the same, containing other three hundred years.

Thirdly, of the declining time of the church and of true religion, other three hundred years.

Fourthly, of the time of Antichrist, reigning and raging in the church, since the loosing of Satan.

Lastly, of the reforming time of Christ's church, in these latter three hundred years.

In the tractation of all which things our chief purpose and endeavour shall be (so near as the Lord will give us grace), not so much to intermeddle with outward affairs of princes or matters civil (except sometimes for example of life), as specially minding, by the help of the Lord, to prosecute such things as to the ecclesiastical state of the church are appertaining : as first, to treat of the establishing of christian faith : then, of the persecutions of tyrants ; the constancy and patience of God's saints ; the first conversion of christian realms to the faith of Christ (namely of this realm of England and Scotland, first beginning with king Lucius ; and so forward, following the order of our English kings here in this land) : lastly, to declare the maintenance of true doctrine, the false practice of prelates, the creeping in of superstition and hypocrisy, the manifold assaults, wars, and tumults of the princes of this world against the people of God. Wherein

*Primitive
Church.*

Five
heads or
divisions.

Primitive Church.

may appear the wonderful operation of Christ's mighty hand, ever working in his church, and never ceasing to defend the same against his enemies, according to the verity of his own word, wherein he promised to be with his church while the world shall stand, as, by the process of this story, may well be proved, and will be testified in the sequel thereof.

Two things in this history chiefly to be noted.

The world.

The kingdom of Christ in this world is the visible church.

The church of Christ divided in two sorts of people.

In the tractation of all which things two special points I chiefly commend to the reader, as most requisite and necessary for every christian man to observe and to note, for his own experience and profit; as, first, the disposition and nature of this world; secondly, the nature and condition of the kingdom of Christ; the vanity of the one, and stableness of the other; the unprosperous and unquiet state of the one, ruled by man's violence and wisdom, and the happy success of the other, ever ruled by God's blessing and providence; the wrath and revenging hand of God on the one, and his mercy on the other. The world, I call all such as be without or against Christ, either by ignorance not knowing him, or by heathenish life not following him, or by violence resisting him. On the other side, the kingdom of Christ in this world, I take to be all them which belong to the faith of Christ, and here take his part in this world against the world; the number of whom although it be much smaller than the other, and always, lightly, is hated and molested of the world, yet it is the number which the Lord peculiarly doth bless and prosper, and ever will. And this number of Christ's subjects is it, which we call the visible church here in earth; which visible church, having in itself a difference of two sorts of people, so is it to be divided into two parts, of which the one standeth of such as be of outward profession only, the other of such as by election inwardly are joined to Christ: the first in words and lips seem to honour Christ, and are in the visible church only, but not in the church invisible, and partake the outward sacraments of Christ, but not the inward blessing of Christ. The other are both in the visible, and also in the invisible church of Christ, which not in words only and outward profession, but also in heart do truly serve and honour Christ, partaking not only the sacraments, but also the heavenly blessings and grace of Christ.

And many times it happeneth, that as between the world and the kingdom of Christ there is a continual repugnance, so between these two parts of this visible church aforesaid oftentimes groweth great variance and mortal persecution, insomuch that sometimes the true church of Christ hath no greater enemies than those of their own profession and company; as happened not only in the time of Christ and his apostles, but also from time to time almost ever since;¹ but especially in these latter days of the church under the persecution of Antichrist and his retinue; as by the reading of these volumes more manifestly hereafter may appear.

A.D. 26.

God's punishment for refusing the gospel.

At the first preaching of Christ, and coming of the gospel, who should rather have known and received him than the Pharisees and Scribes of that people which had his law? and yet who persecuted and rejected him more than they themselves? What followed? They, in refusing Christ to be their king, and choosing rather to be subject unto Cæsar, were by the said their own Cæsar at length

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 1.

destroyed; whereas Christ's subjects the same time escaped the danger. Whereby it is to be learned, what a dangerous thing it is to refuse the gospel of God, when it is so gently offered. *Primitive Church.*

The like example of God's wrathful punishment is to be noted no less in the Romans also themselves. For when Tiberius Cæsar, having learnt by letters from Pontius Pilate of the doings of Christ, of his miracles, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, and how he was received as God of many, was himself also moved with belief of the same, and did confer thereon with the whole senate of Rome, [and proposed] to have Christ adored as God; they, not agreeing thereunto, refused him, because that, contrary to the law of the Romans, he was consecrated (said they) for God, before the senate of Rome had so decreed and approved him.¹ Thus the vain senate (following rather the law of man than of God, and being contented with the emperor to reign over them, and not contented with the meek King of glory, the Son of God, to be their king) were, after much like sort with the Jews, scourged and entrapped for their unjust refusing, by the same way which they themselves did prefer. For as they preferred the emperor, and rejected Christ, so the just permission of God did stir up their own emperors against them in such sort, that both the senators themselves were almost all destroyed, and the whole city most horribly afflicted for the space almost of three hundred years together. For first, the same Tiberius, who, for a great part of his reign, was a moderate and a tolerable prince, afterward was to them a sharp and heavy tyrant, who neither favoured his own mother [Livia], nor spared his nephews² [Drusus and Nero], nor the princes of the city, such as were his own counsellors, of whom, being of the number of twenty, he left not past two or three alive; and so cruel was he to the citizens, that, as the story³ recordeth, "Nullus a penâ hominum cessabat dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer." Suetonius reporteth him to be so stern of nature, and tyrannical, that, in time of his reign, very many were accused, and condemned, with their wives and children; maids also first deflowered, then put to death. In one day he recordeth twenty persons to be drawn to the place of execution.⁴ By whom⁵ also, through the just punishment of God, Pilate, under whom Christ was crucified, was apprehended and sent to Rome, [where he was accused before Caligula,] deposed, then banished to the town of Vienne in Dauphiny,⁶ and at length did slay himself.⁷ Neither did Herod and Caiaphas long escape, of whom more followeth hereafter. Agrippa the elder, also, by him was cast into prison, albeit afterward he was restored.⁸ In the reign of Tiberius, the Lord Jesus, the Son of

Why the senate of Rome refused Christ. The senate and city of Rome plagued for refusing of Christ.

Pilate.

A.D. 40.

Herod.

Caiaphas. Agrippa.

(1) Euseb. lib. ii. cap. 2: who quotes Tertul. Apol. cap. 5.

(2) Suetonius says "Nepotes." They were the sons of Germanicus, who was Tiberius's adopted son. "Nephew" is often, in Old English, used for "grandson." See Nares's Glossary.—Ed.

(3) Suetonius in Vitâ Tiberii, cap. 61.—Ed. (4) Ex Suet. in Vitâ Tiberii, cap. 50, 51, 54, 55, 61.

(5) Rather "in whose reign."—Ed.

(6) Foxe says "Lyons;" on what authority, does not appear.—Ed.

(7) Pilate was accused to Vitellius, governor of Syria, for cruelty to the Samaritans: in consequence of which he was sent to Rome, to answer for his conduct there: but Tiberius died just before he got there. So far Josephus, Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. iv. § 1, 2. Eusebius states (Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 7), that he fell into great troubles in Caligula's reign, and that he died in despair, by his own hands, but without mentioning where: in his Chron. he places this event under the third year of Caligula. Baronius, in his Annals, records the death of Pilate under the same year, and adds, on the authority of Ado, archbishop of Vienne in Dauphiny in the ninth century, that he died at Vienne. M. Tillemont (L'Histoire des Empereurs, Ven. 1732, tom. i. p. 432) follows this authority, and refers us for Ado's words to Bibl. Patrum, tom. vii. p. 338.—Ed.

(8) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 6.

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A.D. 30.

March 16,
A.D. 37.

St. Paul
convert-
ed.

Caligula
com-
manded
his image
to be set
up in the
temple of
Jerusa-
lem.
The abo-
mination
of deso-
lation
standing
in the
holy
place.
Herod
miserably
died in
banish-
ment.
Caiaphas
deposed.

Jan. 24,
A.D. 41.

Oct. 13,
A.D. 54.

God, in the four-and-thirtieth year of his age, which was the sixteenth of this emperor, by the malice of the Jews suffered his blessed passion for the conquering of sin, death, and Satan the prince of this world, and rose again the third day. After whose blessed passion and resurrection, this aforesaid Tiberius Claudius Nero (otherwise [for his wine-bibbing], called Biberius Caldius Mero¹) lived seven years, during which time no persecution was yet stirring in Rome against the christians, through the commandment of the emperor.

In the reign also of this emperor, and the year which was the next after the passion of our Saviour, or somewhat more,² St. Paul was converted to the faith.

After the death of Tiberius, when he had reigned three-and-twenty years,² succeeded C. Cæsar Caligula, Claudius Nero, and Domitius Nero: which three were likewise such scourges to the senate and people of Rome, that the first not only took other men's wives violently from them, but also deflowered three of his own sisters, and afterward banished them. So wicked he was, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as god, and temples to be erected in his name, and used to sit in the temple among the gods, requiring his images to be set up in all temples, and also in the temple of Jerusalem; which caused great disturbance among the Jews, and then began the abomination of desolation spoken of in the gospel to be set up in the holy place. His cruelty of disposition, or else displeasure towards the Romans, was such that he wished that all the people of Rome had but one neck, that he, at his pleasure, might destroy such a multitude. By this said Caligula, Herod Antipas, the murderer of John Baptist and condemner of Christ, was condemned to perpetual banishment, where he died miserably.³ Caiaphas also, who wickedly sat upon Christ, was the same time removed from the high priest's room, and Jonathan set in his place. The raging fierceness of this Caligula, incensed against the Romans, had not thus ceased, had not he been cut off by the hands of a tribune and other gentlemen, who slew him in the fourth year of his reign. After whose death were found in his closet two small books, one called the Sword, the other the Dagger: in which books or libels were contained the names of those senators and noblemen of Rome, whom he had purposed to put to death. Besides this Sword and Dagger, there was found also a coffer, wherein divers kinds of poisons were kept in glasses and vessels, for the purpose of destroying a wonderful number of people; which poisons, afterward being thrown into the sea, destroyed a great number of fish.⁴

But that which this Caligula had only conceived, the same did the other two, which came after, bring to pass; namely, Claudius Nero, who reigned thirteen years with no little cruelty; but especially the third of these Neros, called Domitius Nero, who, succeeding after Claudius, reigned fourteen years, with such fury and tyranny, that he

(1) Suet. in Vitâ Tiberii, cap. 42.—Ed.

(2) From the death of Augustus, August 19th, A.D. 14, Tiberius reigned 22 yrs. 6 m. 26 d.—Ed.

(3) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xviii. cap. 7, and Bell. lib. ii. cap. 9.—Ed.

(4) Vid. Suet. in Calig. § 49; also Gotfrid. Viterbiens. part 15, apud Rerum Germanicarum Scrip-
tom. ii. p. 253, Ratisbonæ, 1726.—Ed.

slew the most part of the senators, and destroyed the whole order of knighthood in Rome.¹ So prodigious a monster of nature was he (more like a beast, yea rather a devil, than a man), that he seemed to be born to the destruction of men. Such was his monstrous uncleanness, that he abstained not from his own mother, his natural sister, nor from any degree of kindred. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he caused to be put to death his mother, his brother-in-law, his sister, his wife great with child, all his instructors, Seneca and Lucan, with divers more of his own kindred and consanguinity. Moreover, he commanded Rome to be set on fire in twelve places, and so continued it six days and seven nights in burning,² while that he, to see the example how Troy burned, sung the verses of Homer. And to avoid the infamy thereof, he laid the fault upon the christian men, and caused them to be persecuted. And so continued this miserable emperor in his reign fourteen years, till at last the senate, proclaiming him a public enemy unto mankind, condemned him to be drawn through the city, and to be whipped to death; for the fear whereof, he, flying the hands of his enemies, in the night fled to a manor of his servant's in the country, where he was forced to slay himself, complaining that he had then neither friend nor enemy left, that would do so much for him. In the latter end of this Domitius Nero, Peter and Paul were put to death for the testimony and faith of Christ, A.D. 67.³

Primitive Church.

Horrible wickedness and cruelty of Nero

June 9, A.D. 68. Peter and Paul suffered for Christ.

Thus ye see, which is worthy to be marked, how the just scourge and heavy indignation of God from time to time ever follow, and how all things there go to ruin, neither doth any thing well prosper, where Christ Jesus, the Son of God, is contemned, and not received; as may appear, both by these examples of the Romans—who not only were thus consumed and plagued by their own emperors, but also by civil wars (whereof three happened in two years at Rome, after the death of Nero) and other casualties (as in Suetonius is testified); so that in the days of Tiberius aforesaid, five thousand Romans were hurt and slain at one time by the fall of a theatre—and also most especially by the destruction of the Jews, who about this same time in the year threescore and ten, and about forty years after the passion of Christ, and the third year after the suffering of St. Peter and Paul, were destroyed by Titus, and Vespasian his father, (who succeeded after Nero in the empire) to the number of eleven hundred thousand, besides those which Vespasian slew in subduing the country of Galilee; over and beside them also which were sold and sent into Egypt and other provinces to vile slavery, to the number of seventeen thousand; two thousand were brought with Titus in his triumph; of whom, part he gave to be devoured of the wild beasts, part otherwise most cruelly were slain. By whose case all nations and realms may take example, what it is to reject the visitation of God's verity being sent, and much more to persecute them which be sent of God for their salvation.

Sept. 8, A.D. 70. Vespasian and Titus his son. The destruction of the Jews.

A note for all realms to mark.

And as this wrathful vengeance of God thus hath been showed

(1) Suet. in Vitâ Claudii. cap. 29 says, 35 senators and more than 300 knights.—Ed.

(2) Sueton. in Vitâ Neronis, cap. 32.—Ed.

(3) St. Paul is supposed by some to have suffered martyrdom in the year 65; by others in 67. St. Peter obtained a similar honour in 66 or 67. Several of Foxe's dates hereabouts have been corrected from L'Art de Ver. des Dates.—Ed.

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Church.*

The Ro-
mans, for
contemn-
ing
Christ,
punished
by their
emperors.
The just
plague of
God upon
the Ro-
man em-
perors'
persecu-
ting and
resisting
Christ till
the time
of Con-
stantine.

A.D. 81.

A.D. 192.

A.D. 222.

A.D. 238.

A.D. 244.

A.D. 253.

A.D. 268.

A.D. 283.

A.D. 305.

upon this rebellious people, both of the Jews and of the Romans, for their contempt of Christ, whom God so punished by their own emperors, so neither the emperors themselves, for persecuting Christ in his members, escaped without their just reward. For among so many emperors who put so many christian martyrs to death, during the space of these first three hundred years, few or none of them escaped either being slain themselves, or dying by some miserable end; or otherwise worthily revenged.

First, of the poisoning of Tiberius, and of the slaughter of the other three Neros after him, sufficiently is declared before. After Nero Domitius, Galba, within ten months, was slain by Otho. And so did Otho afterward slay himself, being overcome by Vitellius. And was not Vitellius, shortly after drawn through the city of Rome, and, after he was tormented, thrown into the Tiber? Titus, a good emperor, is thought to be poisoned of Domitian his brother.¹ The said Domitian, after he had been a persecutor of the Christians, was slain in his chamber, not without the consent of his wife. Likewise Commodus was murdered of Narcissus. The like end was of Pertinax and Julian. Moreover, after that Severus was slain here in England (who lieth at York), did not his son Bassianus² slay his brother Geta, and was not he, after, slain of Martialis? Macrinus with his son Diadumenus were both slain of their own soldiers. After whom Heliogabalus, that monstrous belly-paunch, was of his own people slain, drawn through the city, and cast into the Tiber. Alexander Severus, that worthy and learned emperor, who said he would not feed his servants, doing nothing, with the bowels of the commonwealth, although in life and virtues he was much unlike other emperors, yet proved the like end, being slain at Mentz with his godly mother Mammæa, by Maximin, whom the emperor before, of a muleteer, had advanced to great dignities: the which Maximin also, after three years, was slain himself of his soldiers. What should I speak of Maximus and Balbinus, in like sort both slain in Rome? Of Gordian slain by Philip; of Philip, the first christened emperor,³ slain, or rather martyred, for the same cause; of wicked Decius drowned, and his son slain the same time in battle; of Gallus, and Volusian his son, emperors after Decius, both slain by conspiracy of Æmilianus, who rose against them both in war, and within three months after, was slain himself? Next to Æmilian succeeded Valerian, and Galienus his son, of whom Valerian (who was a persecutor of the Christians) was taken prisoner of the Persians, and there made a riding fool of Sapor their king, who used him for a stool to leap upon his horse; while his son Galienus, sleeping at Rome, either would not, or could not, once proffer to revenge his father's ignominy; for, after the taking of Valerian, as many emperors rose up as there were provinces in the Roman monarchy. At length Galienus also was killed by Aureolus, who warred against him.

It were too long here to speak of Aurelian, another persecutor, slain of his secretary; of Tacitus, and Florianus his brother, of whom the first reigned six months, and was slain at Pontus; the other reigned two months, and was murdered at Tarsus: of Probus, who, although a good civil emperor, yet was destroyed by his soldiers. After whom Carus, the next emperor, was slain by lightning. Next to Carus followed the impious and wicked persecutor Dioclesian, with his fellows Maximian, Galerius, Maximinus, Maxentius, and Licinius, under whom all, at one time (during the time of Dioclesian), the greatest and most grievous persecution was moved against the Christians ten years together. Of whom, Dioclesian and Maximian deposed themselves from the empire. Galerius the chiefest minister of the persecution, after his terrible persecutions, fell into a wonderful sickness, having such a sore risen in the nether part of his belly, which consumed his privy-members, and so did swarm with worms, that, being curable neither by surgery nor physic, he confessed that it happened for his cruelty towards the Christians; and so called in his proclamations against

(1) The dates in this Historical Summary are taken from *L'Art de Verifier des Dates.*—Ep.

(2) More commonly called Caracalla, sometimes Antoninus.—Ep.

(3) So says Eusebius in his *Chronicon* and (though more doubtfully) in his *History*, lib. vi. cap. 35. Elsewhere, with most of the ancients, he represents Constantine as the first christian emperor. It is doubtful whether Philip was a Christian at all.—Ep.

them. Notwithstanding he, not able to sustain, as some say, the stink of his sore, slew himself. Maximinus, in his war, being tormented with pain in his guts, thereof died. Maxentius was vanquished by Constantine, and drowned in the Tiber. Licinius likewise, being overcome by the said Constantine the Great, was deposed from his empire, and afterward slain by his soldiers. But, on the other side, after the time of Constantine, when the faith of Christ was received into the imperial seat, we read of no emperor after the like sort destroyed or molested, except it were Julian, or Valens, or Basiliscus, (who expelled one Zeno, and was afterward expelled himself); beside these, we read of no emperor to come to ruin and decay, as the others before mentioned.¹

Primitive Church.
A.D. 311.
A.D. 312.

And thus have we, in brief sum, collected out of the chronicles the unquiet and miserable state of the emperors of Rome, until the time of Christian Constantine; with the examples, no less terrible than manifest, of God's severe justice upon them, for their contemptuous refusing and persecuting the faith and name of Christ their Lord.

Moreover, in much like sort and condition, if leisure of time or haste of matter would suffer me a little to digress unto more lower times, and to come more near home, the like examples I could also infer of this our country of England, concerning the terrible plagues of God against the churlish and unthankful refusing or abusing the benefit of his truth. First, we read how that God stirred up Gildas to preach to the old Britons, and to exhort them unto repentance and amendment of life, and to warn them afore of plagues to come, if they repented not. What availed it? Gildas was laughed to scorn, and taken for a false prophet, and a malicious preacher. The Britons, with lusty courages, whorish faces, and unrepentant hearts, went forth to sin, and to offend the Lord their God. What followed? God sent in their enemies on every side, and destroyed them, and gave the land to other nations.

Britons.

Not many years past, God, seeing idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, and wicked living, used in this realm, raised up that godly-learned man John Wickliff, to preach unto our fathers repentance; and to exhort them to amend their lives, to forsake their papistry and idolatry, their hypocrisy and superstition, and to walk in the fear of God. His exhortations were not regarded, he, with his sermons, was despised, his books, and he himself after his death, were burnt. What followed? They slew their right king, and set up three wrong kings on a row, under whom all the noble blood was slain up, and half the commons [in addition] thereto. What in France, with their own sword in fighting among themselves for the crown; while the cities and towns were decayed, and the land brought half to a wilderness, in respect of what it was before. O extreme plagues of God's vengeance!

Wickliff and his books condemned, and he burnt for an heretic after his death.

Since that time, even of late years, God, once again having pity of this realm of England, raised up his prophets; namely, William Tyndale, Thomas Bilney, John Frith, doctor Barnes, Jerome, Garret, Anthony Peerson, with divers others, who, both with their writings and sermons, earnestly laboured to call us unto repentance; that, by this means, the fierce wrath of God might be turned away from us.

(1) Ex libro "Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ quam Tripartitam vocant: ex tribus Græcis auctoribus, Sozomeno, Socrate, et Theodorito," etc. [compiled and published by Cassiodorus, about A.D. 550, and extending from Constantine to Theodosius II. inclusive: it relates the death of Julian the Apostate, A.D. 363, in lib. vi. cap. 47, and the burning of Valens, A.D. 378, in lib. viii. cap. 15. It was published at Basil in 1539, with abridgements of Eusebius and Nicephorus, in a volume intitled "Scriptores Ecclesiastici:"] Foxe may have used that volume in making this summary, for at p. 606 will be found the story of Basiliscus and Zeno, from Nicephorus; and most of the rest may be found in the selection of Eusebius. Basiliscus was deposed A.D. 477.—Ed.]

Primitive Church. But how were they treated? How were their painful labours regarded? They themselves were condemned and burnt as heretics, and their books condemned and burnt as heretical. "The time shall come," saith Christ, "that whosoever killeth you, will think that he doth God high good service."¹

God's
benefits
towards
England.

Whether any thing since that time hath chanced to this realm worthy the name of a plague, let the godly-wise judge. If God hath deferred his punishment, or forgiven us these our wicked deeds, as I trust he hath, let us not therefore be proud and high-minded, but most humbly thank him for his tender mercies, and beware of the like ungodly enterprises hereafter. Neither is there here any need to speak of these our lower and latter times, which have been in king Henry's and king Edward's days, seeing the memory thereof is yet fresh, and cannot be forgotten. But let this pass; of this I am sure, that God, yet once again, is come on visitation to this church of England, yea, and that more lovingly and beneficially than ever he did before. For in this visitation he hath redressed many abuses, and cleansed his church of much ungodliness and superstition, and made it a glorious church, if it be compared to the old form and state. And now how grateful receivers we be, with what heart, study, and reverence, we embrace that which he hath given, that I refer either to them that see our fruits, or to the sequel, which, peradventure, will declare it. But this by the way of digression.

A caveat
for Eng-
land.

Now to regress again to the state of the first former times. It remaineth, that as I have set forth the justice of God upon these Roman persecutors, so now we declare their persecutions raised up against the people and servants of Christ, within the space of three hundred years after Christ; which persecutions in number commonly are counted to be ten, besides the persecutions first moved by the Jews, in Jerusalem and other places, against the apostles. In the which, first St. Stephen the deacon was put to death; with divers others more, in the same rage of time either slain or cast into prison. At the doing whereof, Saul the same time played the doughty pharisee, being not yet converted to the faith of Christ, whereof the history is plain, set forth at large by St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles.

St. Stephen the
first ring-
leader of
all Christ's
martyrs.

St. James
the apo-
stle, brother
of
John,
martyred.

After the martyrdom of this blessed Stephen, suffered next James the holy apostle of Christ, and brother of John. Of which James mention is made in the twelfth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, where is declared, how that not long after the stoning of Stephen, king Herod stretched forth his hand, to take and afflict certain of the congregation, among whom James was one, whom he slew with the sword. Of this James, Eusebius² also inferreth mention, alleging Clement, thus writing a memorable story of him.

A notable
conversion
of a
wicked
accuser,
afterward
a martyr.

"This James," saith Clement, "when he was brought to the tribunal seat, he that brought him and was the cause of his trouble, seeing him to be condemned and that he should suffer death, as he went to the execution, being moved therewith in heart and conscience, confessed himself also, of his own accord, to be a christian. And so were they led forth together, where in the way he desired of James to forgive him what he had done. After that James

(1) John xvi. 2.

(2) Hist. Eccle. lib. ii. cap. 9. ex Clement septima Hypotyposeon.

had a little paused with himself upon the matter, turning to him, 'Peace,' saith he, 'be to thee, brother;' and kissed him. And both were beheaded together, A.D. 36." *Primitive Church.*

Dorotheus in his book named "Synopsis,"¹ testifieth, that Nicanor, one of the seven deacons, with two thousand others which believed in Christ, suffered also the same day, when Stephen did suffer. The said Dorotheus witnesseth also, that Timon, another of the deacons, bishop afterward of Bostra² in Arabia, was there burned. Parmenas also, another of the deacons, suffered.³ Thomas preached to the Parthians,⁴ Medes, and Persians, also to the Carmanians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and Magians. He suffered in Calamina,⁵ a city of India,⁶ being slain with a dart. Jude, brother of James the younger, called also Thaddæus, and Lebbeus, preached to the Edessenes, and to all Mesopotamia: he was slain under Abgarus, king of the Edessenes, in Berytus.⁷

Simon, who was brother to Jude above mentioned, and to James the younger, who all were the sons of Mary Cleophas and of Alpheus, was bishop of Jerusalem after James, and was crucified in a city of Egypt in the time of Trajan the emperor, as Dorotheus recordeth. Simon the apostle, called Cananeus and Zelotes, preached in Mauritania, and in the country of Africa, and in Britain: he was likewise crucified. But Abdias writeth, that he and the apostle Jude were both slain by a tumult of the people in Suanir, a city of Persia.⁸

Mark, the evangelist and first bishop of Alexandria, preached the gospel in Egypt, and there, drawn with ropes unto the fire, was burnt, and afterward buried in a place called there "Bucolus," under the reign of Trajan the emperor.⁹ Bartholomew is said also to have preached to the Indians, and to have converted the gospel of St. Matthew

Nicanor
one of the
seven
deacons,
with two
thousand
others,
martyred;
also Timon and
Parmenas,
the deacons; and
Thomas, the
apostle.
Thaddæus,
Jude, the
apostle,
and his
brother
Simon, martyred;
also Simon Cananeus, or
Zelotes, the
apostle.

Mark the
evangelist
burned.
Bartholomew the
apostle
crucified
and be-
headed."

(1) This is occasionally rather indifferent ground to found any assertion upon, as the book of Dorotheus is thus characterised by Miræus: "Sub nomine Dorothei Tyrii in Biblioth. vet. Patrum extat 'Synopsis de vita et morte Apostolorum, Prophetarum ac Discipulorum Christi,' quæ plena est fabulis; ut Molanus, Baronius, Bellarminus et alii observant." De Script. illust. p. 5. Rivet confirms this by several instances, and is surprised, consequently, that Bellarmine (de Pontif. Rom. lib. ii. cap. 4) should attempt, as he does, to support St. Peter's Roman episcopate from such a source.

(2) Dorotheus Presbyter passus est sub Juliano circa 363. Episcopum fuisse existimavit Siziæ Senensis, qui biblioth. lib. 4, ascribit eidem synopsis univ. Scripturæ sanctæ, in qua omnium librorum utriusque Testam. argumenta complexus est. Hanc interpretatus est Wolf. Musculus, et exedit Frobenius Basiliæ 1557 inter Eccles. Historiæ auctores." "Crit. sac." lib. iii. cap. 13. There is a translation of Dorotheus in Hammer's Eusebius, and his testimony in the present case seems to be admitted; see "Martyrolog. Rom. a Baronio," Jan. 10.—Ed.

(3) "Erroris arguitur et Dorotheus, dum in Synopsi hunc non Beroensem sed Bostrensem fuisse Episc. scribit." Martyrol. Rom. auct. a Baronio, p. 173. Antv. 1579.—Ed.

(4) Ex Dorotheo in Synopsi.

(5) Vide Appendix I. to Hieron. lib. de viris illustribus, p. 225 in the Biblioth. Eccles. of Fabricius, Hamb. 1718.—Ed.

(6) See Fabricii "Codex Apocryphus N. T." p. 689, edit. Hamb. 1719; and, with regard to the popular idea of his having been the apostle of India, Witsii "Miscellanea Sacra," tom. ii. p. 352; or Hough's "History of Christianity in India," vol. i.—Ed.

(7) See the Magdeburg centuriators (cent. i. lib. ii. col. 445, edit. 1624,) who, noting down this and other statements respecting Thomas, then remark, "sed certioribus testibus ista omnia destituntur."—Ed.

(8) Foxe here confounds Thaddæus, the apostle, with another Thaddæus, one of the seventy disciples according to Eusebius, who (Hist. lib. i. cap. 13; lib. ii. cap. 1) relates, from the Acts of the Edessene Church, Thaddæus's proceedings, and his planting that church under the favourable auspices of Abgarus the king. He died in peace at Berytus (hod. Beirut). He is commemorated as the Apostle of Edessa by the Greeks, in the Menæa, August 21st. See Baron. Martyrol., and Alban Butler, at October 28th.—Ed.

(9) The assertions of Abdias are not considered to be well founded: vide Cent. Magdeburg. cent. i. lib. ii. col. 449. See also Abdias hist. certam. Apost. lib. vi. § 20. Fabricius, who has reprinted Abdias in his "Codex Apocryphus Nov. Test." remarks (p. 630, edit. 1719,) with regard to the alleged place of martyrdom, "de civitate Persidis, cui nomen Suanir, altum apud veteres silentium." Alban Butler thinks they were the Suani in Colchis, a dependency of Persia.—Foxe has confounded Simon Cananeus or Zelotes (for they were the same, see Matt. x. 4, Mark iii. 13, Luke vi. 15, Acts i. 13), one of the apostles, with Simon, one of our Lord's relatives, Matt. xiii. 55, Mark vi. 3. This mistake is common, as well as that respecting the two Thaddæi. See Baron. Martyrol. Oct. 28. A slight transposition has corrected the error.—Ed.

(9) See Tillemont's "Memoires à l'Hist. Ecclesiastique," edit. Bruxelles, 1695, tom. ii. pt. 1, pp. 171 and 408.—Ed.

Primitive Church.

into their tongue; where he continued a great space, doing many miracles. At last in Albinopolis, a city of greater Armenia, after divers persecutions, he was beaten down with staves, then crucified; and after, being excoriated, he was at length beheaded.¹

Andrew the apostle crucified for the gospel.

Of Andrew the apostle and brother to Peter, thus writeth Jerome in his book² "*Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*." "Andrew the brother of Peter (in the time and reign of Vespasian, as our ancestors have reported) did preach, in the year fourscore of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the Scythians, Sogdians, to the Sacæ, and in a city which is called Sebastopolis, where the Ethiopians do now inhabit. He was buried in Patræ, a city of Achaia, being crucified by Ægeas, the governor of the Edessenes." Hitherto writeth Jerome, although in the number of years he seemeth a little to miss:³ for Vespasian reached not to the year fourscore after Christ. But Bernard, in his second sermon, and St. Cyprian, in his book "*De duplici Martyrio*," do make mention of the confession and martyrdom of this blessed apostle; whereof partly out of these, partly out of other credible writers, we have collected after this manner:

The words of Andrew to the proconsul.

The fervency of Andrew against idolatry.

That when Andrew, being conversant in a city of Achaia called Patræ, through his diligent preaching, had brought many to the faith of Christ, Ægeas the governor, knowing this, resorted thither, to the intent he might constrain as many as did believe Christ to be God, by the whole consent of the senate, to do sacrifice unto the idols, and so give divine honour unto them. Andrew, thinking good at the beginning to resist the wicked counsel and the doings of Ægeas, went unto him, saying to this effect unto him: "that it behoved him who was judge of men, first to know his Judge which dwelleth in heaven, and then to worship him being known; and so, in worshipping the true God, to revoke his mind from false gods and blind idols." These words spake Andrew to the proconsul. But he, greatly therewith discontented, demanded of him, whether he was the same Andrew that did overthrow the temple of the gods, and persuade men to be of that superstitious sect, which the Romans of late had commanded to be abolished and rejected. Andrew did plainly affirm, that the princes of the Romans did not understand the truth, and that the Son of God coming from heaven into the world for man's sake, hath taught and declared how those idols, whom they so honoured as gods, were not only not *gods*, but also most cruel *devils*; enemies to mankind, teaching the people nothing else but that wherewith God is offended, and, being offended, turneth away and regardeth them not; and so by the wicked service of the devil, they do fall headlong into all wickedness, and, after their departing, nothing remaineth unto them, but their evil deeds. But the proconsul esteeming these things to be as vain, especially seeing the Jews (as he said) had crucified Christ before, therefore charged and commanded Andrew not to teach and preach such things any more; or, if he did, that he should be fastened to the cross with all speed.

The constant faith of Andrew to the end.

Andrew, abiding in his former mind very constant, answered thus concerning the punishment which he threatened: "He would not have preached the honour and glory of the cross, if he had feared the death of the cross." Whereupon sentence of condemnation was pronounced; that Andrew, teaching and entreprising a new sect, and taking away the religion of their gods, ought to be crucified.⁴ Andrew, going toward the place, and seeing afar off the cross prepared, did change neither countenance nor colour, as the imbecility of mortal men is wont to do, neither did his blood shrink, neither did he fail in his speech,

(1) Ex Johan. de Monte Regali.

(2) Ex Hieron. in Catalogo Scrip. Eccles. [Appendix I. p. 224, in "*Biblioth. Eccles. Fabricii*," Hamb. 1718. The next authority, the treatise "*De duplici Martyrio*," is incorrectly assigned to Cyprian: "*Cypriani non esse patet, quod in eo Diocletiani Imp. et belli Cæsarei contra Turcas fit mentio*." Rivet. crit. sac. lib. ii. § 15.—Ed.]

(3) There is some mistake here: Jerome assigns no date whatever.—Ed.

(4) The foregoing narrative is from the "*Acta Martyrii S. Andræ*," a production ascribed to the presbyters and deacons of Achaia, but rejected by M. Tillemont, as of no authority. Ribade-neira quotes the work, in *Vita S. Andræ*.—Ed.

his body fainted not, neither was his mind molested, nor did his understanding fail him, as it is the manner of men to do, but out of the abundance of his heart his mouth did speak, and fervent charity did appear in his words as kindled sparks; he said, "O cross,¹ most welcome and long looked for! with a willing mind, joyfully and desirously, I come to thee, being the scholar of him which did hang on thee: because I have been always thy lover, and have coveted to embrace thee."² So, being crucified, he yielded up the ghost and fell on sleep, the day before the Kalends of December.

Primitive Church.

Matthew, otherwise named Levi, first of a publican made an apostle, wrote his gospel to the Jews in the Hebrew tongue.³ After he had converted to the faith Æthiopia and all Egypt, Hircanus, their king, sent one to run him through with a spear, as writeth the afore-named Johannes de Monte Regali. Concerning the doings and decrements of this blessed apostle and evangelist, divers things are recorded by Julius Africanus,⁴ under the pretended name of Abdias; also by Vincentius, Perionius, and others; but in such sort, as, by the contents, the matter may greatly be suspected not to lack some crafty forgery, for the more establishment of later decretals and Romish doctrine; as touching merits, consecration of nuns, the superstitious prescription of Lent-fast, not only in abstaining from all flesh meats, but also from all matrimonial intercourse between man and wife, during the said time of holy Lent: Item, the strict prohibition not to taste any bodily sustenance, before receiving of the Lord's supper: in ordaining of mass; and that no nun must marry after the vow of her profession, with other such-like.

St. Matthew, the apostle, slain with a spear.

Johannes de Monte Regali,⁵ testifieth of Matthias, after he had preached to the Jews, at length he was stoned and beheaded. Some others record that he died in Æthiopia.

Matthias, the apostle, stoned and beheaded.

Philip, the holy apostle, after he had much laboured among the barbarous nations in preaching the word of salvation to them, at length suffered, as the other apostles did, in Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia, being there crucified and stoned to death; where also he was buried, and his daughters also with him.⁶

Philip, the apostle, crucified.

Of James, the Brother of the Lord, thus we read in Eusebius.⁷

After that Festus had sent the apostle Paul to Rome after his appellation made at Cesarea, and that the Jews, by the means thereof, had lost their hope of performing their malicious vow against him conceived, they fell upon James, the brother of our Lord, who was bishop at Jerusalem, against whom they were bent with like malice, and brought him forth before them, and required him to deny, before all the people, the faith of Christ. But he, otherwise than they all looked for, freely and with a greater constancy, before all the multitude confessed Jesus to be the Son of God, our Saviour and our Lord. Whereupon they, not being able to abide the testimony of this man any longer, because he was thought to be the justest of all men, for the divine wisdom and godliness which he exhibited in his life, they killed him; finding the more opportunity to accomplish their mischief, because the government at that time was vacant. For, Festus being dead in Jewry, the administration of that province was destitute of a ruler, and a deputy. But after what manner James was killed, the

James, bishop of Jerusalem.

(1) The cross here is not taken for the material cross of wood, but for the manner of death upon the cross, which death was to him welcome.

(2) Ex Bernardo, Serm. 2. de Sanct. Andrea.

(3) As recordeth Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 24. 39; lib. v. cap. 8 and 10; also Irenæus, lib. iii. cap. 1; Item Hieronymus, in Catalogo Scrip. Ecclesiast.

(4) Lib. vii. § 10. Julius Africanus is represented as the translator of Abdias; but as Sixtus Senensis and Vossius (de Hist. Gr. lib. ii. c. 9.) ask, "quomodo Abdiam eum latine transtulit Jul. Afr., quem Græcum fuisse scriptorem ex Eusebio et aliis constat?" See Fabricius, pp. 392, 397.—Ed.

(5) Sophronius, in the Appendix to Jerome, before referred to, is better authority; § 7.—Ed.

(6) Ex Isido. lib. De Patribus Novi Testam.

(7) Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 23. Foxe's translation has been revised from the Greek.—Ed.

Primitive Church. words of Clement do declare, who writeth that he was cast down from the pinnacle of the temple, and being smitten with a club, was slain. But Hege-
sippus,¹ who lived in the time next after the apostles, in the fifth book of his Commentaries, writeth most accurately about him, as followeth:—

James, the brother of our Lord, took in hand to govern the church with the apostles, being counted of all men, from the time of our Lord, to be a just and perfect man. Many and divers other Jameses there were beside him, but this was born holy from his mother's womb. He drank no wine nor any strong drink, neither did he eat any animal food; the razor never came upon his head; he was not anointed with oil, neither did he use the bath; to him only was it lawful to enter into the holy place, for he was not clothed with woollen, but with linen only;² and he used to enter into the temple alone, and there, falling upon his knees, ask remission for the people; so that his knees, by oft kneeling (for worshipping God, and craving forgiveness for the people), lost the sense of feeling, being benumbed and hardened like the knees of a camel. He was, for the excellency of his just life, called "The Just," and, "Oblias," which means in Hebrew "the safeguard of the people" and "justice," as the prophets declare of him: therefore, when many belonging to the seven sects of the Jews³ asked him what the door of Jesus was, he answered, that he was the Saviour. Whereupon some believed Jesus to be Christ; but the aforesaid sects neither believe the resurrection, neither that any shall come, who shall render unto every man according to his works; but as many of them as believed, believed for James's preaching. When many therefore of their chief men did believe, there was a tumult made of the Jews, scribes, and pharisees, saying; There is danger, lest all the people should look for this Jesus, as the Christ. Therefore they gathered themselves together, and said to James, "We beseech thee restrain the people, for they believe in Jesus, as though he were Christ; we pray thee persuade all them which come unto the feast of the passover to think rightly of Jesus; for we all give heed to thee, and all the people do testify of thee that thou art just, and that thou dost not accept the person of any man. Therefore persuade the people that they be not deceived about Jesus, for all the people and we ourselves are ready to obey thee. Therefore stand upon the pinnacle of the temple, that thou mayest be seen above, and that thy words may be heard of all the people; for all the tribes with many gentiles are come together for the passover." And thus the forenamed scribes and pharisees did set James upon the battlements of the temple, and they cried unto him, and said, "Thou just man, whom all we ought to obey, because this people is going astray after Jesus which is crucified, tell what is the door of Jesus crucified."⁴ And he answered with a loud voice, "Why do you ask me of Jesus the Son of man? He sitteth on the right hand of the Most High, and shall come in the clouds of heaven." Whereupon many were persuaded and glorified God, upon this witness of James, and said, "Hosannah, to the Son of David." Then the scribes and the pharisees said among themselves, "We have done evil, that we have caused such a testimony of Jesus; let us go up, and throw him down, that others, being moved with fear, may deny that faith." And they cried out, saying, "Oh, oh, this just man also is seduced;" and they fulfilled that scripture which is written in Isaiah, "Let us take away the just man, because he is not profitable for us, wherefore let them eat the fruits of their works."⁵ Therefore they went up to throw down the just man. Yet he was not killed by the fall, but, turning, fell down upon his knees, saying, "O Lord God, Father, I beseech thee to forgive them, for they know not what they do."⁶ And they said among themselves, "Let us stone the just man, James;" and they took him to smite him with stones. But while they were smiting him

(1) Hege-sippus, a converted Jew, the first ecclesiastical historian after the apostles, born about A.D. 100, died about A.D. 180: he wrote five books of *ὑπομνήματα τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πράξεων*.—Ed.

(2) See Levit. xvi. 2—4.—Ed.

(3) Hege-sippus (quoted by Euseb. lib. iv. c. 22.) explains the seven sects of the Jews to be the Ἐσσαῖοι, Γαλιλαῖοι, Ἡμεροβαπτισταί, Μασθαβαῖοι, Σαμαρείται, Σαδδουκαῖοι, Φαρισαῖοι.—Ed.

(4) *Τίς ἡ θύρα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ ἐσταυρωμένου*; Valesius explains "door" to mean, "the first rudiments, or the main principles, of Christianity."—Ed.

(5) Chap. iii. [*"Hic locus legitur in Esaia, cap. 3. δῆσμεν τὸν δίκαιον—ita quidem legitur in edit. Romanâ. Verum Justinus in dialog. adv. Tryh. disertè testatur in edit. LXX. interpretum scriptum fuisse ἀρωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, pro quo Judaici interpretes δῆσμεν verterunt. Justinus lectionem confirmat etiam Tertul. contra Marc. 3. 22. "Venite, inquit, auferamus justum, quia inutilis est nobis."* Vales. not. in Euseb.—Ed.]

(6) Luke xxiii. 34.

with stones, a priest, one of the children of Rechab, a descendant of the Rechabites mentioned in Jeremiah the prophet, said to them, "Leave off, what do ye? The just man prayeth for you." And one of those who were present, a fuller, took an instrument, wherewith they did use to beat and purge cloth, and smote the just man on his head, and so he finished his testimony. And they buried him in the same place, and his pillar abideth still by the temple. He was a true witness for Christ to the Jews and the Gentiles. And shortly after, Vespasian the emperor, destroying the land of Jewry, brought them into captivity.

<i>The First Persecution.</i>
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These things thus written at large by Hegesippus, do well agree with those which Clement did write of him.¹ This James was so notable a man for his justice, that he was had in honour of all men; insomuch that the wise men of the Jews, shortly after his martyrdom, did impute the besieging of Jerusalem, and other calamities which happened unto them, to no other cause, but unto the violence and injury done to this man. Also Josephus hath not left this out of his history, where he speaketh of him after this manner: "These things so chanced unto the Jews in revenge of that just man James, the brother of Jesus whom they called Christ, for the Jews killed him, although he was a righteous man."²

The same Josephus declareth his death in the twentieth book of his Antiquities,³ saying, "Cæsar, hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus, as procurator, into Jewry: but Ananus the younger, of the sect of the Sadducees, being high-priest, and trusting that he had obtained a convenient time [to shew his authority], seeing that Festus was dead, and Albinus yet on the road, assembled the Sanhedrim, and, calling many unto him, among whom was James, the brother of Jesus who is called Christ, he delivered them to be stoned, accusing them as breakers of the law."

Whereby it appeareth, that many others also, besides James, at the same time were martyred and put to death among the Jews, for the faith of Christ.

A Description of the ten first Persecutions in the Primitive Church, with the variety of their Torments.

These things being thus declared for the martyrdom of the apostles, and the persecution of the Jews: now let us (by the grace of Christ our Lord) comprehend with like brevity, the persecutions raised by the Romans against the Christians in the primitive age of the church, during the space of three hundred years, till the coming of godly Constantine, which persecutions are reckoned by Eusebius, and by the most part of writers, to the number of ten most special.⁴ Wherein marvellous it is to see and read the numbers incredible of christian innocents that were slain and tormented, some one way, some another, as Rabanus saith, and saith truly, "Some slain with sword; some burnt with fire; some with whips scourged; some stabbed with forks of iron; some fastened to the cross or gibbet; some drowned in the sea; some their skins plucked off; some their tongues cut off; some stoned to death; some killed with cold; some starved with hunger; some their hands cut off alive, or otherwise dismembered, have been so left naked to the open shame of the world," etc.⁵ Whereof Augustine also thus saith, "Ligabantur, include-

The sundry torments of the holy martyrs in the primitive church.

(1) See "Clementina." Col. Agripp. 1569, page 22.—Ed.

(2) Dr. Hudson observes that Origen is the first who (by a mistake of memory) attributes this sentiment to Josephus; and that Eusebius and others have copied Origen's blunder. Josephus (Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 8. § 5.) expressly attributes the ruin of his country to the anger of God at the murder of Jonathan the high-priest by the assassins.

(3) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 9.

(4) See Augustine "De civitate Dei," lib. xviii. cap. 52.—Ed.

(5) "Alii ferro perempti; alii flammis exusti; alii flagris verberati; alii vectibus perforati; alii cruciati patibulo; alii demersi pelagi periculo; alii vivi decorati; alii vinculis mancipati; alii linguis privati; alii lapidibus obruti; alii frigore afflicti; alii fame cruciati; alii truncatis manibus; alique cæsis membris, spectaculum contumeliæ nudi propter nomen Domini portantes," etc.

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 68.

The number of holy martyrs in the primitive church.

bantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, multiplicabantur, non pugnantes pro salute, sed salutem contemnentes pro servatore."¹ Whose kinds of punishments, although they were divers, yet the manner of constancy in all these martyrs was one. And yet, notwithstanding the sharpness of these so many and sundry torments, and also the like cruelty of the tormentors, yet such was the number of these constant saints that suffered, or rather such was the power of the Lord in his saints, that, as Jerome, in his epistle to Chromatius and Heliodorus, saith, "There is no day in the whole year, unto which the number of five thousand martyrs cannot be ascribed, except only the first day of January."²

THE FIRST PERSECUTION.

The first of these ten persecutions was stirred up by Nero Domitian before mentioned, the sixth emperor, about the year of our Lord threescore and four. The tyrannous rage of which emperor was very fierce against the Christians, "Insomuch that (as Eusebius recordeth) a man might then see cities full of men's bodies, the old there lying together with the young, and the dead bodies of women cast out naked, without all reverence of that sex, in the open streets," etc.³ Likewise Orosius, writing of the said Nero, saith, "that he was the first who in Rome did raise up persecution against the Christians; and not only in Rome, but also through all the provinces thereof; thinking to abolish and to destroy the very name of Christians in all places," etc.⁴ Whereunto accordeth, moreover, the testimony of Jerome upon Daniel, saying, that many there were of the Christians in those days, who, seeing the filthy abominations and intolerable cruelty of Nero, thought that he was Antichrist.

Nero thought to be Antichrist.

In this persecution, among many other saints, the blessed apostle Peter was condemned to death, and crucified, as some do write, at Rome; albeit some others, and not without cause, do doubt thereof: concerning whose life and history, because it is sufficiently described in the text of the Gospel, and in the Acts of St. Luke, I need not here to make any great repetition thereof. As touching the cause and manner of his death, divers there be which make relation, as Jerome, Hegesippus, Eusebius, Abdias, and others, although they do not all precisely agree in the time. The words of Jerome be these:

St. Peter, the apostle, crucified at Rome.

"Simon Peter, the son of Jonas, of the province of Galilee, and of the town of Bethsaida, the brother of Andrew, after he had been bishop of the church of Antioch, and had preached to them of the circumcision that believed, dispersed in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, in the second year of Claudius the emperor [which was about the year of our Lord 42]⁵ came to Rome to withstand Simon Magus, and there kept the priestly chair the space of five and twenty years,⁶ until the last year of the aforesaid Nero, which

(1) Aug. De civit. Dei, lib. xxi. c. 6.

(2) "Nullus esset dies cui non ultra quinque millium numerum martyrum reperiri posset ascriptus, excepto die calendarum Januarii." [On the number of martyrs, many passages are collected from the Fathers, and other writers, in "Basnagii Annales polit." ad an. 96. § 7.—Ed.]

(3) "Usque adeo ut videres repletas humanis corporibus civitates, jacentes mortuos simul cum parvulis senes, foeminarumque absque ullâ sexus reverentiâ nudata in publico rejectaque starent cadavera."—Histor. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 26; [Eusebius, however, is describing Nero's severity toward the Jews, not the Christians; and is quoting from Josephus, "De bello Jud." lib. ii. cap. 18. § 2.—Ed.]

(4) Orosius, lib. vii. [cap. 7.—Ed.]

(5) This date is not in Jerome.—Ed.

(6) This report seemeth neither to come of Jerome, nor to be true in Peter. [See p. 102, note 3. See this assertion of Jerome's disproved in "Essays on Romanism," Seeley and Burnside. London, 1839, p. 183.—Ed.]

was the fourteenth year of his reign, of whom he was crucified, his head being down and his feet upward, himself so requiring, because he was (he said) unworthy to be crucified after the same form and manner as the Lord was."¹

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Hegesippus, prosecuting this matter something more at large, and Abdias² also (if any authority is to be given to his book,³ which, following not only the sense, but also the very form of words, of Hegesippus in this history, seemeth to be extracted out of him and of other authors), saith,⁴

Simon Magus, being then a great man with Nero, and his president and keeper of his life,⁵ was required upon a time to be present at the raising up of a certain noble young man in Rome, of Nero's kindred, lately departed; where Peter, also, was desired to come to the reviving of the said personage. But when Magus, in the presence of Peter, could not do it, then Peter, calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus, did raise him up, and restored him to his mother: whereby the estimation of Simon Magus began greatly to decay and to be detested in Rome. Not long after, the said Magus threatened the Romans that he would leave the city, and, in their sight, fly away from them into heaven. So, the day being appointed, Magus taking his wings in the mount Capitolinus began to fly in the air: but Peter, by the power of the Lord Jesus, brought him down with his wings headlong to the ground; by the which fall his legs and joints were broken, and he thereupon died. Then Nero, sorrowing for the death of him, sought matter against Peter to put him to death; which, when the people perceived, they entreated Peter with much ado that he would fly the city. Peter, through their importunity at length persuaded, prepared himself to avoid. But, coming to the gate, he saw the Lord Christ come to meet him, to whom he, worshipping, said, "Lord, whither dost thou go?" To whom he answered and said, "I am come again to be crucified." By this, Peter, perceiving his suffering to be understood, returned back into the city again, and so was he crucified in manner as is before declared.

This is out of Hegesippus. Eusebius, moreover, writing of the death not only of Peter, but also of his wife, affirmeth, that Peter, seeing his wife going to her martyrdom (belike as he was yet hanging upon the cross), was greatly joyous and glad thereof, who, crying unto her with a loud voice, and calling her by her name, bade her "remember the Lord Jesus." Such was then (saith Eusebius) the blessed bond of marriage among the saints of God.⁶ And thus much of Peter.

Peter's wife put to death for Christ

Paul, the apostle, who before was called Saul, after his great travail and unspeakable labours in promoting the gospel of Christ, suffered also in this first persecution under Nero, and was beheaded. Of whom thus writeth Jerome in his "Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum:"

Paul, the apostle.

(1) Hieron. Catal. Scrip. Eccles.

(2) Abdias, lib. i. [Hist. Apost. § 16.—Ed.]

(3) Pseudo-Abdias, bishop of Babylon, is supposed to have flourished in the beginning of the tenth century. His first editor had an extraordinary opinion of his excellence: "Wolfgangus Lazius, qui primum illum in lucem anno 1551 Basileæ cum præfatione amplâ protraxit, (unde postea etiam Parisiis, 1566 et Coloniae, 1569 prodiit) tanti eum fecit, ut dubitare se dicat, utrum ea in quibus cum Luca consentit hauserit ex hoc evangelista, an Lucas ea potius ex Abdia isto descriperit." Vossius de Hist. Gr.; (quoted by Oudin. Script. Eccles. tom. ii. col. 419) who also states that the book was once condemned by Paul IV. for its oft-times fabulous and mendacious narratives, an act (all things considered) somewhat ungracious; and for which reparation was afterwards made, by withdrawing the name from the Index Prohibitorius: see *Yet more work for a Masse-Priest* (Lond. 1622), p. 5. From Foxe's residing so long as he did at Basle, he seems to have become acquainted with books, and introduced their contents into his Acts and Monuments, which under other circumstances would not have engaged his attention; nor, as in the present case, much deserved it.—Ed.

(4) Hegesippus, lib. iii. De excidio Hierosol. cap. 2. [This is a different Hegesippus from that mentioned suprâ, p. 98, and lived after the time of Constantine. See Cave.—Ed.]

(5) [There is a slight obscurity in these words, which will be removed by quoting the original: "ita Magus Caesaris animum obtinuerat, ut eum salutis suæ præselem, vitæque custodem, remotâ ambiguitate confideret." Vide Baronius, "Annales Eccles." anno 68, § 13.—Ed.]

(6) Euseb. lib. iii. Hist. Eccles. cap. 30. [quoting from Clemens. Alex. Strom. vii. cap. 11. § 63.—Ed.]

*The First
Persecu-
tion.*

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Saul
brought
up under
Gamaliel.
Saul a
perse-
cutor.
Saul con-
verted.
Saul
turned to
Paul.
Paul sent
to the
Gentiles.

Paul, otherwise called Saul, one of the apostles, yet out of the number of the twelve, was of the tribe of Benjamin, and of a town of Jewry called Giscala; which town being taken of the Romans, he with his parents fled to Tarsus, a town of Cilicia; afterward was sent up by his parents to Jerusalem, and there brought up in the knowledge of the law, at the feet of Gamaliel, and was a doer of the death of Stephen. And when he had received letters from the high priest to persecute the Christians, by the way, going to Damascus, he was stricken down of the Lord's glory; and, of a persecutor, was made a professor, an apostle, a martyr, a witness of the gospel, and a vessel of election.

Among his other manifold labours and travails in spreading the doctrine of Christ, he first won Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Cyprus, to the faith of Christ, whereupon he took his name, as some suppose, turned from Saul to Paul. After he had passed through divers places and countries in his laborious peregrinations, in company with Barnabas, he went up to Jerusalem, to Peter, James, and John, where he was ordained and sent out with Barnabas to preach unto the Gentiles. And because it is in the Acts of the Apostles sufficiently comprehended concerning the admirable conversion and conversation of this most worthy apostle, that which remaineth of the rest of his history I will here add, how the said apostle Paul, the five and twentieth year after the passion of the Lord, in the second year of Nero, at what time Festus ruled in Jewry, was sent up in bonds to Rome, where he, dwelling in his free hostery two years together, disputed daily against the Jews, proving Christ to be come.¹ And here is to be noted, that, after his first answer or purgation there made at Rome, the emperor Nero not yet fully confirmed in his empire and not yet bursting out into those mischiefs which histories report of him, he was at that time by Nero discharged, and dismissed to preach the gospel in the west parts, [and about the coasts of Italy]²; as he himself afterward, in his second epistle to Timothy,³ written in his second apprehension (in which also he suffered), witnesseth, saying, "In my first purgation no man stood with me, but all did forsake me: the Lord lay it not to their charge! But the Lord stood with me, and did comfort me, that the preaching of his word might proceed by me, and that all the Gentiles might hear and be taught. And I was delivered out of the lion's mouth." In which place, by the lion he plainly meaneth Nero. [And afterwards likewise he saith, "I was delivered from the mouth of the lion." And again, "The Lord hath delivered me out from all evil works, and hath saved me unto his heavenly kingdom."]⁴ Speaking this, because he perceived then the time of his martyrdom to be near at hand. For in the same epistle before, he saith, "I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my dissolution draweth on."

Thus, then, this worthy preacher and messenger of the Lord, in the fourteenth year of Nero, and the same day on which Peter was crucified [although not in the same year, as some write, but in the next year following],² was beheaded at Rome for the testimony of Christ, and was buried in the way of Ostia, the seven and thirtieth year after the passion of the Lord. He wrote nine epistles to seven churches; to the Romans one, to the Corinthians two, to the Galatians one, to the Ephesians one, to the Philippians one, to the Colossians one, to the Thessalonians two. Moreover he wrote to his disciples, to Timothy two, to Titus one, to Philemon one.

*The
epistles
of St. Paul
to seven
churches.*

*The
epistles to
the He-
brews,
and to
Laodicea.*

The epistle which beareth the title to the Hebrews, some think not to be his, for the difference of the style and phrase, but either judged to be written of Barnabas, as Tertullian supposeth, or of St. Luke, as others think; or else of Clement, afterward bishop of Rome, who, as they say, compiling together the sayings and sentences of Paul, did phrase them in his own style and manner. Or rather, as some do judge, because St. Paul wrote unto the Hebrews, for the odiousness of his name among that people he dissembled, and confessed not, his name in the first entry of his salutation, contrary to his accustomed condition. And as he wrote to the Hebrews, being himself a Hebrew, so he wrote in Hebrew, that is, his own tongue, the more eloquently; and this, afterward, was after a more eloquent manner translated into the Greek, than his other epistles be written in. And that is thought to be the cause why it differeth

(1) Acts xxviii. 30.

(2) Not in the Greek, or the Latin version.—Ed.

(3) 2 Tim. iv. 16 [This passage proves that Peter was not then at Rome: see "Essays on Romanism," Seeley and Burnside, London 1839, p. 175.—Ed.]

(4) In the Latin version, but not in the Greek.—Ed.

from his other epistles. Some also acknowledge as his the epistle to Laodicea, *The First Persecution.* but that is rejected of most men.¹

As touching the time and order of the death and martyrdom of St. Paul, as Eusebius, Jerome, Maximus, and other authors do but briefly pass it over, so Abdias (if his book be of any substantial authority), speaking more largely of the same, doth say, "that after the crucifying of Peter, and the ruin of Simon Magus, Paul, yet remaining in free custody, was dismissed and delivered at that time from martyrdom by God's permission, that all the Gentiles might be replenished with preaching of the gospel by him. And the same Abdias, proceeding in his story,² declareth moreover,

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That as Paul was thus occupied at Rome, he was accused to the emperor, not only for teaching new doctrine, but also for stirring up sedition against the empire. For this he, being called before Nero, and demanded to show the order and manner of his doctrine, there declared what his doctrine was: to teach all men peace and charity; how to love one another; how to prevent one another in honour; rich men not to be puffed up in pride, nor to put their trust in their treasures, but in the living God; mean men to be contented with food and raiment, and with their present state; poor men to rejoice in their poverty with hope; fathers to bring up their children in the fear of God; children to obey their parents; husbands to love their wives; wives to be subject to their husbands; citizens and subjects to give their tribute unto Cæsar, and to be subject to their magistrates; masters to be courteous, not churlish to their servants; servants to deal faithfully with their masters: and this to be the sum of his teaching. Which his doctrine "he received not of men, nor by men, but by Jesus Christ, and the Father of glory," which spake to him from heaven, the Lord Jesus saying to him, "That he should go and preach his name, and that he would be with him, and would be the Spirit of life to all that believed in him; and that whatsoever he did or said, he would justify it," etc. After that Paul had thus declared unto the emperor, shortly after sentence of death was pronounced against him, that he should be beheaded. Unto whose execution then Nero sent two of his esquires, Ferega and Parthemius, to bring him word of his death. They, coming to Paul, instructing then the people, desired him to pray for them, that they might believe; who told them, that shortly after they should believe, and be baptized at his sepulchre. This done, the soldiers came and led him out of the city to the place of execution, where he, after his prayers made, gave his neck to the sword.

Paul declareth his doctrine to the emperor.

Paul condemned.

Paul suffereth.

Abdias reporteth³ that as his head was stricken off, instead of blood issued out white milk; and that at laying down his head, he signed himself with the sign of a cross in his forehead: but this being found in no other history, Abdias seemeth either to add it of his own, or else to borrow out of the legend, as he doth many other things beside, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Although the same miracle of milk flowing out of his neck, is referred also unto Ambrose, who in his threescore-and-eighth sermon (if it be not counterfeited) seemeth to affirm the same. Of the time and year when these blessed apostles did suffer, histories do not all agree. They that follow the common opinion, and the pope's decrees, say, that Peter and Paul both suffered in one day, and in one year; which opinion seemeth to be taken out of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth.

A legend miracle.

The story of Abdias suspected.

Histories do vary about the time of their martyrdom.

(1) Foxe's translation has been revised from the original Greek of Jerome.—Ed.

(2) Abdias, Hist. Apost. lib. ii. § 7.—Ed.

(3) Some moderns appear so much disposed to put a value upon whatever the stream of tradition has carried down, that a few lines may be necessary in refutation of this tale. "Neque ullus ante Ambrosium scriptor ecclesiasticus loco sanguinis lac e Pauli cervice manasse scribit. Argumento inauditum hoc patribus fuisse miraculum. Quin etiam dissentiant inter se Chrysostomus atque Ambrosius, quod commentum novum est indicium. Martyriologia ipsa de eo miraculo silentium agunt." "Basnagii Annales politico-eccles." (Roterd. 1706) ad an. 65, § 17.—Ed.

The Second Persecution.

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to
96.

Jerome in his "Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum" affirmeth, that they both suffered in one day, but he expresseth not the year.¹ So do Isidore and Eusebius. Simon Metaphrastes bringeth in the opinion of some which think that Paul suffered not with Peter, but after Peter. Prudentius in his "*Περὶ στεφάνων*" noteth, that they both were put to death upon the same day, but not in the same year, and saith, that Paul followed Peter a year after.²

Abdias, above mentioned, recordeth that Paul suffered two years after Peter. But, if it be true which Abdias also saith, that after the crucifying of Peter, Paul remained in free custody at Rome (as mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles), which was, as Jerome witnesseth,³ the third or fourth year of Nero, then must it be ten years betwixt the martyrdom of Peter and of Paul, forasmuch as it is by all writers confessed, that Paul suffered the fourteenth year, which was the last year of Nero. And so Abdias seemeth neither to agree with other authors, nor with himself. And thus much of the first persecution.

THE SECOND PERSECUTION.

The first Roman persecution beginning under Nero, as is aforesaid, ceased under Vespasian, who gave some rest to the poor Christians. After whose reign was moved, not long after, the second persecution, by the emperor Domitian, brother of Titus. Of whom Eusebius and Orosius so write, that he, first beginning mildly and modestly, afterward did so far outrage in pride intolerable, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as god, and that images of gold and silver in his honour should be set up in the capitol. The chiefest nobles of the senators, either upon envy, or for their goods, he caused to be put to death, some openly, and some he sent into banishment, there causing them to be slain privily. And as his tyranny was unmeasurable, so the intemperance of his life was no less.⁴ He put to death⁵ all the nephews of Judas, called the Lord's brother, and caused to be sought out and to be slain all that could be found of the stock of David (as Vespasian also did before him), for fear lest he were yet to come of the house of David, who should enjoy the kingdom. In the time of this persecutor, Simeon, bishop of Jerusalem, after other torments, was crucified to death, whom Justus afterward succeeded in that bishopric.⁶

Tyranny
and in-
temper-
ance of
Domi-
tian.

Simeon,
bishop of
Jerusa-
lem, cru-
cified.

John, the
evange-
list.

In this persecution, John, the apostle and evangelist, was exiled by the said Domitian into Patmos. Of whom divers and sundry memorable acts be reported in sundry chronicles. As first, how he was put in a vessel of boiling oil, by the proconsul of Ephesus. The legend and Perionius⁷ say, It was done at Rome. Isidore also writing of him, and comprehending many things in few words, declareth, that he turned boughs of trees into gold, and stones by

(1) This is a mistake. Jerome represents each as having suffered in the 14th or last year of Nero: see *supra*, pp. 100, 102, and Foxe's next note.—Ed.

(2) If this be true, which Prudentius recordeth of Paul, that he suffered under Nero and the year after Peter, then it is false which Jerome befores testifieth, that Peter suffered the last year of Nero.

(3) See the extract from Jerome, *supra*, p. 102.—Ed.

(4) Ex Orosio, lib. vii. [cap. 10.—Ed.]

(5) Foxe is not quite correct in this assertion: see the extract from Eusebius in p. 108.—Ed.

(6) Euseb. *Ecl. Hist.* lib. ii. cap. 12, 19, 20, 32, 35.—Ed.

(7) This was probably Joachim Perionius, who wrote "*Liber de rebus gestis vitisque Apostolorum*," Basil, 1552. There is a flourishing account of him in the *Bibliotheca of Miræus*, "*De Scrip. Eccles.*" as re-edited by Fabricius. p. 169.—Ed.

the sea side into jewels, to satisfy the desire of two, whom he had before persuaded to renounce their riches: and afterward they, repenting that for worldly treasure they had lost heaven, for their sakes again he changed the same into their former substance. Also, how he raised up a widow, and a certain young man, from death to life. How he drank poison, and it hurt him not; raising also to life two which had drank the same before.¹ These and such other miracles, although they may be true, and are found in Isidore and other writers more, yet because they are no articles of our christian belief, I let them pass, and only content myself with that which I read in Jerome,² declaring of him in this wise: that after Nero, in the second persecution, raised by Domitian in his fourteenth year, John was banished into Patmos for the testimony of the word, in the year fourscore and fifteen. And after the death of the aforesaid Domitian, he being slain and his acts repealed by the senate, John was again released under Nerva,³ the emperor, and came to Ephesus in the year fourscore and seventeen; where he continued until the time of Trajan, and there governed the churches in Asia, where also he wrote his gospel; and so lived till the year after the passion of our Lord, threescore and eight, which was the year of his age, about one hundred.⁴

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John banished.
John released out of banishment.

Moreover, in the aforesaid ecclesiastical history of Eusebius we read, that John the apostle and evangelist, whom the Lord did love, was in Asia, where he, having returned out of Patmos after the death of Domitian, governed the churches and congregations.⁵ Irenæus, in his second book, thus writeth: "And of him all the elders do witness, which were with John, the disciple of the Lord, in Asia, that he told them these things, for he continued there with them unto the time of Trajan." Also, the said Irenæus in like words declareth, saying, "The church of the Ephesians, being first founded by Paul, afterward being presided over by John (who continued in the same city unto the time of Trajan the emperor), is a true witness of this apostolical tradition," etc.⁶ Clement of Alexandria, moreover, in his book intituled "*Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλοῦσιος*," both noteth the time of this holy apostle, and also addeth to the same a certain history of him, not unworthy to be remembered of such as delight in things honest and profitable. The words of the author⁷ setting forth this history be these:

Clement.

Hear a fable, and yet not a fable, but a true report which was told us of John the apostle, and has been ever since kept in our remembrance. After the death of the tyrant, when John was returned to Ephesus from the isle of Patmos, he was requested to resort to the places bordering near unto him, partly to consti-

A notable history of John the evangelist.

(1) Isidorus, De Patribus Novi Testamenti.

(2) Jerome, "Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum." Foxe's text has by mistake "Eusebius" instead of Jerome.—Ed.

(3) Foxe has stated *Pertinax*, although in the errata of the second edition he corrected it. Erasmus in a Scholium on this passage of Jerome observes, that Sophronius and some copies of Jerome read *Pertinax*.—Ed.

(4) If John died (as Jerome states) 68 years after our Lord's passion, the statement of Foxe is very improbable, that he was then 120 years old; for that would make him 52 years old in A. 33, the date usually assigned to our Lord's passion: whereas he is commonly supposed to have been younger than our Lord. The general expression "about one hundred" has, therefore, been substituted for Foxe's "one hundred and twenty." Several other dates hereabout (not in Jerome) have been corrected. See sup. p. 96, note (3), p. 100, note (5), and p. 102.—Ed.

(5) Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 23.

(6) Iren. Contr. Heres. lib. ii. cap. 39, and lib. iii. cap. 39.

(7) That is Clement, quoted by Eusebius, lib. iii. cap. 23. Foxe's translation has been revised from the original Greek of Clement, printed at Oxford, 1683.—Ed.

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What
wicked
company
doth.

tute bishops, partly to dispose the causes and matters of the church, partly to ordain to the clerical office such as the Holy Ghost should elect. Whereupon, when he was come to a certain city not far off, (the name of which also some do mention)¹ and had comforted the brethren as usual, he beheld a young man robust in body, and of a beautiful countenance, and of a fervent mind, when, looking earnestly at the newly-appointed bishop: "I most solemnly commend this man (saith he) to thee, in presence here of Christ and of the church."

When the bishop had received of him this charge, and had promised his faithful diligence therein, again the second time John spake unto him, and charged him with like manner and contestation as before. This done, John returned again to Ephesus. The bishop, receiving the young man commended and committed to his charge, brought him home, kept him, and nourished him, and at length also did illuminate, that is, baptized him; and after that, he gradually relaxed his care and oversight of him, trusting that he had given him the best safeguard possible in putting the Lord's seal upon him. The young man thus having his liberty more, it chanced that certain of his old companions and acquaintances, being idle, dissolute, and hardened in wickedness, did join in company with him, who first invited him to sumptuous and riotous banquets; then enticed him to go forth with them in the night to rob and steal; after that he was allured by them unto greater mischief and wickedness. Wherein, by custom of time, and by little and little, he becoming more expert, and being of a good wit, and a stout courage, like unto a wild or unbroken horse, leaving the right way and running at large without bridle, was carried headlong to the profundity of all disorder and outrage. And thus, being past all hope of grace, utterly forgetting and rejecting the wholesome doctrine of salvation which he had learned before, he began to set his mind upon no small matters. And forasmuch as he was entered so far in the way of perdition, he cared not how much further he proceeded in the same. And so, associating unto him a band of companions and fellow thieves, he took upon himself to be as head and captain among them, in committing all kind of murder and felony.

In the mean time it chanced that of necessity John was sent for to those quarters again, and came. The causes being decided and his business ended for the which he came, by the way meeting with the bishop afore specified, he requirerth of him the pledge, which, in the presence of Christ and of the congregation then present, he left in his hands to keep. The bishop, something amazed at the words of John, supposing he had meant them of some money committed to his custody, which he had not received (and yet durst not mistrust John, nor contrary his words), could not tell what to answer. Then John, perceiving his perplexity, and uttering his meaning more plainly: "The young man," saith he, "and the soul of our brother committed to your custody, I do require." Then the bishop, with a loud voice sorrowing and weeping, said, "He is dead." To whom John said, "How, and by what death?" The other said, "He is dead to God, for he became an evil and abandoned man, and at length a robber. And now he doth frequent the mountain instead of the church, with a company of villains and thieves, like unto himself." Here the apostle rent his garments, and, with a great lamentation, said, "A fine keeper of his brother's soul I left here! get me a horse, and let me have a guide with me:" which being done, his horse and man procured, he hasted from the church: as much as he could, and coming to the place, was taken of thieves that lay on the watch. But he, neither flying nor refusing, said, "I came hither for the purpose: lead me," said he, "to your captain." So he being brought, the captain all armed fiercely began to look upon him; and eftsouns coming to the knowledge of him, was stricken with confusion and shame, and began to fly. But the old man followed him as much as he might, forgetting his age, and crying, "My son, why dost thou fly from thy father? an armed man from one naked, a young man from an old man? Have pity on me, my son, and fear not, for there is yet hope of salvation. I will make answer for thee unto Christ; I will die for thee, if need be; as Christ hath died for us, I will give my life for thee; believe me, Christ hath sent me." He, hearing these things, first, as in a maze, stood still, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he had cast down his weapons, by and by he trembled, yea, and wept bitterly; and, coming to the old man, embraced him, and spake unto him with weeping (as

A lesson
for all mi-
nisters to
seek their
lost
sheep.

O un-
speakable
love
showed to
a wicked
sinner.

(1) The Alexandrine Chron. says Smyrna.—Ed

well as he could), being even then baptized afresh with tears, only his right hand being hid and covered. Then the apostle, after that he had promised and firmly ascertained him that he should obtain remission of our Saviour, and also prayed, falling down upon his knees, and kissing his murderous right hand (which for shame he durst not show before) as now purged through repentance, he brought him back to the church. And when he had prayed for him with continual prayer and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind with many sentences, he left him not (as the author reporteth) before he had restored him to the church again; and made him a great example of sincere penitence and proof of regeneration, and a trophy of the future¹ resurrection.

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to
96.

Moreover, the aforesaid Irenæus² and Eusebius,³ prosecuting the history of John, declare in these words, saying, "There were certain which heard Polycarp say, that John, the disciple of our Lord, going into Ephesus to be washed, seeing Cerinthus within, he leaped out of the bath unbathed, because he feared the bath should have fallen, seeing that Cerinthus, an enemy to the truth, was within. Such fear had the apostles," saith Irenæus, "that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterated the truth."

The godly fly the company of the wicked.

And forasmuch as we are here in hand with the story of John, the blessed evangelist, here cometh in matter and occasion not given by him, but taken of others, of a great doubt and difficulty, such as hath occupied all the catholic, subtle, illuminate, and seraphical doctors of the pope's catholic church, these five hundred years. The difficulty is this: that forso much as auricular confession hath been, and is yet, received in the pope's catholic church for a holy and necessary sacrament, extending universally to all and singular creatures christian, here then ariseth a question, Who was our Lady's confessor, or ghostly father? But that is decreed and confessed with full consent of all the catholics to be St. John. Whosoever denieth, or doubteth of this, is straightways, *ipso facto*, a heretic. This then so determined, ariseth another question or doubt; that seeing our Lady was without all original sin, and also actual or mortal, what need then had she of any confessor? or what should she confess unto him? for, if she had confessed any sin, when she had none, then had she made herself a liar, and so had sinned indeed. Here, therefore, gentle reader, in this perplexity these our illuminate doctors stand in need of thine aid to help at a pinch. Magnus Albertus, the great divine,⁴ denieth not, but that she indeed, although most pure, yet was confessed to her ghostly father, to keep the observance of the law, appointed for such as had that need, which she had not. And therefore (saith he) necessary it was that she should confess with mouth. But then here is to be asked, What did she say in her confession, when she had nothing to confess? To this Albert answereth again, and telleth us plainly what she said in her confession, which was this: That she had received that great grace, not *ex condigno*, that is, not of any dignity of her own, but yet notwithstanding of congruity. And this was it, saith Albert, that she said in her confession.⁵

A catholic question concerning auricular confession.

Solution.

Another catholic question.

Solution of a catholic question.

Moreover, to help this case out of all doubt, cometh in famous Thomas of Watring,⁶ and thus looseth the knot, much after like effect,

(1) Gr. ἐλπιζομένης, Euseb. βλεπομένης.—Ed.

(2) Iren. adv. Heres. lib. iii. cap. 3. (3) Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 28, and lib. iv. cap. 14.

(4) Albertus Magnus, or Teutonicus, was born at Lavingen, in Swabia, about A.D. 1200, and died in 1280.

(5) Albert. cap. 17 et 74 super Evang. "Missus est," etc.

(6) "Watring," an Anglicised form of Aquino, in Italy, where St. Thomas was born.—Ed.

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saying, "that as Christ, although he did owe nothing to the law, yet notwithstanding received circumcision, to give to others example of humility and obedience, in like manner would our Lady show herself obedient to the observance of the law, albeit there was no cause why she had any need thereof."¹ And thus hast thou (gentle reader) this doubtful question moved and solved, to the intent I might reveal to thee some part of the deep divinity of our catholic masters, that have ruled and governed the church in these their late popish days.

Flavia, the daughter of a consul, banished.

But, breaking off this matter, I return again where we left; that is, to this aforesaid second persecution under Domitian. In which persecution, besides these aforementioned, and many other innumerable godly martyrs, suffering for the like testimony of the Lord Jesus, was Flavia, the daughter of Flavius Clemens, one of the Roman consuls; which Flavia, with many others, was banished out of Rome, into the isle of Pontia, for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, by the emperor Domitian.²

The emperor maketh inquiry for David's stock.

Two nephews of Jude, the Lord's brother, preserved.

The kingdom of Christ not of this world.

This Domitian feared the coming of Christ, as Herod did, and therefore commanded them to be killed, which were of the stock of David in Jewry. There were remaining alive at that time certain of the Lord's kindred, which were the nephews of Jude that was called the Lord's brother after the flesh. When the commissary had brought these up before Domitian, the emperor demanded of them, Whether they were of the stock of David? Which when they had granted, he asked again, What possessions and what substance they had? They answered, that they both had no more between them, in all, but nine and thirty acres of ground, and how they got their living, and sustained their families with the hard labours of their hands; showing forth their hands unto the emperor, being hard and rough, worn with labours, to witness that to be true which they had spoken. Then the emperor, inquired of them concerning the kingdom of Christ, what manner of kingdom it was, how and when it should appear? They answered, that his kingdom was no worldly nor terrene thing, but an heavenly and angelical kingdom, and that it should appear in the consummation and end of the world, what time He, coming in glory, should judge the quick and the dead, and render to every one according to his deservings. Domitian the emperor, hearing this (as the saying is), did not condemn them; but, despising them as vile persons, let them go, and also stayed the persecution then moved against the Christians. They, being thus discharged and dismissed, afterward had the government of churches, being taken for martyrs, and as of the Lord's stock; and so continued in good peace till the time of Trajan.³

Why the emperors and senate so ragged against the Christians. The kingdom of Christ feared of them.

By this story here cited, may appear what were the causes why the emperors of the Roman monarchy did so persecute the Christians which causes were chiefly these—fear and hatred. First, fear, for that the emperors and senate, of blind ignorance, not knowing the manner of Christ's kingdom, feared and misdoubted lest the same would subvert their empery (like as the pope thinketh now that this gospel will overthrow his kingdom of majesty); and therefore sought they all means possible, how, by death and all kinds of torments, utterly to extinguish the name and memory of the Christians. And thereupon seemeth to spring the old law of the Roman senate: that the Christians should not be let go, which were once brought to the judgment-seat, except they changed their purpose, etc.⁴ Secondly, hatred,

(1) St. Thomas, par. iii. quæst. 37, art. 4.

(2) Ex Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 18.

(3) Hæc Hegesip. et Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 20. A. D. 98.—Ed.

(4) Non debere dimitti Christianos, qui semel ad tribunal venissent, nisi propositum mutent. Ex Euseb. lib. v. cap. 21.

partly for that this world, of its own natural condition, hath ever hated and maliced the people of God, from the first beginning of the world. Partly again, for that the Christians being of a contrary nature and religion, serving only the true living God, despised their false gods, spake against their idolatrous worshippings, and many times stopped the power of Satan working in their idols: and therefore Satan, the prince of this world, stirred up the Roman princes and blind idolaters to bear the more hatred and spite against them.

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The kingdom of Christ hated of Roman princes.

False accusations and slanders against the Christians.

Upon these causes, and such like, rose up these malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and slanderous accusations of the heathen idolaters against the christian servants of God, which incited the princes of this world the more to persecute them: for what crimes soever malice could invent, or rash suspicion could minister, that was imputed to the Christians; as, that they were a people incestuous; that in the night, in their concourses, putting out their candles, they ran together in all filthy manner; that they killed their own children; that they used to eat man's flesh; that they were seditious and rebellious; that they would not swear by the fortune and prosperity of Cæsar; that they would not adore the image of Cæsar in the market-place; that they were pernicious to the empery of Rome. Briefly, whatsoever mishappened to the city or provinces of Rome, either famine, pestilence, earthquake, wars, wonders, unseasonableness of weather, or what other evils soever happened, it was imputed to the Christians, as Justin recordeth. Over and beside all these, a great occasion that stirred up the emperors against the Christians, came by one Publius Tarquin, the chief priest of the idolatrous sacrifices, and Mamertinus, the prefect of the city in the time of Trajan; who, partly with money, partly with sinister and pestilent counsel, partly with infamous accusations (as witnesseth Naucerus), incensed the mind of the emperor so much against God's people.

Publius Tarquin and Mamertinus persecutors.

Also, among these other causes abovesaid, crept in some piece of covetousness withal (as in all other things it doth), in that the wicked promoters and accusers for lucre-sake, to have the possessions of the Christians, were the more ready to accuse them, to have the spoil of their goods.

Thus hast thou, christian reader, first, the causes declared of these persecutions; secondly, the cruel law of their condemnation; thirdly, now hear more what was the form of inquisition, which was (as is witnessed in the first apology of Justin) to this effect: That they should swear to declare the truth, whether they were in very deed Christians, or not: and if they confessed, then by the law the sentence of death proceeded.¹

Form of inquisition against the Christians.

Neither yet were these tyrants and organs of Satan thus contented with death only, to bereave the life from the body. The kinds of death were divers, and no less horrible than divers. Whatsoever the cruelty of man's invention could devise for the punishment of man's body, was practised against the Christians, as partly I have mentioned before; and more appeareth by the epistle sent from the brethren of France, hereafter following. Crafty trains, outcries of enemies, imprisonment, stripes and scourgings, drawings, tearings,

The cruelty of tyrants in killing Christians.

(1) Ex Just. Mart. in 2 Apolog. [See *infra*, p. 125, note (1).—ED.]

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stonings, plates of iron laid unto them burning hot, deep dungeons, racks, strangling in prisons, the teeth of wild beasts, gridirons, gibbets and gallows, tossing upon the horns of bulls. Moreover, when they were thus killed, their bodies were laid in heaps, and dogs there left to keep them, that no man might come to bury them, neither would any prayer obtain them to be interred and buried.¹

And yet, notwithstanding for all these continual persecutions and horrible punishments, the church of the Christians daily increased, deeply rooted in the doctrine of the apostles and of men apostolical, and watered plentifully with the blood of saints; as saith Nicephorus.² Whereof let us hear the worthy testimony of Justin Martyr, in his dialogue with Trypho:—

The church increaseth by persecution.

“And that none can terrify or remove us who believe in Jesus, by this it daily appeareth, for when we are slain, crucified, cast to wild beasts, into the fire, or given to other torments, yet we go not from our confession: but contrary, the more cruelty and slaughter is wrought against us, the more they be that come to piety and faith by the name of Jesus; no otherwise than if a man cut the vine-tree, the better the branches grow. For the vine-tree, planted by God and Christ our Saviour, is his people.”³

Disagreement in authors touching the times of martyrs.

Linus bishop of Rome. Cletus and Anacletus both one.

To comprehend the names and number of all the martyrs that suffered in all these ten persecutions (which are innumerable) as it is impossible, so it is hard, in such a variety and diversity of matter, to keep such a perfect order and course of years and times, that either some be not left out, or that every one be reduced into his right place; especially seeing the authors themselves, whom, in this present work, we follow, do diversely disagree both in the times, in the names, and also in the kind of martyrdom of them that suffered. As for example: where the common reading and opinion of the church and epistles decretal do take Anacletus to succeed after Clement, next before Evaristus: contrary, Eusebius,⁴ making no mention of Cletus, but of Anacletus, saith, that Evaristus succeeded next to Clement. Likewise Ruffinus and Epiphanius, speaking nothing of Anacletus, make mention of Linus, and of Cletus, next before Clement, but say nothing of Anacletus: whereby it may appear that Cletus and Anacletus were both one. Sabellicus,⁵ speaking of Linus and of Cletus, saith, that they were ordained helpers under Peter, while he laboured in his apostleship abroad, and so saith also Marianus Scotus: contrary, Irenæus⁶ speaketh of Anacletus, making no mention of Cletus. Whereby it may appear by the way, what credit is to be given to the decretal epistles, whom all the later histories of the pope's church do follow in this behalf, etc. Moreover, whereas Antoninus, Vincentius, Jacobus (in Supplemento),⁷ Simoneta,⁸ Aloisius, with others, declare of Linus, Cletus, Clement, Anacletus, Evaristus,

(1) Vid. Epist. Fratrum Viennensium et Lugdunensium, ad Fratres per Asiam et Phrygiam scripta. (2) Ex Nicephoro. lib. iii. cap. 22.

(3) Ex Just. Mart. in Dialogo cum Tryphone.

(4) Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 13, et lib. v. cap. 6.

(5) Aenead vii. lib. 2.

(6) Iren. lib. iii. Contra Hæres.

(7) Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis in “Historia Supplementum Chronicarum Appellata,” pp. 149, 154, edit. Brixia, 1485. See infra, p. 112, note (5). The author of this chronicle died in 1518, and is therefore, with the others mentioned in connexion, comparatively modern. “Aloisius” is Aloisius Lippomanus, bishop of Verona, who drew up the “Vitæ Sanctorum,” in 8 tom. folio, Venet. 1556. Possevin. Appar. Sac. tom. i. p. 42.—Ed.

(8) “Bonifacius Simoneta Mediolanensis circa annum 1490, in lucem emisit Commentarios in Persecutionem Christian. Pontificumque historiam a Petro, ad Innocent. VIII. Prodiit Mantuæ, 1509.” Hallervordii de Hist. Lat. in Supplement. ad Vossium; Hamb. 1709: page 692.—Ed.

Alexander, bishops of Rome, that they died martyrs, Eusebius, in his "Ecclesiastical History," writing of them, maketh thereof no mention.

The Third Persecution.

THE THIRD PERSECUTION.

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Between the second Roman persecution and the third, was but one year, under the emperor Nerva, after whom succeeded Trajan; and under him followed the third persecution. So the second and the third are noted of some to be both one, having no more difference but one year between them. This Trajan, if we look well upon his politic and civil governance, might seem (in comparison of others) a right worthy and commendable prince, much familiar with inferiors, and so behaving himself toward his subjects, as he himself would have the prince to be to him, if he himself were a subject. Also he was noted to be a great observer of justice, insomuch that when he ordained any prætor, giving to him the sword, he would bid him use the sword against his enemies in just causes: and if he himself did otherwise than justice, to use then his power against him also. But for all these virtues, toward christian religion he was impious and cruel; who caused the third persecution of the church.

And first, as touching Clement (whom Marianus Scotus calleth the first bishop of Rome after Peter),¹ they say that he was sent out into banishment by Trajan beyond the Euxine, with two thousand Christians, where he opened a well-spring to those who, in the wilderness, were condemned to the mines. Afterward, being accused to the emperor, he was thrown into the sea with a millstone fastened about his neck; and not long after, his body was cast up and buried (as Platina saith) at the place where the well was made. Some say it was found first in the days of pope Nicholas I.² But, forasmuch as I find of his martyrdom no firm relation in the ancient authors, but only in such new writers of later times, which are wont to paint out the lives and histories of good men with feigned additions of forged miracles, therefore I count the same of less credit: as I do also certain decretal epistles, untruly (as may seem) ascribed and intituled to his name. Eusebius, in his third book, writing of Clement, giveth no more of him, but thus: "After he had governed the church of Rome nine years, the said Clement left the succession thereof to Evaristus."

Clement, a bishop, counted a martyr.

The lives of martyrs painted out with feigned miracles.

A. D. 100.

Of which Evaristus next bishop of Rome, thus we find in Irenæus:³ Peter and Paul (saith he), committed the charge of that church to Linus; after whom came Anacletus; then succeeded Clement; next to Clement followed Evaristus; after whom came Alexander; and then Sixtus, the sixth bishop of Rome after the apostles: after Sixtus sat Telesphorus;⁴ then Hyginus; then Pius; then Anicetus. And when Soter took the place after him, then the twelfth bishop of Rome was Eleutherius.⁵ Thus after Clement followed (as is said) Evaristus, in the second or third year of Trajan, as saith Eusebius; or, as Nicephorus saith, the fourth year of the said emperor. But howsoever the count of years standeth, little or nothing remaineth of the acts and monuments either of this, or of other bishops of Rome in

Evaristus, bishop of Rome, and martyr.

(1) Col. 238, edit. Basil, 1559.—Ed.

(2) Fascicul. tempor.

(3) Iren. lib. iii. cap. 3.

(4) A. D. 127.—Fv.

(5) A. D. 185.—Ed.

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tion.*

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*The de-
cretal
epistles.*

those days ; whereby it may appear that no great account was then made of Roman bishops in those days, whose acts and deeds were then either so lightly reputed, or so slenderly committed to history. Notwithstanding, certain decretal epistles¹ are remaining, or rather thrust upon us in their names ; containing in them little substance of any doctrine, but altogether stuffed with laws, injunctions, and stately decrees, little to the purpose, and less savouring of the nature of that time then present. Amongst whom also are numbered the two epistles of this Evaristus. "And when he had given these orders, and had made six priests, two deacons, and five bishops for sundry places," saith the story, "he suffered martyrdom." But what kind of death, for what cause he suffered, what constancy he showed, what was the order or conversation of his life, is nothing touched ; and seemeth therefore the more to be doubted that which our new histories do say, because the old ancient writers have no remembrance thereof, which otherwise would not have passed such things over in silence, if they had been true. Again, neither do the authors fully agree in the time of his martyrdom, which Nauclerus witnesseth² to be in the last year of Trajan : but Platina thinketh rather that he suffered under Adrian. The Fasciculus temporum referreth it to the third year of Adrian ; Volateran to the beginning of the reign of Adrian.³ Contrary, Eusebius (coming near to the simple truth, as seemeth) doth affirm that Evaristus succeeded Clement in the third year of Trajan ; and so, giving to him nine years, it should follow thereby that Evaristus deceased the twelfth year of Trajan.⁴

A. D. 109.

*Alexan-
der I.
bishop
of Rome,
and mar-
tyr.
Authors
disagree.*

After whom succeeded next Alexander I. in the governance of that church, of whose time and death the like discrepance is among the writers. Marianus Scotus saith, he was the fourth bishop from Peter : but that could not be. Some say he was the sixth, and some the seventh : but they likewise were deceived ; for the most part all do grant Sixtus to be the sixth. Damasus affirmeth, that he was in the reign of Trajan : and how can that be, when the said Damasus affirmed before, that Evaristus his predecessor suffered in the last year of Trajan, and then the bishopric stood at least a month void : except he mean that the said Alexander I. succeeded Evaristus in the last year of Trajan. But then how can that stand with Bede and Marianus Scotus, which say that he suffered under Trajan ; or with Otho of Frisinghen,⁵ who saith, he suffered the fourth year of Adrian, when he had been bishop ten years, by the general consent of most writers ?

They which write of the deeds and doings of this blessed bishop,

(1) "Certain decretal epistles." The epistles of the earlier popes have been submitted to the conclusive examinations of David Blondell, in his "Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes, seu editio et censura nova epistolarum, quas piissimis urbis Romæ præsulibus a Clemente ad Siricium Isidorus Mercator supposuit, etc." Genève, 1628. Upon this work Buddeus remarks, "Non tantum in Prolegomenis, argumentis solidissimis epistolas hæc a Pseudo-Isidoro confictas esse demonstravit, et Turriani varias exceptiones dissipavit; sed et singulas deinceps epistolas exhibuit, easque sub examen revocavit, et incredibili diligentia auctores, e quorum centonibus consutæ sunt, investigavit, indicavitque." Isagoge ad Theol. Univ. tom. i. p. 678.—Ed.

(2) "Chronica Jo. Naucleri Propos. Tubingensis ad annum mcccc." (Colon. 1579), p. 465.—Ed.

(3) Anthrope. lib. xxii.

(4) Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 34.

(5) "Otho Frisingensis." [Otho, bishop of Frisinghen in Bavaria, in 1138. He composed a chronological history from the creation of the world to his own time, published at Strasburg, 1515, and at Basil 1569, and in the 8th vol. of the "Biblioth. Fratrum Cisterc." Dupin, vol. x. p. 177, English trans. "Scriptor candidus, gravis, fide dignus et a partium studio alienus." Meuselii Biblioth. Hist. vol. i. p. 75.—Ed.]

as Bergomensis,¹ Antoninus, Equilinus,² and such as follow them, declare that he had converted a great part of the senators to the faith of Christ, amongst whom was Hermes, a great man in Rome, whose son, being dead, Alexander raised again to life, and likewise restored sight to his maid being blind. Adrian the emperor, then absent, hearing this, sent word to Aurelian, prefect of Rome, to apprehend Alexander, with Euentius and Theodulus (otherwise called Theodorus, as Platina saith), his two deacons, and Hermes, and to commit them to ward with Quirinus the tribune: which being done, as their story recordeth, Alexander, inclosed in a diverse prison from Hermes, notwithstanding, by the guiding of an angel, through three doors with three locks a-piece, was brought with candlelight to the prison of Hermes; and then returning to his own prison again, cured the daughter of Quirinus his keeper, named Balbina; by reason whereof the said Quirinus, with his whole household, were all baptized, and suffered also for the faith of Christ. "Thus then," saith the story, "about the second year of Adrian, Aurelian the prefect took Alexander the bishop, with Hermes, his wife, children, and his whole household, to the number of one thousand two hundred and fifty, and threw them into prison. And not long after, the said Alexander, with Euentius his deacon, and Hermes, and the rest, were burnt in a furnace. Theodulus, another deacon of Alexander, seeing and rebuking the cruelty of the tyrant, suffered also the same martyrdom."

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Hermes,
with his
house-
hold, and
Quirinus,
martyrs.

Quirinus also, the same time (as saith Antoninus), having first his tongue cut out, then his hands and feet off, afterward was beheaded and cast to the dogs: Equilinus saith, that he was beheaded and cast into the Tiber, in the reign of the emperor Claudius; but that cannot be: albeit Platina maketh relation but only of Alexander, with his two deacons aforesaid, declaring moreover, that, in the time of this bishop, Sapphira of Antioch, and Sabina, a Roman, suffered martyrdom.³

Sapphira
and
Sabina.

Florilegus, the author of "*Flores Historiarum*,"⁴ affirmeth, that Alexander, bishop of Rome, was beheaded seven miles out of Rome (where he lieth buried), in the year one hundred and five; but that agreeth not with the chronicles above recited. Eusebius' recordeth of him no more, but that in the third year of Adrian, he ended his life and office, after he had been bishop ten years.

Divers miracles are reported of this Alexander, in the canon-legends, and lives of saints; which as I deny not but they may be true, so, because I cannot avouch them by any grave testimony of ancient writers, therefore I dare not affirm them, but do refer them to the authors and patrons thereof, where they are found. Notwithstanding, whatsoever is to be thought of his miracles, this is to be affirmed and not doubted, but that he was a godly and virtuous bishop.

And as I say of his miracles, the like judgment also I have of the ordinances both of him and of Evaristus his predecessor, testified in the

Ordi-
nances of
Evaris-
tus.

(1) James Philip Forest, of Bergamo, where he died, in 1518. He wrote "*Supplementa Chronicarum*," of which Fabricius (*Biblioth. Mediæ et Infimæ*, Lat. tom. iv. p. 16), considers the edition at Venice, in 1503, to be the best. The passage referred to by Foxe appears on p. 157, edit. Brixia, 1485; but see "*Basnagii Annales ad an. 119*," § 4.—Ed.

(2) "Peter de Natalibus Episcopus Equilinus clarum nomen fecit Catalogo Sanctorum, qui excusus est Vincentiæ, 1493, et deinde Lugduni, 1542." Hallervordii specimen de Hist. Lat. in "*Supplementa ad Vossium*" (Hamb. 1709), p. 770.—Ed.

(3) Ex Platina in *Vitâ Alexandri*.

(4) Per Matth. Westmonast. collecti, p. 56. edit. Francof. 1601.—Ed.

(5) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 4.—Ed.

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pope's decrees by Gratian,¹ where it is said that Evaristus divided divers titles in the city of Rome to the priests; also ordained in every city seven deacons to be associate with and assist the bishop in his preaching, both for his defence, and for the witness of truth.² Notwithstanding, if probable conjectures might stand against the authority of Gratian and his decrees, here might be doubted whether the absolute ordination of priests were first forbidden by Evaristus, and whether the intitution of priests were first by him brought in or not: wherein an instance may be given to the contrary, that this intitution seemeth to take its first beginning at the council of Chalcedon,³ and of pope Urban II. in the council of Placentia. In the which council of Chalcedon the words of the canon (making no mention of Evaristus at all) do expressly forbid, that any ecclesiastical person, either priest or deacon, should be ordained absolutely: otherwise the imposition of hands, without some proper title of the party ordained, to stand void and frustrate, etc.⁴ And likewise Urban II. in the council of Placentia⁵ doth decree the same, alleging no name of Evaristus, but the statutes of former councils.⁶

Moreover, in the time of Evaristus, the church, then being under terrible persecutions, was divided into no peculiar parishes or cures, whereby any title might rise, but was scattered rather in corners and deserts, where they could best hide themselves. And as the church of Rome in those days was not divided into several parishes or cures (as I suppose), so neither was then any such open or solemn preaching in churches, that the assistance or testimony of seven deacons either could avail among the multitude of the heathen, or be needed amongst the christian secret congregations. Again, this constitution of seven deacons seemeth rather to spring out of the council of Neocesarea, long after Evaristus,⁷ where it was appointed that in every city, were it never so small, there should be seven deacons after the rule. And this rule the said council taketh out of the book of the Acts of the Apostles, making no word or mention of Evaristus at all.⁸ But these (as is said) be but only conjectures, not denying that which is commonly received, but only showing what may be doubted in their epistles decretal.

Institu-
tions of
Alexan-
der.
Holy
water first
invented.

More unlike it seemeth to be true that is recorded and reported of Alexander, of whom we read, that he was the first founder and finder of holy water mixed with salt, to purge and sanctify them upon whom it is sprinkled. The words of the Distinction be these: "We bless water mixed with salt among the people, that all men, being sprinkled therewith, may be sanctified and purified; and this we command all priests to do," etc.⁹ The opinion is also (but how true I have not to affirm), that by him first was ordained water to be mixed with wine in the chalice. Item, that by him was brought in the piece of the mass canon, beginning, "Qui pridie," etc.

Mixing of
water
with the
wine in
the cha-
lice.

(1) Dist. 93, cap. "Diaconi."

(2) In Blondel's "Epist. Decr. Examen," (Genevæ 1635) p. 147; who remarks; "hæc non fuit mens Apostolorum, Act. vi. nec ullius patrum: fingit impostor pro more." The same judgment is passed, p. 166, upon the decree of Alex. quoted onwards.—Ed.

(3) A. D. 451.—Ed.

(4) Ex Dist. 70, cap. "Neminem."

(5) Ibid. cap. "Sanctorum."

(6) Ex Dist. 93, cap. "Diaconi."

(7) "Aquam sale conspersam populis benedicimus, ut eâ cuncti aspersi sanctificentur et purificentur, quod omnibus sacerdotibus faciendum esse mandamus. Decreti iii. pars de Consecrat. dist. 3, [cap. 20.—Ed.]

(8) A. D. 1095.—Ed.

(9) A. D. 314.—Ed.

And thus much of these aforesaid bishops of Rome, martyred in the days of Trajan and Adrian.

In this third persecution Pliny the second, a man learned and famous, seeing the lamentable slaughter of Christians, and moved therewith to pity, wrote to Trajan of the pitiful persecution, certifying him that there were many thousands of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the Roman laws worthy persecution; saving that they used to gather together in the morning before day, and sing hymns to a certain God whom they worshipped, called Christ—in all other their ordinances they were godly and honest. Whereupon the persecution by commandment of the emperor was greatly stayed and diminished. The form and copy of which epistle of Pliny, I thought here not inconvenient to set down, as followeth:¹

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Pliny writes to Trajan to stop the persecution.

The Epistle of Pliny a Heathen Philosopher, to Trajan the Emperor.

It is an inviolable rule with me, sir, to make reference of all those things wherein I doubt, to you; for who is better able either to direct my judgment or instruct my ignorance? I have never yet witnessed any of the proceedings against the Christians; and therefore I am quite at a loss what punishment ought to be administered, and to what extent; and how far it is proper that any inquiry should be made after them. Nor am I at all clear, whether any difference should be made for age, or whether those of tender years should be treated with the same severity as adults; also whether repentance should entitle to a pardon, or whether he who has once been a Christian should gain nothing by ceasing to be one; also, whether the bare profession, unaccompanied by any criminal conduct, should be visited with punishment, or only crimes which may be connected with the profession. In the mean time, I have adopted this course with those who have been brought before me as Christians. I ask them whether they are Christians; if they confess to it, I repeat the question a second and a third time, accompanied with threats: if they persist, I order them to be led to punishment; for of this I never doubted, that, whatever their opinions might be, a contumacious and inflexible obstinacy deserved correction. Some of those infected with this infatuation, being citizens of Rome, I have reserved as privileged persons to be sent thither. But the crime spreading (as is usually the case) while it was actually under prosecution; more cases soon occurred. An anonymous libel was presented to me, containing the names of many persons, who yet denied that they were, or ever had been, Christians, and repeated after me an invocation of the gods, and offered worship with wine and incense to your image (which for this purpose I ordered to be brought with the images of the deities), and they even cursed Christ; things—which, I am told, no real Christian can be prevailed on to do: on this account I thought proper to discharge them. Others, on being accused by an open informer, have allowed that they were Christians, but presently after denied it; alleging, that once indeed they were Christians, but that they ceased to be such, some three years ago, others more, some even twenty years back: these, likewise, all worshipped your image and the images of the gods, and even cursed Christ: but the whole account they gave of their crime or error (whichever it is to be called) amounted only to this,—viz. that they were accustomed on a stated day to meet before day-light, and to repeat together a set form of prayer² to Christ as a God, and to bind themselves by an obligation—not indeed to commit wickedness; but, on the contrary,—never to commit theft, robbery, or adultery, never to falsify their word, never to defraud any man: after which it was their custom to separate, and reassemble to partake in common of a harmless meal, from which last practice, however, they had desisted, in conse-

The use of Christians in the primitive church. The testimony of the heathen to the Christians.

(1) Pliny's Epistles, x. 97, 98. A new translation of these two celebrated letters has been substituted for Foxe's, which is loose and often obscure.—Ed.

(2) "Repeat together a set form of prayer:" this is Melmoth's translation of "dicere secum invicem carmen."—Ed.

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Two
maidens
racked for
Christ.

quence of my edict, in which (agreeably to your command) I forbade such societies. This being the whole of their statement, I judged it quite necessary to examine two young women, who were said to be deaconesses, by torture, in order to get at the real truth; but I found out nothing except absurd and raving superstition. I have thought proper, therefore, to suspend all further proceedings in order to consult you. For it appears to me a matter which calls for serious deliberation, especially on account of the great number of the persons involved, many of all ranks and ages, and of both sexes, being already under prosecution, and more will soon be in the same situation. Not that I think it impossible to check and master the evil: this at least is certain, that the temples which were nearly deserted have begun to be frequented, and the sacred solemnities which had been intermitted are again attended, and victims, which lately were very scarce, owing to the scarcity of purchasers, are now selling every where. Whence it is easy to conjecture, that crowds might be reclaimed from their error, if only pardon should be promised to such as repent.

The Epistle of Trajan to Pliny.

You have followed just the course which you ought, my dear Secundus, in dealing with the Christians who have been brought before you; for no specific rule can be framed so as to be of universal application. These people, however, must not be purposely sought after: if they be brought before you and convicted, they must be punished; yet with this restriction, that if any one declares that he is not a Christian, and shall prove that he is not by the fact of supplying our gods, however suspected for the past, let him be pardoned on his repentance.

The stock
of David
feared,
and in-
quired for
by the
emperors.

Punish-
ment of
God upon
malicious
accusers.

The age,
death,
and mar-
tyrdom of
Simeon.

Tertullian,¹ writing upon this letter of Trajan; above prefixed, thus saith: "O sentence of necessity confused! as men innocent he would not have them to be sought for, and yet causes them to be punished as persons guilty." And thus the rage of that persecution ceased for a time, although, notwithstanding, many naughty-disposed men and cruel officers there were, who, upon false pretence to accomplish their wicked minds, ceased not to afflict the Christians in divers provinces: and especially if any occasion were given (never so little) for the enemies to take hold of, or if any commotion were raised in the provinces abroad, by and by the fault was laid upon the Christians. As in Jerusalem, after that the emperor Trajan had sent down his commandment that whosoever could be found of the stock of David, he should be inquired out and put to death: upon this Hegesippus, writing, saith, that certain sectaries there were of the Jewish nation, that accused Simeon, the bishop then of Jerusalem and son of Cleophas, to be of the stock of David, and that he was a christian. Of the which his accusers it happened also (saith the said Hegesippus), that certain of them likewise were apprehended and taken to be of the stock of David, and so right justly were put to execution themselves, who sought the destruction of others. As concerning Simeon the blessed bishop, the aforesaid Hegesippus thus writeth: That Simeon the Lord's nephew, when he was accused to Atticus the proconsul by the malicious sect of the Jews, to be of the line of David, and to be a Christian, was scourged during the space of many days together, being a hundred and twenty years of age. In which his martyrdom he endured so constantly, that both the proconsul and all the multitude did marvel to see him of that age so constantly to suffer; and so at last, being crucified, finished his course in the Lord, for whom he suffered, as partly before also is recorded.

(1) *Apol. cap. ii.*—ED.

In this persecution of Trajan above specified (which Trajan next followed after Nerva), besides the other aforementioned, also suffered Phocas bishop of Pontus,¹ whom Trajan, because he would not do sacrifice to Neptune, caused to be cast into a hot lime-kiln, and afterward to be put into a scalding bath; where the constant godly martyr, in the testimony of Christ, ended his life, or rather entered into life.²

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In the same persecution suffered also Sulpitius and Servilianus, two Romans; whose wives are said to be Euphrosyne and Theodora, whom Sabina did convert to the faith of Christ, and who after were also martyred. Of which Sabina, Jacobus Philippus (author of the book called "Supplementum") reporteth that she was beheaded on the mount Aventine in Rome, by Elipidus the prefect, in the days of Adrian.³ Under whom also suffered Seraphia, a virgin of Antioch, as Hermannus and Antoninus witness.⁴

Phocas,
bishop
and mar-
tyr.

The aforementioned authors, Antoninus⁵ and Equilinus, make mention moreover of Nereus and Achilleus, who, in this persecution of Trajan, had the crown of martyrdom, being put to death at Rome. Eusebius⁶ maketh mention of one Sagaris, who, about the same time, suffered martyrdom in Asia, Servilius Paulus being then proconsul in that province.

In this persecution, beside many others, suffered the blessed martyr of Christ, Ignatius, who, unto this day, is had in famous reverence among very many. This Ignatius was appointed to the bishopric of Antioch next after Peter in succession. Some do say, that he, being sent from Syria to Rome, because he professed Christ, was given to the wild beasts to be devoured.⁷ It is also said of him, that when he passed through Asia, being under the most strict custody of his keepers, he strengthened and confirmed the churches through all the cities as he went, both with his exhortations and preaching of the word of God; and admonished them especially, and before all other things, to beware and shun those heresies risen and sprung up newly among them, and that they should cleave and stick fast to the tradition of the apostles; which he, for their better safeguard, being now about to suffer martyrdom, judged it necessary to put in writing. Accordingly, having come to Smyrna, where Polycarp was, he wrote one epistle to the church of Ephesus, wherein he maketh mention of Onesimus as their pastor; and another he wrote to the church at Magnesia on the Mæander, wherein also he mentioneth Damas as their bishop. Also another he wrote to the church at Tralles, the bishop of which church at that time he noteth to be one Polybius. Another he wrote to the church at Rome, wherein he exhorts them not to use means for his deliverance from martyrdom, lest they should deprive him of that which he most longed and hoped for.⁸

Ignatius,
martyr.

Onesi-
mus, pas-
tor at
Ephesus.

(1) Rather of Sinope in Pontus. See Baron. *Annal. Eccles. ann. 114, § 4.* Basnage (*Annales Politico-eccles.*) has alluded to his martyrdom under ann. 130, § 4.—Ed.

(2) Anton. (tit. vii. capitul. 3.) Equil. et Fascic. temporum.

(3) Ex Supp. Chr. [p. 159, edit. 1485. See *suprà*, p. 113, note 1.—Ed.]

(4) Anton. (tit. vii. cap. 5, § 6.) Hermannus Contractus "obit anno 1054 conscripto Chronico clarus; (Hallervord. p. 728) genere et doctrinâ egregius. gente Suevus—chronicon scriptis de vi. mundi ætatibus ad annum 1054." See "Meuseli Biblioth. Hist." tom. i. p. 69; who states that there was an edition of this writer in a collection of Chronicles by Sighardus. (Basil. 1529) and also in the "Rerum German. Scriptores veteres;" Francof. 1584, collected by Pistorius.—Ed.

(5) Antoninus (tit. vii. capit. 1, § 7.) places their martyrdom under Domitian.

(6) Lib. iv. cap. 26. Eusebius quotes from Melito, and adds (from Polycrates) lib. v. c. 24, that he was a bishop, and suffered at Laodicea.—Ed.

(7) Ex Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 35, 36.

(8) Ex Hier. in Catalogo Script. Eccles., whence Foxe's text is corrected.—En

The Third Persecution. But it will be worth while citing a short passage thereof, in confirmation of what has been said.¹

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Strict
handling
of Ignatius.

His notable
constancy
and burning
zeal to
Christ.

"From Syria to Rome," saith he, "I fight with wild beasts, by land and by sea, by night and by day, being chained among ten leopards (that is, a band of soldiers), who are made even worse by kind treatment. By their injuries, however, I learn daily the more to be a disciple of Jesus;—yet am I not hereby justified. O that I were come to the real wild beasts, which are prepared for me! May I find them eager to dispatch me! I will encourage them to devour me without delay, and not use me as some, whom through fear they would not touch. And if they will not dispatch me willingly, I will provoke them to it. Pardon me;—I know what is good for me. Now I begin to be a disciple. I care for nothing, of visible or invisible things, so that I may but win Christ. Let fire and the cross, let the companies of wild beasts, let breaking of bones and tearing of limbs, let the grinding of the whole body, and all the malice of the devil, come upon me; be it so, only may I win Christ Jesus!"

Ignatius
devoured
of wild
beasts.

Such things wrote he from the aforesaid city of Smyrna, to the congregations which we have recited. And even when he was now sentenced to be thrown to the beasts, such was the burning desire that he had to suffer, that he spake, what time he heard the lions roaring, saying, "I am the wheat of Christ: I am going to be ground with the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread." He suffered in the eleventh year of Trajan the emperor.²

Publius,
bishop of
Athens,
martyr.

Besides this godly Ignatius, many thousands also were put to death in the same persecution, as appeareth by the letter of Pliny the younger above recited, written to the emperor. Jerome in his book intituled "*Catalogus Scrip. Eccles.*"³ maketh mention of one Publius, bishop of Athens, who, for the faith of Christ, the same time during this persecution, was put to death and martyred.

ADRIAN, EMPEROR.

A. D. 117. Next after this Trajan, succeeded Adrian the emperor, under whom suffered Alexander the bishop of Rome, with his two deacons Euentius and Theodorus;⁴ also Hermes and Quirinus, with their families, as late before was declared.

Zeno,
with
10,203
martyrs,
slain for
Christ.

It is signified moreover in the histories, that in the time of this Adrian Zeno, a nobleman of Rome, with ten thousand two hundred and three were slain for Christ.⁵ Henry de Herford and Bergomensis⁶ make mention of ten thousand, as being crucified in the days of this Adrian, on mount Ararat, crowned with crowns of thorn, and thrust into the sides with sharp darts, after the example of the Lord's

(1) A new translation from the Greek is substituted for Foxe's.—Ed.

(2) Hæc Eusebius et Hieronym. [Cat. Scrip. Eccl. cap. 26]. "Annus decimus Trajani respondet anno Christi 107; atque ad illum annum quoque martyrium S. Ignatii referunt Usserius Tillemontius alique V. D. Sed Joh. Malelam Antioch. si sequimur, non ante annum xviii. Imperii Trajani accidit, Christi cxv. quam sententiam argumentis gravissimis confirmarunt viri non minus præstantes Jo. Pearsonus in Dissertat. postuma de anno quo S. Ignatius condemnatus est, vulgata a T. Smitho in luculenta Epist. Ignatii editione quam notis Pearsonii suisque illustratam publicavit Oxon. 1709, et Guil. Lloydius Episc. Asaphensis in Diatriba ejusdem argumenti edita a Pagio in Crit. Baronianâ ad an. 107, § 4. Pro anno decimo Trajani, male quidam codices undecimo." Vid. Fabric. not. in "Biblioth. Eccles." (Hamb 1718) p. 78. Bp. Pearson's Dissertation is reprinted in the "Patres Apostolici." (Oxon. 1838) vol. ii. p. 504.—Ed.

(3) Cap. 29.

(4) He is called Theodulus by Baronius, ann. 132, § i.—Ed.

(5) Baron. Martyr. Rom. July 9th.—Ed.

(6) Henricus de Hervordia and Bergomensis, lib. viii. [Henricus de Hervordia—ita dictus, quia ex urbe Hervordia in Westphalia oriundus fuit—scripsit "Chronicon Generale" ad an. 1355, quod "de factis memorabilibus" inscripsit. See Oudin. Comment. de Scrip. Eccles. tom. iii. col. 973.—Ed.]

passion; whose captains (as Antoninus¹ and Vincentius² declare) were Achaicus, Heliades, Theodorus, and Carcerius. Whether this story be the same with the other above of Zeno or not, it is doubted.³ As touching the miracles done, and the speaking of the angel, I refer the certainty thereof to Vincentius, and such other like authors, where more things seem to be told than be true.

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There was one Eustachius a captain, whom Trajan in time past had sent out to war against the barbarians. After he had by God's grace valiantly subdued his enemies, and now was returning home with victory, Adrian, for joy, meeting him in his journey to bring him home with triumph, by the way first would do sacrifice to Apollo for the victory gotten, willing also Eustachius to do the same with him. But when Eustachius could by no means thereto be enforced, being brought to Rome, there with his wife and children he suffered martyrdom under the foresaid Adrian. It were a long process here to recite all the miracles contained, or rather suspected, in the story of this Eustachius; concerning his conversion and death; how the crucifix appeared to him between the horns of an hart; of the saving of his wife from the shipmen; of one of his sons saved from the lion, the other saved from the wolf; of their miraculous preservation from the wild beasts, and from the torments of fire—mentioned in *Bergomensis*, Vincentius, and others.⁴ All which as I find them in no ancient records, so I leave them to their authors, and the compilers of the legends.

Eustachius, with his wife and children, martyred.

We read also of Faustinus and Jobita, citizens of Breschia in Italy, who suffered martyrdom with like grievous torments. At the sight whereof one Calocerius,⁵ seeing their so great patience in so great torments, cried out with these words, "Verily great is the God of christians:"⁶ which words being heard, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their execution, was made partaker of their martyrdom.⁷

Faustinus and Jobita.

The history of Nicephorus maketh mention of Anthia, a godly woman, who committed her son Eleutherius to Anicetus bishop of Rome, to be brought up in the doctrine of christian faith; who afterwards, being bishop of Illyricum,⁸ was beheaded with his afore-said mother Anthia.⁹

Eleutherius, with his mother Anthia, martyrs.

Justus also, and Pastor, two brethren, with like martyrdom ended their lives in a city of Spain, called Alcala, under the said Adrian the emperor.

Justus and Pastor, martyrs.

Likewise Symphorissa, the wife of Getulus the martyr, with her

Symphorissa, with her seven children, martyred.

(1) Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, drew up a Chronicle of some value, entitled "Summa Historialis," which closes with the year 1459. It was published at Venice 1480; at Basle 1502; and is included in a modern edition of his works, Florentiæ, 1741. Meuselli Biblioth. Hist. i. p. 92. The history in the text will be found at tit. vii. capit. 5, § 4.—Ed.

(2) Vincentius was a monk of Beauvais, of the Dominican order, and wrote a huge historical work, under the title of "Speculum Historiale," to the year 1254, at the persuasion of Louis IX. An edition appeared in 4 vols. folio, at Strasburg, 1473, and the eighth at Douay, in 1624. Meusell. Biblioth. Hist. i. p. 82. Foxe has used these Chronicles, apparently, through the Magdeburg Centuriators, cent. ii. cap. 3, col. 11—13. Antoninus himself (in the place cited in the last note) refers us to Vincentius, lib. xi. cap. 88.—Ed.

(3) Foxe here confounds the Zeno just mentioned with another Zeno, whose martyrdom is celebrated in Baronius's Martyr. Roman. on Sep. 5th. Baronius there states that he was one of a number of soldiers (1107 in all, others say 11,000), who, for professing Christ, were martyred at Melitine in Armenia. Mount Ararat (where the 10,000 were said to be crucified) being likewise in Armenia, a surmise has arisen whether the two stories are not founded on the same occurrence. This point is discussed in Tillemont's "Mémoires à l'Hist. Eccles." tom. ii. part ii. pp. 23—48. See *infra*, p. 146, note 2.—Ed.

(4) See Anton. tit. vii. capit. 5, § 3.—Ed.

(5) Calocerius in Baronius, ann. 122, § 2.—Ed.

(6) "Vere magnus Deus Christianorum."

(7) Ex Antonino (tit. vii. capit. 6, § 7) et Equilino.—Ed.

(8) Some say, of Messina.—Ed.

(9) Ex Niceph. (lib. iii. cap. 29.—Ed.) et ex Onomast.

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Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
98
to
138.

Sophia,
with her
three
children,
martyred.

seven children, is said about the same time to suffer; who first was much and often beaten and scourged; afterwards was hanged up by the hair of her head; at last, having a huge stone fastened unto her, was thrown headlong into the river, and, after that, her seven children in like manner, with sundry and divers kinds of punishment diversly martyred by the tyrant.

The story of Hermannus, and Antoninus, and others, report of Sophia, with her three children also; also of Seraphia and Sabina, as having suffered under the said emperor, about the year of our Lord 130.

As concerning Alexander bishop of Rome, with his two deacons, also with Hermes, Quirinus, Seraphia and Sabina, some writers (as Bede and Marianus Scotus) record that they suffered under Trajan. Others again (as Otho of Frisinghen; with like more) report that they suffered in the fourth year of this emperor Adrian:¹ but of these martyrs sufficient hath been said before.

Women
who be-
came
martyrs.

A little before, mention was made of Symphorissa, otherwise named Symphorosa, wife of Getulus, with her seven sons. This Getulus or Getulius was a minister or teacher (as witness the Martyrology [and Chronicle] of Ado²) in the city of Tibur, which Getulus, with Cerialis, Amantius, and Primitivus, by the commandment of Adrian, were condemned to the fire; wherein they were martyred and put to death. The names, moreover, of the seven sons of this Symphorosa I find to be Crescens, Julianus, Nemesius, Primitivus, Justinus, Stacteus, and Eugenius, whom the [Martyrology and] Chronicle of Ado declare to have been put to death at the commandment of Adrian, being fastened to seven stakes, and so racked up with a pulley, and at last were thrust through; Crescens in the neck, Julianus in the breast, Nemesius in the heart, Primitivus about the navel, Justinus cut in every joint of his body, Stacteus run through with spears, Eugenius cut asunder from the breast to the lower parts. Next day their bodies were all together cast into a deep pit, by the idolatrous priests entitled "Ad septem Biothanatos." After the martyrdom of whom Symphorosa, the mother, did likewise suffer, as is before declared.

Quadratus' apo-
logy of
christian
doctrine.

While Adrian the emperor was at Athens, he was initiated into the Eleusinian³ and most of the other mysteries of the Greeks; after which he gave free leave and liberty, whosoever would, to persecute the Christians. Whereupon Quadratus, a man of no less excellent zeal than of famous learning, being then bishop of Athens, and disciple of the apostles,⁴ or at least succeeding incontinent the age of the apostles, and following after Publius (who a little before was martyred for the testimony of Christ), did offer up and exhibit unto Adrian the emperor a learned and excellent apology in the defence of the christian religion; wherein he declared the christians, without all just cause or desert, to be so cruelly intreated and persecuted. The

(1) According to Baronius; ann. 122. § 2.—Ed.

(2) Adonis Martyrologium, ad June 27th. Adonis Viennensis Archiep. breviarium Chronic. ad an. 1353, published (as so often the case with Foxe's authorities) Basileæ, 1568; the Martyrologium was reprinted in "Opera D. Georgii," 2 tom. folio, Romæ, 1745.—Ed.

(3) "Invisens Eleusina:" Hier. Cat. Scrip. Eccl. cap. 29. "Dicere debuerat, *invisens Eleusinia*, ut Jo. Scaliger probat animad. in Eusebii Chronicon." E. S. Cypriani not. apud Fabric. "Biblioth. Eccles." p. 86. The Greek of Jerome is as follows:—ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ γενόμενος καὶ πάντα σχεδὸν τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μυστήρια μυθήσθαι, δέδωκεν ὁμορμήν, &c.—whence Foxe's text has been somewhat improved.

(4) Vide Valesii. not. in Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 23.—Ed.

like, also, did Aristides, an excellent philosopher in Athens, who, for his singular learning and eloquence, being notified to the emperor, and coming to his presence, there made before him an eloquent oration. Moreover, he did exhibit unto the said emperor a memorable apology for the Christians, so full of learning and eloquence, that, as Jerome saith, it was a spectacle and admiration to men in his time, that loved to see wit and learning. Over and besides these, there was also another named Serenius Granianus,¹ proconsul of Asia, who likewise did write very pithy and grave letters to Adrian the emperor, showing and declaring therein that it was not consonant with right or reason, for the blood of innocents to be given to the rage and fury of the people, and so to be condemned for no fault, only for the name and sect that they followed.

The Third Persecution.

A.D.
98
to
138.

Aristides defendeth before the emperor the religion of Christ. Serenius Granianus, a defender of christian religion.

Thus, the goodness of God being moved with the prayers and constant labour of these so excellent men, so turned the heart of the emperor, that he, being better informed concerning the order and profession of the christians, became more favourable unto them. And, immediately upon the same, directed his letters to Minucius Fundanus (as is partly before mentioned), proconsul of Asia, willing him from henceforth to exercise no more such extremity against the christians, as to condemn any of them, having no other crime objected against them, but only their name. The copy of which his letter, because that Justin in his apology doth allege it, I thought, therefore, to express the same in his own words, as followeth:—

The emperor writeth for the Christians.

The Letter of Adrian the Emperor, to the Proconsul, Minucius Fundanus.

I have received a letter written to me by the very illustrious Serenius Granianus, your predecessor in office. The subject is one which I feel bound to inquire into, both that these people may not be vexatiously disturbed, and that base informers may not be encouraged in their vile occupation. To the matter then—if the people of the province will appear openly to support their charges against the Christians, so as to give them opportunity of answering for themselves before the tribunal, let them keep to this alone, and not proceed by rude demands and vain clamours: for it is much more becoming, if any one wishes to accuse, that *you* should take regular cognizance of the matter. If then any one shall accuse them and shew that they are breaking the laws, do you determine according to the degree of their offence. But if, by Hercules, the charge prove to be a calumny, do you estimate the enormity of such calumny and take care to punish it.²

Thus, by the merciful providence of God, some more quiet and rest was given to the church, although Hermannus thinketh these halcyon days did not very long continue, but that the emperor, changing his edict, began to renew again persecution of God's people, albeit this soundeth not to be so by the words of Melito in his apology to Marcus Antoninus hereafter ensuing. In the mean time this is certain, that in the days of this Adrian, the Jews rebelled against the Romans and spoiled the country of Palestine: against whom the emperor sent Julius Severus, who overthrew in Jewry fifty castles, and burnt and destroyed nine hundred and fourscore villages and towns, and slew of the Jews fifty thousand, so that with famine, sickness, sword, and fire, Judah was almost desolate. But at length Adrian the emperor, who

Respite from persecution.

The second destruction of the Jews. Jerusalem rebuilt and called Æliopolis.

(1) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 8.

(2) A new translation is substituted for Foxe's.—En

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Third
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
98
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138.

Antoninus Pius
emperor,
A. D. 138.

otherwise was named Ælius, repaired and enlarged the city again of Jerusalem,² which was called after his name Æliopolis, or Ælia Capitolina, the inhabiting whereof he granted only to the Gentiles, and to the Christians, forbidding the Jews utterly to enter into the city.

After the death of Adrian, who died by bleeding at the nose, succeeded Antoninus Pius, in the year of our Lord 138, and reigned twenty and three years, who, for his clemency and modest behaviour, had the name of *Pius*. and is for the same in histories commended. His saying was, that he had rather save one citizen, than destroy a thousand of his adversaries. At the beginning of his reign, such was the state of the church, as Adrian his predecessor had left it, as in which, although there was no edict set forth to persecute the Christians, yet the tumultuous rage of the heathen multitude, for the causes above specified, did not cease to disquiet and afflict the quiet people of God; imputing and ascribing to the Christians whatsoever misfortune happened contrary unto their desires; moreover, inventing against them all false crimes and contumelies whereof to accuse them. By reason whereof, divers there were in sundry places much molested, and some put to death: albeit, as it is to be supposed, not by the consent of the emperor, who of nature was so mild and gentle, that either he raised up no persecution against the Christians, or else he soon stayed the same, being moved.

And here occasion serveth² to speak of Justin, a man in learning and philosophy excellent, and a great defender of the christian religion; who also exhibited two Apologies, concerning the defence of christian doctrine, the one to Antoninus Pius, the emperor, the other to the senate of Rome.

Priscus,
son of
Bacchius,
Justin's
father.

This Justin was born at Neapolis,³ in the country of Palestine, whose father was Priscus son of Bacchius, as he himself doth testify,⁴ by whom in his youth he was set to school to learn; where, in process of time, he became a famous and worthy philosopher, of whose excellency many learned and notable men do record. For first he, being altogether inflamed and ravished with desire of knowledge, would in no wise be satisfied in his mind, before he had gotten instructors singularly seen in all kind of philosophy. Whereupon he writeth of himself, in the beginning of his dialogue with Trypho, thus, declaring that in the beginning he, being desirous of joining that sect and society, applied himself to be scholar to a certain Stoic, and, remaining with him a time, when he nothing profited in divine knowledge (whereof the Stoic had no skill, and affirmed the knowledge thereof not to be necessary), he forsook him, and went to another, of the sect of the Peripatetics, a sharp-witted man, as he thought; with whom, after he had been awhile, he demanded of him a stipend for his teaching, for the better confirmation of their familiarity. Whereupon Justin, accounting him as no philosopher, left him, and departed. And yet not satisfied in mind, but desirous to hear of further learning in philosophy, adjoined himself to one that professed the Pythago-

Justin
desirous
of philo-
sophy.

Justin
proveth
all sorts
of philo-
sophy.

(1) Some write that the place where Christ was crucified was taken into the walls.

(2) Foxe's account of Justin is somewhat altered in this edition, in respect of arrangement, for the sake of greater clearness.—Ed.

(3) The ancient Shechem or Sichem, the modern Napolose or Nablous.—Ed.

(4) In the opening of his first Apology (Euseb. iv. c. 12.)—Ed.

rean sect, a man of great fame, and one who made no small account of himself. Whom after he had followed a time, his master demanded of him whether he had any sight in music, astronomy, and geometry; without the sight of which sciences (he said) he could not be apt to receive the knowledge of virtue and felicity; unless before he had used to apply his mind from sensible matters to the contemplation of things intelligible. And, speaking much in the commendation of these sciences, how profitable and necessary they were, after that Justin had declared himself not to be seen therein, the philosopher gave him over; which grieved Justin not a little, and so much the more, because he thought his master to have some knowledge in those sciences. After this Justin, considering with himself what time was requisite to the learning of these sciences, and thinking not to defer any longer, thought best to resort to the sect of the Platonists, for the great fame that ran of them. Wherefore he chose unto him a singular learned man of that sect, who lately was come to those parts; and so, remaining with him, seemed to profit not a little in contemplation of supernal things and invisible forms, inasmuch that he thought shortly to aspire to such sharpness of wit and wisdom, that, out of hand, he might achieve to the comprehension and contemplation of God; which is the end of Plato's philosophy. And in this manner he bestowed his youth: but afterward he, growing to a riper age, how and by what means the said Justin came to the knowledge and profession of Christianity, it followeth likewise in his first Apology: where he affirmeth of himself (as witnesseth Eusebius¹), that when he did behold the Christians in their torments and sufferings to be so constant in their profession, he was therewith marvellously moved. After this manner reasoning with himself: that it was impossible for that kind of people to be subject to any vice or carnality, still less cannibalism, which vices, of their own nature, are not able to sustain any sharp adversity, much less the bitterness of death. The sight whereof helped him not a little (being of his own nature inclined to the searching of true knowledge and virtue), to begin to love and embrace the christian religion, for so hē doth witness of himself in the end of his second² Apology; signifying there, how it was his seeking and endeavour to attain to Christianity, when he perceived how the Christians, by malice of wicked persons, were compelled to suffer wrong and torments, and to be evil spoken of. By sight whereof, as he saith himself, he became a Christian, through this occasion.³ Being in this state of mind, as is aforesaid, it came in his head, for his more quietness, to go aside to a certain solitary place void of concourse of people, near to the sea-side; whither as he approached, thinking there to be all alone, he fell in with an old and venerable father of a comely visage and gentle behaviour, who, making up to him, began to reason with him: where, after long disputation, when the old man had declared unto him, that there was no knowledge of truth amongst the philosophers, who neither knew God, neither were aided by the Holy Ghost; and further had reasoned with him of the immortality of the soul, of the reward of the

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Third
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
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to
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Justin a
Platonist.

The end
of Plato's
philoso-
phy.

Justin
beginneth
to favour
christian
religion.

Justin
goeth into
a desert.

Justin
miracu-
lously
converted
by an old
man.

(1) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 8.

(2) See p. 125, note 1.—Ed.

(3) The following narrative is from Justin's dialogue with Trypho, near the beginning of it, whence a few expressions of Foxe are altered.—Ed.

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Third
Persecu-
tion.*

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138.

godly, and punishment of the wicked : then Justin, being confirmed with his reasons and arguments, yielded to him of his own accord ; and demanded of him by what means he might attain to that true knowledge of God, whereof he had spoken ; who then counselled him to read and search the prophets, adjoining therewith prayer. " But what master," quoth Justin, " should I use for the instruction thereof, and who shall be able to help us if these philosophers (as you say) lack the truth, and are void of the same ?" To whom the old father answered :

The vanity of the old philosophers reprov'd. The doctrine of the prophets commended. The utility of reading the prophets.

The prophets to be credited for two causes.

" There have been, many years before all these reputed philosophers, others more ancient than they, who were blessed, just, and lovers of God, who spake by the spirit of God, foreseeing and prophesying these things which we see now come to pass ; and therefore they are called prophets. These alone saw the truth, and revealed it to men, neither fearing nor passing for any ; who were seduced with no desire of human applause, but only spake and taught those things which they themselves both heard and saw, being inspired with the holy Spirit of God ; whose writings and works yet to this day remain, out of which the reader may receive great profit and knowledge of things, as concerning the first creation of the world, and end of the same, with other things necessary to be known of every true philosopher. But faith is necessary to profit by them ; for in their teaching they do not use any demonstration, as being in themselves (independently of any demonstration) sure witnesses of the truth. Moreover, the course of events, (not to mention that the miracles also, which they wrought, entitle them to credit), both past and present, constraineth us of necessity to believe the things spoken by them, when they both glorified God as the Maker and Father of all things, and also did prophesy before, of Christ his Son to be sent of him ; all which, the false prophets, being filled with a false and corrupt spirit, neither have done, nor do, but only take upon them to work certain prodigious wonders to astound men, setting out thereby to the world false and unclean spirits. But before all things, make thy prayer that the gates of light may be opened unto thee, for these things cannot be seen or comprehended by every man, but only by him to whom God and his Christ give the understanding thereof."

Justin baptized.

Justin an earnest defender of Christ.

These things, with much more (which now leisure serveth not to prosecute), after the aforesaid old father had declared unto him, he departed, exhorting him well to follow the things which he had spoken ; and, after that, Justin (as he himself witnesseth) saw him no more. Immediately after this, Justin, being all inflamed as with a fire kindled in his breast, began to conceive a love and zeal towards the prophets, and all such as were favoured of Christ. And thus he, revolving in his mind more and more these words, found only this philosophy among all other professions both sure and profitable. And so became he a philosopher at first, and by these means, afterwards, he was made a Christian, and baptized. But where he received this holy sacrament of baptism is not recorded, nor yet by what occasion he left his country and came to Rome. This only we read in Jerome, that he was in Rome, and there used certain exercises which he called Diatribes, disputing there with Crescens, a Cynic philosopher, as is before touched. But this is certain, how that Justin, after he had received the profession of the christian religion, became an earnest defender of the same ; travailing and disputing against all the adversaries thereof, fearing neither peril of life nor danger of death, whereby he might maintain the doctrine of Christ against the malicious blasphemers, and also augment the number of christian believers, as may appear by his vehement disputations against the heathen

philosophers : also, it well appeareth in that long disputation which he had with Trypho, a Jew, at Ephesus ; as also in his confutations of heretics. Furthermore, his Conflicts and Apologies, which with great courage and boldness he exhibited against the persecutors of the Christians, both to the emperor and the magistrates, yea and the whole senate of Rome, do testify the same.

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Third
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tion.*
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Of the which Apologies, the first¹ he wrote to Antoninus Pius the emperor, and the second to the senate of Rome, as is before mentioned ; where, in the first, writing to Antoninus the emperor, and his successors, with gravity and free liberty he declareth unto them how they had the name, commonly being reputed and taken as virtuous philosophers, maintainers of justice, lovers of learning : but whether they were so, their acts declared. As for him, neither for flattery, nor favour at their hands, he was constrained thus to write unto them ; but only to sue unto them, and desire a serious and righteous kind of dealing in their judgments and sentences (for it becometh princes to follow uprightness and piety in their judgments, not tyranny and violence) ; and also in plain words chargeth as well the emperor as the senate with manifest wrong, for that they did not grant the Christians that which is not denied to all other malefactors, judging men to death not convicted, but only for the hatred of the name. "Other men which be appeached," said he, "in judgment, are not condemned before they are convicted : but on *us*, you take our name only for the crime, when indeed you ought to see justice done upon our accusers." And again, saith he, "If a Christian, being accused, only deny that name, him you release, if not able to charge him with any other offence. But, if he stand to his name, only for his confession you cast him : whereas, indeed, it were your duty rather to examine their manner of life, what thing they confess or deny, and according to their deserts to see justice done."

*Two Apo-
logies of
Justin.
The sum
of his
Apolo-
gies.*

And, in the same, further he saith : "You examine not the causes, but, incensed with rash affections, as with the spur of fury, ye slay and murder them not convicted, without any respect of justice."² And further he addeth, "Some peradventure will say, certain of them have been apprehended and taken in evil doings : as though," saith he, "you used to inquire upon them, being brought afore you, and not commonly to condemn them before due examination of their offence, for the cause above mentioned." Where also, in the end of the said Apology, after this manner he reprehendeth them ; "You do degenerate," quoth he, "from the goodness of your predecessors, whose example you follow not ; for your father Adrian, of famous memory, caused to be proclaimed, that Christians accused before the judge should not be condemned, unless they were found guilty of some notorious crime." I find that all his vehement and grave Apology standeth upon most strong and firm probations, denying, that the Christians ought by conscience, at the will and commandment of the emperor and senate, to do sacrifice to the idols : for

(1) Foxe numbers the Apologies of Justin as they stand in the printed editions. It has long, however, been decided by the learned, that Eusebius is right in making what is commonly called the First to be the Second Apology, and vice versâ. This more correct numbering is adopted in the text. Valesius is strongly of opinion that both were presented during the lifetime of Antoninus Pius. See his Notes on Eusebius, lib. iv. cap. 17. Tillemont and Dupin, however, refer the Second to the following reign.—Ed.

(2) The Lord take away this spirit of fury, condemning innocents before they be convicted

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Third
Persecu-
tion.*

A.D.
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to
138.

*The se-
cond Apo-
logy of
Justin.*

which they, being condemned, affirm that they suffer open wrong; affirming, moreover, that the true and only religion is the religion of the Christians, whose doctrine and conversation have no fault.

And likewise, in his second Apology, writing with great liberty to the senate, he declared that of necessity he was compelled to write and utter his mind and conscience to them. For that in persecuting of the Christians they did neglect their duty, and highly offended God, and therefore need they had to be admonished. And further, mentions one of the martyrs as reproaching Urbicius, prefect of the city, saying, "That he put men to death and torments for no offence committed, but for the confession only of the name of Christ; which proceedings and judgments neither became the emperor, nor Cæsar's son, nor the senate;"¹ defending, moreover, in the said Apology, and purging the Christians of such crimes as falsely were laid and objected against them by the heathen.

By these things it is apparent, with what zeal and faith this Justin did strive against the persecutors, which (as he said) could kill only, but could not hurt.

This Justin, by the means and malice of Crescens the philosopher (as will be hereafter declared), suffered martyrdom under Marcus Antoninus Verus, about the time that Polycarp was martyred in Asia, as witnesseth Eusebius.²

Justin, although with these and such-like persuasions he did not so prevail with the emperor, as to cause him to love his religion and become a Christian (for that is not recorded), yet thus much he obtained, that Antoninus, writing to his officers in Asia in the behalf of the Christians, required and commanded them, that those Christians only who were found guilty of any trespass, should suffer; and such as were not convicted, should not for the name only be punished, because they were called Christians, as well may appear by his letter sent down to the commons of Asia, the tenor whereof here ensueth.³

The Epistle of Antoninus Pius, to the Commons of Asia.

*The good
consci-
ence of
Chris-
tians, and
the false
consci-
ence of
the hea-
then.*

Emperor and Cæsar, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, tribune fifteen times, consul thrice, to the common council of Asia, greeting.

I am persuaded, that the gods will take care that persons such as you describe these Christians to be, shall not escape with impunity; for they are much more concerned to punish those who refuse to worship them, than you are. But are they quite the characters you represent? You overwhelm them with trouble, and only confirm them in the opinions which they really do hold, when you charge them with being "atheists:" and it seems infinitely preferable to them to die for their God, than to live under such an imputation. And here it may not be amiss for me to refer to the earthquakes which are continually happening, and remind you how disheartened you are whenever they occur, and how you then envy these people their state of mind, as compared with your own: at such seasons whilst they wax the more bold in their God, you seem to have forgotten that there are gods, and the worship of the eternal is the last thing you think of; and yet the Christians who do worship him, you hunt and persecute to death. Many of the governors of the provinces heretofore wrote about these people to our father of blessed memory, who in reply directed them "not to molest the Christians, unless they should appear to be attempting something against the Roman government." I have also myself

*O noble
edict!*

(1) See *infra*, p. 128, note 2.—Ed. (2) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 16. (3) A new translation.—Ed.

received many communications respecting them, to which I have returned answer to the same effect as my father did. Wherefore, if any one hereafter shall prosecute a Christian, merely as such, though the accused should plainly be proved to be one, let him be acquitted; but let the accuser be punished.

*The
Fourth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.

161

to

180.

This godly edict of the emperor was proclaimed at Ephesus,¹ in the public assembly of all Asia, whereof Melito also, bishop of Sardis, who flourished in the same time, maketh mention, in his apology written in defence of our doctrine, to M. Antoninus Verus, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear. By this means, then, the tempest of persecution in those days began to be appeased, through the merciful providence of God, who would not have his church utterly to be overthrown, though hardly yet to grow.

THE FOURTH PERSECUTION.

After the decease of the aforesaid quiet and mild prince Antoninus Pius (who, among all other emperors of that time made the most quiet end), followed his son Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus (with Lucius Verus, his brother), about the year of our Lord 161, a man of nature more stern and severe; and, although in study of philosophy and in civil government no less commendable, yet, toward the christians sharp and fierce; by whom was moved the fourth persecution after Nero.

A. D. 161.

Among those who sustained the cruelty of this persecution at Rome, under this Marcus Antoninus Verus, is mentioned Felicitas, with her seven children. The names of her children Bergomensis, and other historians, do thus recite: Januarius, Felix, Philip, Silvanus, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martial. Of whom her first and eldest son, Januarius, after he was whipped and scourged with rods, was pressed to death with leaden weights: Felix and Philip had their brains beaten out with mallets: Silvanus was cast down headlong, and had his neck broken: furthermore, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martial, were beheaded. Last of all, Felicitas, the mother (otherwise than the accustomed manner was for such as had borne children), was slain with the sword.²

*Felicitas,
with her
seven
children.*

To these above recited, is also to be added Praxedes, a blessed virgin, the daughter of a citizen of Rome, who, in the time of Anicetus there bishop, was so brought up in the doctrine of Christ, and so affected to his religion, that she, with her sister Potentiana, bestowed all her patrimony upon the relieving of poor Christians, giving all her time to fasting and prayer, and to the burying of the bodies of the martyrs. And after she had made free all her family with her servants, after the death of her sister she also departed, and was buried in peace.

*Praxedes
and
Potenti-
ana,
christian
virgins.*

(1) It is much disputed among the learned, whether this edict is to be ascribed to Antoninus Pius, or his successor, Marcus Aurelius. The heading here given is according to Eusebius, and refers it to the first year of M. Aurelius, A. D. 161. But the same epistle is printed at the conclusion of Justin's Apology to Antoninus Pius, with the following heading,—"Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Τίτος, Αἴλιος, Ἀδριανὸς, Ἀντωνίνος, Σεβαστὸς, Εὐσεβής, Ἀρχιερεὺς Μέγιστος, δημοαρχικὴ ἐξουσία [τοῦ αἵ]], ἔταξε τὸ πρῶτον." Sylburgius inserts [τοῦ αἵ] or xv after the tribuneship, from Eusebius; and Tillemont would alter πρῶτον into δ'; thus making the epistle to have been issued by Antoninus Pius, in the fifteenth year of his tribuneship and his fourth consulate, or A. D. 152. He further supposes some error to have crept into the copies of Eusebius, who would scarcely have ascribed to Antoninus Pius a letter bearing the name of his successor. See Appendix to this volume.—Ed.

(2) Ex Supplern. See Note, page 113.—Ed.

(3) "Pudentiana," in Baron. ann. 165, § 3.—Ed.

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Under the same Antoninus also suffered Ptolomæus and Lucius, for the confession of Christ; whose history, because it is described in the Apology of Justin Martyr, I thought therefore so to set forth the same, as it is alleged in Eusebius,¹ declaring the manner and occasion thereof, in words and effect as followeth:—

A certain woman had a husband who led a lascivious and libidinous course of life; she herself also had formerly been guilty of the same. But having become acquainted with the christian religion, she became chaste herself and made it her constant endeavour to persuade him to be the same; repeating to him oftentimes the truths and precepts of Christianity, and telling him of the punishment in eternal fire which was prepared for such as lead an obscene and disorderly life. But he, persevering in his lascivious habits, alienated thereby his wife's affections. At length the woman, judging it a wicked thing for her to cohabit with a husband who (disregarding the law of nature and common propriety) only sought ways to gratify his lust; was minded to be divorced from him. But her friends advising her still to continue with him in hope that he might yet mend, she put a force on herself and continued with him. But after this, her husband, having gone a journey to Alexandria, was reported to her as living there more licentiously than ever; whereupon, she (fearing lest by her continuing in connexion with him, she should be counted a partaker of his sins) sent him what is termed a bill of divorce and separated from him. But this excellent fellow, who ought to have rejoiced that his wife (who formerly committed the basest lewdness, and took pleasure in drunkenness and all manner of vice) had now desisted from such practices herself and wished him to desist also, and had got divorced from him only because he would not comply, publicly accused her of being a Christian. Whereupon she presented a petition to thee, O emperor, that she might have liberty first to set her affairs in order; after which settlement she would put in an answer to the accusation. To which you condescended.

But her heretofore husband, being unable to substantiate anything against her, set upon one Ptolomæus (the same whom Urbicius has put to death) who had been her instructor in the christian religion, in the following manner. He persuaded a centurion, who was his friend, to apprehend Ptolomæus, and having put him in bonds to ask him this one question, Whether he were a Christian. Ptolomæus (being a lover of truth and a hater of deceit and equivocation) confessed that he was a Christian; whereupon the centurion caused him to be bound in fetters, and afflicted him with a long imprisonment. At length being brought before Urbicius, he was again asked the plain question, Whether he were a Christian. He, knowing in himself the blessings he had received through the doctrine of Christ, again confessed himself a follower of that heavenly learning. For he who denies himself to be a Christian, either denies because he disapproves of Christianity, or avoids the profession of it because he feels himself unworthy and a stranger to its blessings; neither of which can be said of a true Christian. He was immediately ordered to execution. Whereupon one Lucius (himself a Christian) considering the injustice of the sentence, said to Urbicius;—"What is the reason that you have sentenced a man who is neither an adulterer, nor a fornicator, nor a murderer, nor a thief, nor a robber, nor convicted of any misdemeanor whatever, but simply owns to the appellation of a Christian? Such proceedings as these, O Urbicius, are not in character with the "Pious" emperor, or the "philosopher" son of Cæsar, or the "sacred" senate.² But Urbicius made no reply, except, "You seem to be one of this sort, yourself." Lucius admitting that it was so, Urbicius ordered him also to be led off to execution. He declared himself much obliged to him, "for I shall be delivered (said he) from such wicked tyrants, and go to my God, a gracious father and king." A third stepping forward and making the same profession, was condemned to undergo the same punishment.

Boldness
and christian
constancy of
Lucius.

Con-
demned
and mar-
tyred.
A third
also mar-
tyred.

Gratian
suspect-
ed.

And thus much out of the Apology of Justin, by the which story

(1) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 17. Just. Apol. II. cap. 2—4.—Ed.

(2) On this passage, partly, Valesius grounds his opinion that this Apology was presented in the life-time of Antoninus Pius. But Dupin and Tillemont explain it as referring to Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Commodus, his son, or M Antoninus and Lucius Verus.—Ed.

it may appear not to be true what Gratian attributeth unto Hyginus, bishop of Rome, the deciding of causes matrimonial, seeing that in Justin's time (who was in the same age as Hyginus), the divorcement of this woman in this history above touched, was not decided by any ecclesiastical law, or brought before any bishop, but was brought before a heathen prince, and determined by the law civil.

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Henry of Herford [in Westphalia] recordeth, out of the Martyrology of Isuardus, of one Concordius, a minister of the city of Spoleto, who, in the reign of this Antoninus Verus, because he would not sacrifice unto Jupiter, but did spit in the face of the idol, after divers and sundry punishments sustained, at last with the sword was beheaded. Vincentius¹ reciteth a long story of his acts and life, whereof some part, perhaps, may seem tolerable. But this verily appeareth to be false and fabulous, concerning the water flowing beside his sepulchre in the aforesaid city of Spoleto, unto the which water was given (saith Vincentius) by the virtue of him for whose name he suffered, to restore sight to the blind, to heal the sick, and to cast out devils, etc. Which kind of virtue, to open the eyes of the blind, and to expel devils, neither doth God give to any creature of water, neither is it likely that Concordius, the blessed martyr, did or would require any such thing at the hands of God.

Concordi-
us, mar-
tyr.

He spit-
teth in
the face of
the idol.

Vincen-
tius sus-
pected of
untruth.

Isuardus and Bede, Vincentius and Henry of Herford, with other authors more, make relation of divers other martyrs that by sundry kinds of torments were put to death under the aforesaid Antoninus Verus: the names of whom be Symmetrius, Florellus, Pontian, Alexander, Caius, Epipodius, Victor, Corona, Marcellus, and Valerian. The cause of whose martyrdom was the reprehending of idolatry, and because, at the emperor's commandment, they would not sacrifice to idols. Many sorts of punishments and miracles are told of them; but at length the end of them all is this, that they were beheaded. Whereby it may be the more suspected the histories of these writers not to be certain or true, as well touching these as also other martyrs, as may appear in Vincentius, in Petrus "De Natalibus," and other authors of like sort. In which authors they who list to read more of their miracles, there may find them.

Men who
became
martyrs.

Authors
in the
writing of
miracles
of mar-
tyrs sus-
pected.

In the rage of this fourth persecution, under the reign of Antoninus Verus, suffered also the before-mentioned good Justin, who first exhibited unto the emperor, and to the senate, his second Apology in the defence of the Christians, and afterward himself also died a martyr. Of whom, in the history of Eusebius,² it is thus recorded:—

Justin
Martyr.

About the time that Polycarp, with divers other saints, suffered martyrdom in Pergamos, a city of Asia, this Justin presented a second book in defence of our doctrine to the emperors aforesaid. After which he was also crowned with like martyrdom unto those whom he, in his book, had defended; through the malicious means and crafty circumvention of Crescens.

This Crescens was a philosopher, conforming his life and manners to the Cynical denomination, whom because this Justin had confuted in open audience; he therefore, as much as in him lay, did work and procure unto him this crown of martyrdom. And thus much did also Justin (himself a philosopher of no mean order) foresee and declare in his aforesaid Apology, predicting almost all those things beforehand which were to happen unto him, in these words. "I

Crescens,
a philoso-
pher, pro-
curer of
the death
of Justin.

(1) Vincent. lib. x. cap. 108.

(2) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 16. Just. Apol. II. cap. 8.—Ed.

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A slave of
fame and
fear.

Crescens
proved an
unlearn-
ed philo-
sopher.

also expect myself to be betrayed and put in the stocks by some one of those whom I have named, perhaps by that pseudo-philosopher, Crescens, who is fonder of fame than of truth: for the man does not deserve the name of a philosopher, who publicly asserts what he does not know to be true—for example, that the Christians are atheistical and impious persons—merely to gratify and please the multitude. In so doing he commits a grievous error. If he never met with any account of our doctrine, it is very wicked of him to inveigh against us, and he is far worse in so doing than the generality of men, who are mostly cautious how they talk about what they do not understand, lest they speak what is false. If he has met with it, but did not understand the majestic sublimity thereof; or, understanding it, acts thus in order to avoid the suspicion of being himself a Christian, that is still more base and wicked, in that he avows himself the slave of popular opinion and the fear of man. For I would have you know that, when I proposed and asked him some questions on the subject, I discovered that he really knew nothing about it. And to prove the truth of what I say, I am ready (if these our disputations have not come to your knowledge) to propose the questions to him again in your presence—and this exercise will be by no means derogatory to your Imperial Dignity. But if both my questions and his answers have been made known to you, then it must be clear to you already, that he is quite ignorant of our religion. If, however, he understands it, but does not freely declare himself because of his auditors, then is he plainly no philosopher (as I said before), but a slave to popular opinion; and has no esteem for that most excellent saying of Socrates in Plato, that no man is to be preferred before the truth."

And thus much of Justin, out of Justin himself.

Tatian
com-
mended.

The
praise of
Justin
Martyr.

Now, to verify that which Justin here of himself doth prophesy, "That Crescens would procure his death," Tatian (a man brought up of a child in the learning of the Gentiles, and who obtained in the same not a little fame, and who also left behind him many good monuments and commentaries,) writeth in his book against the gentiles in this sort: "And Justin," saith he, "that most excellently learned man, full well spake and uttered his mind, that the afore-recited men were like unto thieves, or liars by the high-way side." And in the said book, speaking afterwards of certain philosophers, the said Tatian inferreth thus: "Crescens, therefore," saith he, "when he came first into that great city, passed all others in the vicious love of children, and was very much given to covetousness; and whereas he taught that men ought not to regard death, he himself did fear death, and he did all his endeavour to oppress Justin with death, as with the greatest evil that was; and all because that Justin, speaking truth, reproved the philosophers to be men only for the belly, and deceivers: and this was the cause of Justin's martyrdom."

Martyr-
dom of
Justin,
the noble
philoso-
pher and
Christian.
A.D. 166.

Jerome, in his Ecclesiastical Catalogue, thus writeth: "Justin, when in the city of Rome he had his disputations, and had reproved Crescens, the Cynic, a great blasphemer of the Christians, for a belly-god, and a man fearing death, and also a follower of lust and lechery; at last, by his endeavour and conspiracy, was accused to be a Christian, and for Christ shed his blood," A.D. 153, under Antoninus Pius, according to the abbot of Ursperg; but according to others, A.D. 165 or 166, in the sixth year of the emperor Marcus Antoninus.¹

(1) Foxe quotes also the Chronicle of Eusebius (as others have done) for the earlier of these two dates: but the passage in the Chronicle is quite ambiguous, and in reality speaks rather of the rise of Crescens at Rome; and what he adds about Justin's martyrdom may be by anticipation. In his History Eusebius places it under Marcus Aurelius. Tatian, the pupil of Justin, says he died the sixth year of M. Aurelius, or A.D. 166. The Alexandrine Chronicle sets down his death under the consulate of Orphitus and Pudens, or A.D. 165. "Cum ergo Marco Veroque imperantibus perierit Justinus, multam veri speciem habet Chronici Alexandrini sententia, quæ S. Justinum martyrium huic anno (165) illigavit." "Basnagii Annales Politico-eccles." (Roter. 706), ad an. 165, § 5.—E.D.

Here is to be gathered how Epiphanius was deceived in the time of his death, saying, "That he suffered under Rusticus the prefect, and Adrian the emperor, being of thirty years of age;" which indeed agreeth neither with Eusebius, nor Jerome, nor Suidas, nor others more, who manifestly declare and testify how he exhibited his Apology unto Antoninus Pius, who came after Adrian. Thus hast thou, good reader, the life of this learned and blessed martyr, fully and amply discoursed, for the better commendation of his excellent and notable virtues, of whose final end thus writeth Photius, saying, "That he, suffering for Christ, died cheerfully and with honour."¹

The Fourth Persecution.

A. D. 161 to 180.

A place of Epiphanius found faulty.

In the time of the same Marcus a great number of them which truly professed Christ, suffered most cruel torments and punishments, both in Asia and France. In the number of whom was Polycarp, the worthy bishop of Smyrna, who, in the great rage of this persecution in Asia, among many other most constant saints, was also martyred. Of whose end and martyrdom I thought it here not inexpedient to commit to history so much as Eusebius² declareth to be taken out of a certain letter or epistle, written by them of his own church to all the brethren throughout the world:³ the tenor of which epistle here followeth.

Polycarp, the blessed martyr, bishop of Smyrna.

The church of God which sojourns at Smyrna to that which sojourns at Philomelium,⁴ and to all the churches throughout the world composing the holy catholic church, mercy, peace, and the love of God the Father and of the Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied! We have written to inform you, brethren, concerning the martyrs, but particularly concerning the blessed Polycarp, who, as it were, sealed up the persecution with his own blood.

And in the same epistle, before they enter into further matter of Polycarp, they discourse of other martyrs, describing what patience they abode in and showed, in suffering their torments.

Their patience was so admirable (saith the epistle) that the by-standers were amazed; while they beheld them torn with whips till their veins and arteries appeared, yea and even their bowels and the inward structure of their frame were laid open to view; then, laid on prickly sea-shells, and on little sharp spikes or nails called *ὀβελίσκοι*, and, in short, made to go through every kind of punishment and torture that could be devised; and, lastly, thrown to the wild beasts to be devoured.

Cruel handling of christian martyrs. Their singular patience and constancy.

But especially in the aforesaid epistle, mention is made of one Germanicus, how he most worthily persevered and overcame, by the grace of God, that fear of death which is engrafted in the common nature of all men; whose patience and sufferance were so notable, that the whole multitude, wondering at this beloved martyr of God for this his so bold constancy, and also at the singular strength and fortitude of the whole of the Christians, began suddenly to cry with a loud voice, saying, "Away with the atheists:⁵ let Polycarp be sought

Germanicus, a most constant martyr.

(1) "Cum dignitate et lætus pro Christo pertulit." [Bibliotheca, cod. 125, col. 306, Edit. 1612.—Ed.]

(2) Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 15. The whole of the matter from hence to the bottom of page 134, is from this chapter of Eusebius; a new translation however is substituted for Foxe's, which is often loose and obscure.—Ed.

(3) Eusebius has *κατὰ Πόντον*, a palpable error (as Valesius observes) for *κατὰ πάντα τόπον*.

(4) Philomelium "urbs erat Majoris Phrygiæ, celebris famæ, cujus meminere Strabo, Stephanus, etc." Smithi Annotat. p. 113, edit. Oxon. 1709.—Ed.

(5) *Αἶψα τοὺς ἀθέους*. "Christianos ita appellabant efferi hi idolatræ, quia istorum fictitiis numinibus supplicare et sacrificare noluerint." Smith's note in "Eccles. Smyrnensis Epist. de Polycarpi Mart." § 3, which Mr. Jacobson confirms ("Patres Apostolici," edit. Oxon. 1838) by referring to Justin Mart. Apol. i. § 6.—Ed.

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Quintus,
a Phry-
gian, too
hardy and
bold.

for." And whilst a great uproar and tumult began thus to be raised upon those cries, a certain Christian, named Quintus, lately come out of Phrygia, having been shown the wild beasts and threatened with being thrown to them, quailed with fear, and, to save his life, gave in. The letter states, that this man had, more hastily than wisely, rushed up, with others, before the tribunal; and thereupon being taken, afforded by his apostasy a signal warning to all, not to venture on such trials fool-hardily and without counting the cost.

But now we will surcease to speak more of them, and return to Polycarp, of whom the aforesaid letter consequently declareth as followeth:

Polycarp
fliest per-
secution.
Polycarp
prayeth
for the
church.

Vision of
his burn-
ing.

Pursued
and taken.
Might es-
cape, and
would
not.

He falleth
to prayer.

The admirable Polycarp, when first he heard what was passing, was not at all flurried, but preserved his usual calmness and presence of mind, and purposed to remain in the city: but being prevailed on by those about him, who earnestly besought him to convey himself away, he retired to a village not far off; and there, with a few friends, he spent his time entirely, night and day, in praying (as he had ever been wont) for the peace of all the churches throughout the world. Three days before he was apprehended, as he was thus praying at night, he fell asleep, and saw in a dream the pillow take fire under his head, and presently consumed. Waking thereupon, he forthwith related the vision to those about him, and prophesied that he should be burnt alive for Christ's sake. It is further stated, that when the persons who were in search of him were close at hand, he was induced, for the love of the brethren, to retire to another village, to which, notwithstanding, the pursuers soon followed him; and having caught a couple of boys dwelling thereabout, they whipped one of them till he directed them to Polycarp's retreat. The pursuers having arrived late in the day,¹ found him gone to bed in the top room of the house, whence he might have escaped into another house, if he would; but this he refused to do, saying, "The will of the Lord be done." Hearing that they were come, as the said history relates, he came down, and spoke to them with a cheerful and pleasant countenance: so that they were wonder-struck, who, having never known the man before, now beheld his venerable age and the gravity and composure of his manner,² and wondered why they should be so earnest for the apprehension of so old a man. He immediately ordered a table to be laid for them, and exhorted them to eat heartily, and begged them to allow him one hour to pray without molestation; which being granted, he rose and began to pray, and was so full of the grace of God, that they who were present and heard his prayers were astonished, and many now felt sorry that so venerable and godly a man should be put to death.

After this the aforesaid epistle or letter, prosecuting the history, addeth more, as followeth:—

When he had finished his prayers, wherein he made mention of all whom he had ever been connected with, small and great, noble and vulgar, and of the whole catholic church throughout the world, the hour being come for their departure, they set him on an ass and brought him to the city, on the great sabbath.³ There met him the irenarch⁴ Herod, and his father Nicetes, who taking him up into their chariot, began to exhort him, saying, "What harm is it to say 'Lord Cæsar,' and to sacrifice, and save yourself?" At first he was silent: but being pressed to speak, he said, "I will not do as you advise me." When they saw that he was not to be persuaded, they gave him rough language, and pushed him hastily down, so that in descending from the chariot he grazed

He refus-
eth to do
sacrifice.

(1) The original is ὀψέ της ὥρας, "late in the day."—Ed.

(2) τῷ εὐσταθεί του τρόπου, "the composure of his manner," a reading which some MSS. present, seems preferable to the other τῷ εὐσταθεί του προσώπου, "the composure of his countenance." Vide Vales. in Euseb. iv. 15.—Ed.

(3) Valesius considers this to have been a Saturday, on which the first day of unleavened bread happened to fall. Usher and Pagi consider that among Christians it could only mean the Saturday before Easter. Pagi shows that Saturday before Easter (according to Eastern computation) fell on March 26, in the year 169. See *infra*, p. 136, note 2.—Ed.

(4) "Irenarch" was an officer of the council, answering to our "Marshal," or "Sergeant at Arms." See Vales. not. in loc.—Ed.

his shin. But he, unmoved as if he had suffered nothing, went on cheerfully, under the conduct of his guards, to the Stadium. There, the noise being so great that few could hear anything, a voice from heaven said to Polycarp as he entered the Stadium, "Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man." No one saw him that spake, but many of our people heard the voice. When he was brought to the tribunal, there was a great tumult as soon as it was generally understood that Polycarp was apprehended. The proconsul asked him, if he were Polycarp. When he assented, the former counselled him to deny Christ, saying, "Consider thyself, and have pity on thy own great age;" and many other such-like speeches which they are wont to make:—"Swear by the fortune of Cæsar"—"Repent"—"say, Away with the atheists." Then Polycarp, with a grave aspect, beholding all the multitude in the Stadium, and waving his hand to them, he gave a deep sigh, and, looking up to heaven, said, "Take away the atheists." The proconsul then urged him, saying, "Swear, and I will release thee;—reproach Christ." Polycarp answered, "Eighty and six years have I served him, and he never once wronged me; how then shall I blaspheme my King, who hath saved me?" The proconsul again urged him, "Swear by the fortune of Cæsar." Polycarp replied, "Since you still vainly strive to make me swear by the fortune of Cæsar, as you express it, affecting ignorance of my real character, hear me frankly declaring what I am—I am a Christian—and if you desire to learn the christian doctrine, assign me a day, and you shall hear." The proconsul said, "Persuade the people." Polycarp said, "I have thought proper to address you, because we are taught to pay to magistracies and powers ordained of God, all honour, which is consistent with a good conscience. But I do not hold those people worthy that I should apologize to them." Hereupon the proconsul said, "I have wild beasts; and I will expose you to them, unless you repent." "Call for them," replied Polycarp; "for repentance with us is a wicked thing, if it is to be a change from the better to the worse, but a good thing if it is to be a change from evil to good." "I will tame thee with fire," said the proconsul, "since you despise the wild beasts, unless you repent." Then said Polycarp, "You threaten me with fire, which burns for an hour, and is soon extinguished; but the fire of the future judgment, and of eternal punishment reserved for the ungodly, you are ignorant of. But why do you delay? Do whatever you please."

While saying this, and much more of the same kind, he was filled with confidence and joy, and grace shone in his countenance, and was so far from being confounded by the proconsul's menaces, that, on the contrary, the proconsul himself was visibly embarrassed, and sent the herald to proclaim thrice in the middle of the Stadium, "Polycarp hath professed himself a Christian." Which words were no sooner spoken, but the whole multitude, both of Gentiles and Jews, dwelling at Smyrna, with outrageous fury shouted aloud, "This is the doctor of Asia, the father of the Christians, and the subverter of our gods, who hath taught many not to sacrifice nor adore." They now called on Philip, the asiarch,¹ to let loose a lion against Polycarp. But he refused, alleging that he had closed his exhibition. They then unanimously shouted, that he should be burnt alive. For his vision must needs be accomplished—the vision which he had when he was praying, and saw his pillow burnt, when he turned to the faithful that were with him, and said, prophetically, "I must be burnt alive." This was no sooner said, than done; for the people immediately gathered wood and other dry matter from the workshops and baths: in which service the Jews (with their usual malice) were particularly forward to help.

The pile being now made, he put off his garments and unloosed his girdle, and attempted to take off his shoes,—a thing which he had not been accustomed to do—because the faithful were wont to strive who should be most assiduous in serving him. For even in his younger days he had been held in great respect, for his integrity and blameless conduct. Immediately the materials for making the pile were placed around him, and when they would have fastened him to the stake, he said, "Leave me as I am; for he who giveth me strength to sustain the fire, will enable me also, without your securing me with nails, to remain without flinching in the pile." Upon which they bound him without nailing him. So he, having his hands bound behind him, like a dis-

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Comforted by a voice from heaven.

A faithful servant of Christ his Lord.

Polycarp ready to give a reason of his doctrine. Obedient to higher powers. Threatened with wild beasts.

Example of brotherly love.

Polycarp willing to suffer.

(1) "Asiarch" was the chief-priest of the council: one of his duties was to superintend the games, which he often gave at his own expense. See Vales not. in locum.—Ed.

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The prayer and thanksgiving of Polycarp.

A miracle showed.

Example of much cruelty.

The Jews always enemies to the Christians.

Eleven other martyrs put to death in Smyrna with Polycarp.

tinguished ram selected from a large flock, to be offered as an acceptable burnt-offering to God Almighty, said thus :—"O Father of thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have attained the knowledge of thee, the God of angels and principalities, and of all creation, and of all the just who live in thy sight, I bless thee that thou hast counted me worthy of this day and of this hour, to receive my portion among the number of martyrs in the cup of Christ, for the resurrection and eternal life both of soul and body, in the incorruption of the Holy Ghost; among whom may I be received before thee this day, as a sacrifice well-savoured and acceptable, which thou the faithful and true God hast prepared, promised beforehand, and fulfilled accordingly. Wherefore I praise thee for all things, I bless thee, I glorify thee, through the eternal High-Priest, Jesus Christ, thy well-beloved Son; through whom to thee with him, in the Holy Spirit, be glory, both now and for ever. Amen."

As soon as he had uttered the word "Amen," and finished his prayer, the officers lighted the fire; and a great flame bursting out, we, to whom it was given to see it, and who were also reserved to relate to others what happened, we saw a wonder. For the flame, forming the appearance of an arch, as the sail of a vessel filled with wind, surrounded, as with a wall, the body of the martyr; which was in the midst, not as burning flesh, but as gold and silver refining in the furnace. We received also in our nostrils such a fragrance as proceeds from frankincense or some other precious perfume. At length the wicked people, observing that his body could not be consumed with the fire, ordered the confector¹ to approach, and to plunge his sword into his body. Upon this such a quantity of blood gushed out, that the fire was extinguished; and all the multitude were astonished to see this difference providentially made between the unbelievers and the elect, of whom this most admirable man was one, the last surviving apostolical and prophetic teacher in our times, having been the bishop of the catholic church of Smyrna; for whatever he spoke, both has been and shall be accomplished. But the envious, malignant, and spiteful enemy of the just, observing the gloriousness of his martyrdom, and the blamelessness of his life, even from his youth up, and knowing that he was now crowned with immortality, and had received the prize of unquestionable victory, studied to prevent us from obtaining his poor body, though many of us longed to do so, that we might have communion with his sacred remains.² For some persons suggested to Nicetes, the father of Herod and the brother of Alce,³ to go to the proconsul, and entreat him not to deliver the body to the Christians, "lest," said they, "leaving the crucified one, they should begin to worship him." And they said these things upon the suggestions and arguments of the Jews, who also watched us when we were going to take the body from the pile: unacquainted indeed with our views, viz. that it is not possible for us to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of all who are to be saved⁴ of the human race, nor ever to worship any other. For Him, as being the Son of God, we worship; but the martyrs, as disciples and followers of the Lord, we love,⁵ and that justly, on account of the distinguished affection which they bore toward their King and Master. And may we be ranked at last in their number! The centurion, perceiving the malevolence of the Jews, placed the body in the midst of the fire, and burned it. Then we gathered up his bones—more precious than gold and jewels—and deposited them in a proper place, where, if possible, we shall meet, and the Lord will grant us in gladness and joy to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, both in commemoration of those who have wrestled before us, and for the instruction and confirmation of those who come after.

Thus much concerning the blessed Polycarp, who, together with eleven Philadelphians, was crowned with martyrdom at Smyrna; who alone is so pre-eminently famous among all men, that even the heathens everywhere make mention of him.

(1) "Confeator," an officer whose business it was, in the Roman games, to dispatch any beast that was unruly or dangerous.—Ed.

(2) This is explained from Optatus, by Valesius, "offerre ad sepulchra martyrum;" but this does not imply relic "worship." Vide Chemnitz "Examen Conc. Trident." pars iii. loc. 4, sect. v. § 9; and pars iv. loc. 1, sect. iii. § 5.—Ed.

(3) Alce, probably the christian woman who is spoken of with honour in Ignatius's epistle to the Smyrnæans.

(4) "As many, I mean, as are elected to salvation:" this is Foxe's translation of the word *σολομένων*, rendered in the English Bible, more correctly, "such as should be saved," Acts ii. 47. "Servandorum" is the translation in the Magdeburg Centuriators, cent. ii. col. 27, edit. 1624.—Ed.

(5) Mark what he saith; we love them, and worship them not.

Thus have you heard, out of the epistle of the brethren of Smyrna, the whole order and life of Polycarp : whereby it may appear that he was a very aged man, who had served Christ eighty-six years since the first knowledge of him, and served also in the ministry about the space of seventy years. This Polycarp was the scholar and hearer of John the evangelist, and was placed by the said John in Smyrna. Of him also Ignatius maketh mention in his epistle, which he wrote in his journey to Rome, going toward his martyrdom, and commendeth to him the government of his church at Antioch, whereby it appeareth that Polycarp was then in the ministry. Likewise Irenæus writeth of the said Polycarp after this manner : " He always taught," said he, " those things which he had learned of the apostles (leaving them to the church), and which are alone true. Whereunto also all the churches that be in Asia, and all they which succeeded after Polycarp, to this day, bear witness."¹ And the same Irenæus witnesseth also that the said Polycarp wrote an epistle to the Philippians,² which whether it be the same that is now extant and read in the name of Polycarp, it is doubted of some : notwithstanding in the said epistle divers things are found very wholesome and apostolic : as where he teacheth of Christ, of judgment, and of the resurrection. Also he writeth of faith very worthily, thus declaring, that by grace we are saved, and not by works, but in the will of God by Jesus Christ.

In Eusebius³ we read in like manner a part of an epistle written by Irenæus to Florinus, wherein is declared, how that the said Irenæus, being yet young, was with Polycarp in Asia ; and at what time he wrote, well remembered what Polycarp did, and the place where he sat teaching, his whole order of life, and the proportion of his body, with the sermons which he uttered to the people. And furthermore, he perfectly remembered, how that the said Polycarp oftentimes reported unto him those things which he had heard them speak concerning the Lord's doings, power, and doctrine, who heard the Word of Life with their own ears, all which [things] were consonant and agreeable to the holy scripture. This, with much more, hath Irenæus concerning Polycarp.

Jerome also, writing of the same Polycarp,⁴ hath, how he was in great estimation throughout all Asia, for that he was scholar to the apostles, and to them who did see and were conversant with Christ himself : whereby it is to be conjectured his authority was great, not only with them of his own church, but with all other churches about him.

Irenæus, in his book against heresies, and Eusebius⁵ in his Ecclesiastical History, report this worthy saying of Polycarp : " This Polycarp," saith he, " meeting at a certain time Marcion, the heretic, who said to him, ' Dost thou not know me ? ' made answer, ' I know that thou art the first-begotten of Satan.' " So great fear what evil might ensue thereof, had the disciples of the apostles, that they would not even speak to those whom they knew to be depravers of the verity, even as St. Paul saith : " A heretic, after the first and second admonition, shun and avoid, knowing that he which is such a one, is perverse and sinneth, and damneth himself."

(1) Iren. lib. iii. cap. 3, as quoted by Eusebius. — Ed. (2) Iren. ibid. Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 36. — Ed.

(3) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 20.

(4) Jerom. De Viris Illust. cap. 27. — Ed.

(5) Ex Irenæo, lib. iii. cap. 3 ; et Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 14. — Ed.

*The
Fourth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
161
to
180.

Old age of
Polycarp.

Polycarp
the schol-
ar of
John.

Epistle of
Polycarp
to the Phi-
liippians.

Justifica-
tion by
faith.

Irenæus
conver-
sant with
Polycarp.

Polycarp
conver-
sant with
the apo-
stles.

The au-
thority of
Polycarp
in the
churches
of Asia.

*The
Fourth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
161
to
180.

Comes to
Rome,
and con-
ferreth
with Ani-
cetus.
The East
and Ro-
man
church
differ
about
Easter-
day.
Differ-
ence of
Jeremo-
nies caus-
ed no
breach of
charity in
the pri-
mitive
church.
A. D. 169.

Socrates
deceived
in his
history.

Metrodo-
rus.
Pionius.

Over and besides, it is witnessed by the said Irenæus, that Polycarp came to Rome in the time of Anicetus, bishop of Rome, about the year of our Lord 160, in the reign of Antoninus Pius: the cause of his coming thither appeareth to be about the controversy of Easter-day, wherein the Asians and the Romans something disagreed among themselves. And therefore the said Polycarp, in the behalf of the brethren and church of Asia, took his long journey thither, to come and confer with Anicetus. Whereof writeth also Nicephorus,¹ declaring, that Polycarp and Anicetus something varied in opinions and judgment about that matter, and yet, that notwithstanding, both friendly communicated either with the other, insomuch that Anicetus, in his church, gave place to Polycarp, to minister the communion and sacrament of the Lord's supper, for honour sake. Which may be a notable testimony now to us, that the doctrine concerning the free use and liberty of ceremonies, was at that time retained in the church without any offence of stomach, or breach of christian peace in the church.

This Polycarp (as is above mentioned) suffered his martyrdom even in his own church at Smyrna, where he had laboured so many years in planting of the gospel of Christ; which was in the fourth persecution after Nero,² when Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Ælius Verus reigned, A. D. 167, as the abbot of Ursperg³ affirmeth; and in the year 169, and the seventh of M. Antoninus, as Eusebius witnesseth in his Chronicles;⁴ the seventh day before the kalends of March;⁵ whereby it appeareth that Socrates (cited in the "*Historia Tripartita*") was much deceived, saying, that Polycarp suffered in the time of Gordian.⁶

In this fourth persecution, besides Polycarp and others mentioned before, we read also in Eusebius of divers others, who about the same time likewise did suffer at Smyrna.⁷

Of Germanicus mention is made above, in the story of Polycarp, of whom writeth Eusebius,⁸ noting him to be a young man, and most constantly to persevere in the profession of Christ's doctrine; whom when the proconsul wanted to persuade to remember his youth, and to spare himself, being in the flower of his age, he would not be allured; but constantly and boldly, and of his own accord, incited and provoked the wild beasts to come upon him, and to devour him, that he might be delivered more speedily out of this wretched life.

Over and besides, in the same persecution suffered moreover Metrodorus, a minister, who was given to the fire, and so consumed. Another was worthy Pionius, who, after much boldness of speech, with his apologies exhibited, and his orations made to the people in

(1) Niceph. lib. iv. cap. 39. [See rather Irenæus, apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. cap. 24.—Ed.]

(2) Baronius places the martyrdom under the year 169; and the Alexandrine Chronicle (cited in the note of Pagl) fixes the *very day* (vii. Cal. Ap. i. e. March 26), for those who delight in such exactitude. See Baron. "*Annal. Eccles.*" tom. ii. p. 241, edit. Lucæ, 1738; also *supra*, p. 132, note 3.—Ed.

(3) Conrad à Lichtenaw, abbot of Ursperg, whose chronicle is often made use of by Foxe. He died in the thirteenth century; but the chronicle, though well spoken of by Meusel, (p. 77), is supposed to have little of his hand in it.—Ed.

(4) The date is so described in the Chronicle of Eusebius, as translated into Latin by Jerome. A. D. 169, however, is really the *ninth* of Marcus Antoninus.—Ed.

(5) *i. e.* February 23d, the day on which his martyrdom is commemorated in the Greek martyrology. It does not however at all follow (as Pagl observes) that this was the real day. See *supra*, note (2).—Ed.

(6) Hist. Tripart. lib. ix. cap. 38.—Ed.

(7) Ex Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iv. cap. 15.

(7) Euseb. lib. iv. esp. 15.

the defence of christian faith, and after much relieving and comforting of such as were in prisons and otherwise discomfited, at last was put to cruel torments and afflictions; then given likewise to the fire, and so finished his blessed testimony.

Beside these also suffered Carpus, Papylus, and Agathonica, a woman; who, after their most constant and worthy confessions, were put to death at Pergamos, in Asia, as witnesseth Eusebius.¹

Under the said Antoninus Verus, and in the same persecution, which raged not in Rome and Asia only, but in other countries also, suffered the glorious and most constant martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, two cities in France; giving to Christ a glorious testimony, and to all christian men a spectacle or example of singular constancy and fortitude in Christ our Saviour. The history of whom, because it is written and set forth by their own churches, where they did suffer, mentioned in Eusebius,² I thought here to express the same in the form and effect of their own words, as there is to be seen. The title of which their epistle, written to the brethren of Asia and Phrygia, thus beginneth:—

*The
Fourth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
161
to
180.

*Martyrs.
The per-
secution
in Lyons
and Vien-
ne, two
cities in
France*

A Letter of the Brethren of France, in the Cities of Vienne and Lyons, to the Brethren of Asia and Phrygia.

The servants of Christ, inhabiting the cities of Vienne and Lyons, in France, to the brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, having the same faith and hope of redemption with us: peace, grace, and glory from God the Father, and from Christ Jesus our Lord.³

We are not competent to describe with accuracy in words or in writing, the greatness of the affliction sustained here by the saints, the intense animosity of the heathen against them, and the complicated sufferings of the blessed martyrs. The grand enemy assaulted us with all his might; and by his first essays, exhibited intentions of exercising malice without limits and without control. He left no method untried to habituate his slaves to his bloody work, and to prepare them by previous exercises against the servants of God. Christians were absolutely prohibited from appearing in any houses except their own, in baths, in the market, or in any public place whatever. The grace of God, however, fought for us, preserving the weak and exposing the strong; who, like pillars, were able to withstand him in patience and to draw the whole fury of the wicked against themselves. These entered into the contest and sustained every species of pain and reproach. What was heavy to others, to them was light, while they were hastening to Christ; evincing indeed, that "the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us." The first trial was from the people at large; shouts, blows, the dragging of their bodies, the plundering of their goods, casting of stones, and the confining of them within their own houses, and all the indignities which may be expected from a fierce and outrageous multitude, these were magnanimously sustained. And now, being led into the forum by the tribune and the magistrates, they were examined before all the people, whether they were Christians; and on pleading guilty, were shut up in prison till the arrival of the governor. Before him they were at length brought; and he treated us with great savageness of manners. The spirit of Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren, was roused—a man full of charity both to God and man—whose conduct was so exemplary, though but a youth, that he might justly be compared to old Zacharias; for he "walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless;" a man ever unwearied in acts of beneficence to his neighbours, full of zeal towards God, and fervent in spirit. He could not

*Vettius
Epagathus,
martyr.*

(1) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 15.

(2) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 1.

(3) The translation of this letter in Milner's Church History (vol. i. p. 224) being very superior to Foxe's, has been here substituted for it, with a few variations.—Ed.

The
Fourth
Persecu-
tion.

A. D.
161
to
180.

The
stoutness
of a godly
young
man.

The
fainting
of certain
weak
Chris-
tians.

False
slanders
against
the Chris-
tians.

The rage
of the
heathen
against
the Chris-
tians.

The cruel
handling
and great
patience
of Blan-
dina.

Sanctus,
a martyr.

bear to see so manifest a perversion of justice ; but, being moved with indignation, he demanded to be heard in behalf of the brethren, and pledged himself to prove that there was nothing atheistic or impious among them. Those about the tribunal shouted against him. He was a man of quality ; and the governor, being vexed and irritated by so equitable a demand from such a person, only asked him if he were a Christian ; and this he confessed in the most open manner :—the consequence was, that he was ranked amongst the martyrs. He was called indeed, the Advocate of the Christians ; but he had an advocate within, the Holy Spirit, more abundantly than Zacharias, which he demonstrated by the fulness of his charity, cheerfully laying down his life in defence of his brethren ; for he was, and is still, a genuine disciple of Christ, “following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.”

The rest began now to be proved.¹ The capital martyrs appeared indeed ready for the contest, and discharged their part with all alacrity of mind. Others seemed not so ready ; but rather, unexercised, and as yet weak and unable to sustain the shock of such a contest : of these, ten in number lapsed, whose case filled us with great and unmeasurable sorrow, and dejected the spirits of those who had not yet been apprehended, who, though they sustained all indignities, yet deserted not the martyrs in their distress. Then we were all much alarmed because of the uncertain event of confession ; not that we dreaded the torments with which we were threatened, but because we looked forward to the end, and feared the danger of apostasy. Persons were now apprehended daily of such as were counted worthy to fill up the number of the lapsed, so that the most excellent were selected from the two churches, even those by whose labours they had been founded and established. There were seized at the same time some of our heathen servants,—for the governor had openly ordered us and ours all to be examined,—who, by the impulse of Satan, and fearing the torments which they saw inflicted on the saints ; at the suggestion of the soldiers, accused us of eating human flesh, and of various unnatural crimes, and of things not fit even to be mentioned or imagined, and such as ought not to be believed of mankind.

These things being commonly reported, all were incensed even to madness against us ; so that if some were formerly more moderate on account of any connexions of blood, affinity or friendship, they were then transported beyond all bounds with indignation. Now was it that our Lord's word was fulfilled, “The time will come when, whosoever killeth you, will think that he doeth God service.” The holy martyrs now sustained tortures which exceed the powers of description ; Satan labouring by means of these tortures, to extort something slanderous against Christianity. The whole fury of the multitude, the governor, and the soldiers, was spent in a particular manner on Sanctus of Vienne, the deacon, and on Maturus, a late convert indeed, but a magnanimous wrestler in spiritual things ; and on Attalus of Pergamos, a man who had ever been a pillar and support of our church ; and lastly on Blandina, through whom Christ showed that those things that appear unsightly and contemptible among men are most honourable in the presence of God, on account of love to his name exhibited in real energy, and not in boasting and pompous pretences. For—while we all feared ; and among the rest while her mistress according to the flesh, who herself was one of the noble army of martyrs, dreaded that she would not be able to witness a good confession, because of the weakness of her body ;—Blandina was endued with so much fortitude, that those who successively tortured her from morning to night, were quite worn out with fatigue, and owned themselves conquered and exhausted of their whole apparatus of tortures, and were amazed to see her still breathing whilst her body was torn and laid open : they confessed that any single species of the torture would have been sufficient to dispatch her, much more so great a variety as had been applied. But the blessed woman, as a generous wrestler, recovered fresh vigour in the act of confession ; and it was an evident refreshment, support, and an annihilation of all her pains, to say—“I am a Christian, and no evil is committed among us.”

In the mean time Sanctus, having sustained in a manner more than human the most barbarous indignities, while the impious hoped to extort from him

(1) Valesius thinks that the original *δεικνόντο* is a *vox athletica*, and should be translated—“Now after this the rest began to be proved.” Vid. not. in loc.—Ed.

something injurious to the gospel, through the duration and intenseness of his sufferings, resisted with so much firmness, that he would neither tell his own name, nor that of his nation or state, nor whether he was a freeman or a slave; but to every interrogatory he answered in Latin, "I am a Christian." This, he repeatedly owned, was to him both name, and country, and family, and every thing; and nothing else could the heathen draw from him. Hence the indignation of the governor and of the torturers was fiercely levelled against this holy person, so that having exhausted all the usual methods of torture, they at last clapped brazen plates to the most tender parts of his body. These were made red hot for the purpose of scorching him, and yet he remained upright and inflexible, and firm in his confession; being, no doubt, bedewed and refreshed by the heavenly fountain of the water of life which flows from Christ. His body witnessed indeed the ghastly tortures which he had sustained, being one continued wound and bruise, altogether contracted, and no longer retaining the form of a human creature. In this man the view of Christ suffering wrought great marvels, confounded the adversary, and showed for the encouragement of the rest, that nothing is to be feared where the love of the Father is; and that nothing is painful where the glory of Christ is exhibited. For when, after some days, the impious had renewed his tortures and imagined that a fresh application of the same method of punishment to his wounds, now swollen and inflamed, must either overcome his constancy, or, by dispatching him on the spot, strike a terror into the rest (as he could not even bear to be touched by the hand), this was so far from being the case, that, contrary to all expectation, his body recovered its natural position in the second course of torture; he was restored to his former shape and to the use of his limbs; so that, by the grace of Christ, this cruelty proved not a punishment, but a cure.

One of those who had denied Christ was Biblias, a female. Satan imagining that he had now devoured her, and desirous to augment her condemnation, by inducing her to accuse the Christians falsely, caused her to be led to the torture; and supposing her to be a weak and timorous creature, tempted her to charge us with horrid impieties. But in her torture she recovered herself, and awoke as out of a deep sleep, being admonished by a temporary punishment of the danger of eternal fire in hell; and, in opposition to the impious, she said, "How can we eat infants,—we, to whom it is not lawful to eat the blood of beasts?" And now she professed herself a Christian, and was added to the army of martyrs.

The power of Christ, manifested in the patience of his people, had now exhausted the usual artifices of torment; and the devil was driven to new resources. Christians were thrust into the darkest and most noisome parts of the prison: their feet were distended in the stocks, even to the fifth hole; and in this situation they suffered all the indignities which diabolical malice could inflict. Hence many of them were suffocated in prison, whom the Lord, showing forth his own glory, was pleased thus to take to himself. The rest, though afflicted to such a degree as to seem scarcely capable of recovery under the kindest treatment, destitute as they were of all help and support, yet remained alive, strengthened by the Lord, and confirmed both in mind and body: and these encouraged and comforted the rest.

Some young persons who had been lately seized, and whose bodies had been unexercised with sufferings, being unequal to the severity of the confinement, expired. The blessed Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, upwards of ninety years of age, and very infirm and asthmatic, yet strong in spirit, and panting after martyrdom, was dragged before the tribunal: his body was worn out indeed with age and disease; yet he retained a soul through which Christ might triumph. Borne by the soldiers to the tribunal, and attended by the magistrates and all the multitude, shouting against him as if he were Christ himself, he made a good confession. Being asked by the governor who was the God of the Christians, he answered, "If ye be worthy, ye shall know." He was then unmercifully dragged about, and suffered variety of ill treatment: those who were near, insulted him with their hands and feet, and those at a distance threw at him whatever came to hand: every one looked upon himself as deficient in zeal if he did not insult him in some way or other; for thus they imagined they revenged the cause of their gods. He was thrown into prison almost breathless, and after two days expired.

*The
Fourth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
161
to
180.

*The nota-
ble con-
stancy of
Sanctus.*

*The cruel
torments
of Sanc-
tus.*

*A mira-
culous
working
of God.*

*Bibli-
ades,
a holy
martyr*

*Divers
martyrs
strangled
in prison.*

*Other
martyrs
died in
prison.
Pothinus,
a blessed
martyr.*

*The rage
of the
people
against
Pothinus.*

*The
Fourth
Persecu-
tion.*

And in the same epistle of the aforesaid brethren of France, writing to the brethren of Asia, it followeth in this manner :

A.D.
161
to
180.

And here appeared a remarkable dispensation of Providence and the immense compassion of Jesus, such indeed as is rarely exhibited among the brethren, but not foreign to the character of Christ. Many who, when first apprehended, had denied their Saviour, were, notwithstanding, shut up in prison and suffered dreadful severities, as their denial of Christ availed them not. But those who confessed him, were imprisoned as Christians, abstracted from any other charge. Now the former, as if they had been murderers and incestuous wretches, were punished much more than the rest : but the joy of martyrdom supported the latter, and the hope of the promises, and the love of Christ, and the Spirit of the Father. The former were oppressed with the pangs of guilt ; so that while they were dragged along, their very countenances distinguished them from the rest : but the faithful proceeded with cheerful steps ; their countenances shone with much grace and glory ; their bonds were as the most beautiful ornaments ; and they themselves looked as brides adorned with their richest array, breathing the fragrance of Christ so much, that some thought they had been literally perfumed. The others went on dejected, spiritless, and forlorn, and in every way disgraced, insulted even by the heathen as cowards and poltroons, and treated as murderers ; they had lost the precious, the glorious, the soul-reviving appellation. The rest observing these things, were confirmed in the faith, confessed without hesitation on their being apprehended, and would not entertain the diabolical suggestion for a moment.

The martyrs were put to death in various ways : or, in other words, they wove a chaplet of various odours and flowers, and presented it to the Father. In truth, it became the wisdom and goodness of God to appoint that his servants, after enduring a great and variegated contest, should, as victors, receive the great crown of immortality. Maturus, Sanctus, Blandina, and Attalus, were led to the wild beasts into the amphitheatre to be the common spectacle of Gentile inhumanity.

One day extraordinary of the shows being afforded to the people on our account, Maturus and Sanctus again underwent various tortures in the amphitheatre, as if they had suffered nothing before. Thus were they treated like those wrestlers, who, having conquered several times already, were obliged afresh to contend with other conquerors by fresh lots, till some one was conqueror of the whole number, and as such was crowned. Here they sustained again, as they were led to the amphitheatre, the blows usually inflicted on those who were condemned to wild beasts ; they were exposed to be dragged and torn by the beasts, and to all the barbarities which the mad populace with shouts demanded, and above all to the hot iron chair, in which their bodies were roasted and emitted a disgusting smell. Nor was this all : the persecutors raged still more, resolved, if possible, to overcome their patience. But not a word could be extorted from Sanctus besides what he first had uttered—the word of confession. These then after remaining alive a long time, expired at length, and became a spectacle to the world, equivalent to all the variety usual in the fights of gladiators.

Spiteful
handling
of God's
people.

Maturus
and Sanc-
tus mar-
tyred.

Blandina
brought
forth
again.

Blandina, suspended from a stake, was exposed as food to the wild beasts : she was seen suspended in the form of a cross and employed in vehement supplication. The sight inspired her fellow-combatants with much alacrity, while they beheld with their bodily eyes, in the person of their sister, the figure of Him who was crucified for them, that he might persuade those who believe in him, that every one who suffers for the glory of Christ, always has communion with the living God. None of the beasts at that time touched her : she was taken down from the stake and thrown again into prison, and reserved for a future contest ; that having overcome in various exercises, she might fully condemn the old serpent, and fire the brethren with a noble spirit of christian emulation. Weak and contemptible as she might be deemed, yet when clothed with Christ, the mighty and invincible champion, she became victorious over the enemy in a variety of encounters, and was crowned with immortality.

Attalus.

Attalus also was vehemently demanded by the multitude, for he was a person of great reputation among us. He advanced in all the cheerfulness

and serenity of a good conscience;—an experienced Christian, and ever ready and active in bearing testimony to the truth. He was led round the amphitheatre, and a tablet carried before him, inscribed in Latin “This is Attalus the Christian.” The rage of the people would have had him dispatched immediately; but the governor, understanding that he was a Roman, ordered him back to prison: and concerning him and others, who could plead the same privilege of Roman citizenship, he wrote to the emperor and waited for his instructions.

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The interval which this circumstance occasioned was not unfruitful to the church.—The unbounded compassion of Christ appeared in the patience of many. Dead members were restored to life by means of the living; and the martyrs became singularly serviceable to the lapsed; and thus the church rejoiced to receive her sons returning to her bosom, for by these means most of those who had denied Christ were recovered and dared to profess their Saviour: they felt again the divine life in their souls: they approached to the tribunal; and their God who willeth not the death of a sinner, being again precious to their souls, they desired a fresh opportunity of being interrogated by the governor.

*The
deniers
returning
again to
their con-
fession.*

Cæsar sent orders that the confessors of Christ should be put to death; and that the apostates from their divine Master should be dismissed.—It was now the general assembly held annually at Lyons and frequented from all parts; and this was the time when the christian prisoners were again exposed to the populace. The governor again interrogated. Roman citizens had the privilege of dying by decollation; the rest were exposed to wild beasts; and now it was that our Redeemer was magnified in those who had apostatized. They were interrogated separate from the rest, as persons soon to be dismissed, and made a confession to the surprise of the Gentiles, and were added to the list of martyrs. A small number still remained in apostasy; but they were those who possessed not the least spark of divine faith, had not the least acquaintance with the riches of Christ in their souls, and had no fear of God before their eyes; whose life had brought reproach on Christianity; and had evidenced them to be the children of perdition; but all the rest were added to the church.

During their examination, a man who had lived many years in France, and was generally known for his love of God and zealous regard for divine truth, a person of apostolical endowments, a physician by profession, a Phrygian by nation, and named Alexander, stood near the tribunal, and by his gestures encouraged them to profess the faith. He appeared to all who surrounded the tribunal as one who travailed in much pain on their account. And now the multitude, incensed at the christian integrity exhibited at the conclusion by the lapsed, made a clamour against Alexander as the cause of this change. Upon which the governor ordered him into his presence, and asked him who he was. He declared that he was a Christian. The former in great wrath condemned him instantly to the wild beasts;—and the next day he was introduced with Attalus. For the governor, willing to gratify the people, delivered Attalus again to the wild beasts; and these two underwent all the usual methods of torture in the amphitheatre: indeed they sustained a very grievous conflict, and at length expired. Alexander neither groaned nor spake a word, but in his heart conversed with God. Attalus, sitting on the iron chair and being scorched, when the smell issued from him, said to the multitude in Latin, “This indeed which ye do is to devour men; but we devour not our fellow-creatures, nor practise any other wickedness.” Being asked what is the name of God, he answered, “God has not a name as men have.”

*Alexan-
der, the
Phrygian,
martyred.
The wor-
thy pati-
ence and
constancy
of Atta-
lus.*

On the last day of the spectacles, Blandina was again introduced with Ponticus a youth of fifteen: they had been daily brought in to see the punishment of the rest. They were ordered to swear by the idols; and the mob perceiving them to persevere immovably, and to treat their menaces with superior contempt, were incensed; and no pity was shown either to the sex of the one, or to the tender age of the other. Their tortures were now aggravated by all sorts of methods; and the whole round of barbarities was inflicted; but menaces and punishments were equally ineffectual. Ponticus, animated by his sister, who was observed by the heathen to strengthen and confirm him, after a magnanimous exertion of patience, yielded up the ghost.

*Blandina
and Pon-
ticus
again
brought
forth.*

*Ponticus
martyred.*

And now the blessed Blandina, last of all, as a generous mother having

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Blandina
martyred.

exhorted her children, and sent them before her victorious to the king, reviewing the whole series of their sufferings, hastened to undergo the same herself, rejoicing and triumphing in her exit, as if invited to a marriage supper, not as one going to be exposed to wild beasts. After she had endured stripes, the tearing of the beasts, and the iron chair, she was enclosed in a net, and thrown to a bull; and having been tossed some time by the animal, and proving quite superior to her pains, through the influence of hope, and the realizing view of the objects of her faith and her fellowship with Christ, she at length breathed out her soul. Even her enemies confessed that no woman among them had ever suffered such and so great things. But their madness against the saints was not yet satiated. For the fierce and savage tribes of men, being instigated by the ferocious enemy of mankind, were not easily softened; and they now began another peculiar war against the bodies of the saints. That they had been conquered by their patience, produced no stings of remorse: indeed the feelings of common sense and humanity appear to have been extinguished among them. Disappointment increased their fury. The governor, and the mob equally showed their ferocious malice; that the Scripture might be fulfilled "He that is unjust let him be unjust still," as well as "He that is holy let him be holy still."¹ They now exposed to dogs the bodies of those who had been suffocated in prison, and carefully watched night and day, lest any of our people should by stealth perform the funeral rites. And then exposing what had been left by the wild beasts or by the fire, relics partly mangled and partly scorched, and the heads of others with their trunks, they preserved them by military guards unburied for some days. Some gnashed on them with their teeth, desirous, if possible, to make them feel still more of their malice. Others laughed and insulted them, praising their own idols, and ascribing to them the vengeance inflicted on the martyrs. All, however, were not of this fierce mould. Yet even those who were of a gentler spirit, and who sympathized with us in some degree, upbraided us, often saying, Where is their God—and what profit did they derive from their religion, which they value above life itself? Such variety was there in the behaviour of the heathen towards us.

As for ourselves our sorrow was great, that we were deprived of the melancholy satisfaction of interring our friends. Neither did the darkness of the night friend us herein, nor could we prevail by prayers or by price. They watched the bodies with unremitting vigilance, as if to deprive them of sepulture was to them an object of great importance. The bodies of the martyrs having been contumeliously treated and exposed for six days, were burnt and reduced to ashes, and scattered by the wicked into the Rhone, that not the least particle of them might appear on the earth any more. And they did these things, as if they could prevail against God and prevent their resurrection—and that they might deter others, as they said, from the hope of a future life,—“on which relying they introduce a new and strange religion, and despise the most excruciating tortures, and die with joy. Now let us see if they will rise again, and if their God can help them and deliver them out of our hands.”²

Out of the same writing, moreover, concerning these martyrs of France afore-mentioned, is recorded also another history not unworthy to be noted, taken out of the same fifth book of Eusebius,³ which history is this:

The strict
fasting of
Alcibiades
corrected
by the
Holy
Ghost.
A lesson
for scrupulous
consciences.

“There was among these constant and blessed martyrs one Alcibiades, who led an austere kind of life, and hitherto had fed on nothing but bread and water. Being thrown into confinement he endeavoured there to practise the same austerity of life, when it was revealed to Attalus after his first conflict in the amphitheatre, that Alcibiades did not do well in not making use of God's creatures and thereby casting a stumbling-block in the way of others. Alcibiades was convinced of his mistake, and thenceforth partook without scruple of all things, and gave God thanks. A proof that in those days they were not destitute of the grace of God, but the Holy Spirit was their counsellor.”

(1) Rev. xxii. 11.

(3) Euseb: lib. v. cap. 8.

(2) Ex Epistolâ Viennensium, etc

Thus have ye heard the whole account of the blessed saints of France, Vettius, Zacharias, Sanctus, Maturus, Attalus, Blandina, Alexander, Alcibiades, with others, recorded and set forth by the writing of certain christian brethren of the same church and place of France.¹ In the which aforesaid writing of theirs, moreover, appeareth the great meekness and modest constancy of the said martyrs described in these words :

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“ Such imitators were they of Christ (who being in the form of God thought it not robbery to be equal with God, yet, etc. Phil. ii. 6) that though they were in such a height of glory, and had suffered as martyrs not once, nor twice, but often, and had been taken from the wild beasts and committed again to prison, although they had the marks of fire and the scars of stripes and wounds all over their bodies ; yet they neither declared themselves martyrs, nor would they suffer us to call them by that name. But if any of us at any time, either by letter or in discourse, called them martyrs, they censured it sharply. For they readily allowed the appellation of martyr to Christ (‘ the faithful and true witness and the first begotten of the dead and the Prince of the life of God ’) ; they commemorated also those martyrs who had already departed this life, and said, ‘ Those are now martyrs whom Christ vouchsafed to take to himself while they were making their confession, he having (as it were) sealed their testimony by their death : but we are mean and humble confessors.’ And with tears they besought the brethren to pray earnestly for them that they might be perfected. Thus they in fact exhibited the virtue of martyrdom, and manifested their noble spirit by their patience, fearlessness, and undaunted courage, but being filled with the fear of God, they deprecated the being called martyrs by the brethren.”

*The sin-
gular
modesty
of the
martyrs.*

*The holy
martyrs
refuse to
be called
martyrs.*

And after, in the said writing, it followeth more :

“ They humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God, by which they are now greatly exalted. They excused themselves to all men, but they accused no man ; they loosed all, but they bound none ; and for them which did so evil entreat them they prayed, after the example of Stephen, that perfect martyr, ‘ O Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.’ ”

And after, again :

“ They did not proudly triumph over those that fell ; but bestowed on the indigent among them those good things of which they had a superabundance, having motherly bowels of compassion, pouring forth many tears for them to their heavenly Father. They sought life for themselves, and he gave it them, and so they were ready to communicate it to others. They went to God, victors over all ; having always loved peace, and continually recommended it, they departed in peace to God ; leaving no grief to their mother, no faction or dissension among the brethren, but joy, peace, concord, and love.”

The aforesaid martyrs of France at the same time commended Irenæus, newly then made minister, with their letters unto Eleutherius bishop of Rome, as witnesseth Eusebius, in the fourth chapter of the said fifth book ; which Irenæus first was the hearer of Polycarp, then made minister (as is said) under these martyrs : and, after their death, made bishop afterwards of Lyons in France, and succeeded after Pothinus.

*Irenæus
newly
made mi-
nister,
and com-
mended to
Eleu-
therius.*

Besides the before-named good Justin, there was also about the same time in Asia, Claudius Apollinaris or Appollinarius, bishop of Hierapolis, and also Melito, Bishop of Sardis, an eloquent and learned man, much commended of Tertullian ; who, succeeding after the time of the apostles, in the reign of this Antoninus Verus, exhibited unto him learned and eloquent apologies in defence of Christ’s religion ; like as Quadratus and Aristides above mentioned did unto the

*Apolli-
naris and
Melito
exhibited
apologies
to the
emperor
for the
Chris-
tians.*

(1) Ex Euseb. lib. v. cap. 2.

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The sum
of the
Apology
of Melito.

emperor Adrian, whereby they moved him somewhat to st. rage of his persecution. In like manner did this Apollinaris .d Melito (stirred up by God) adventure to defend in writing the cause of the Christians unto this Antoninus. Of this Melito Eusebius in his fourth book maketh mention,¹ and excerpteth certain places of his Apology, in these words, as followeth :²

" Now," saith he, " which was never seen before, the godly suffer persecution, by occasion of certain edicts proclaimed throughout Asia : for impudent informers, covetous of other men's goods, taking occasion from those proclamations, rob openly, night and day, spoiling innocent persons of their goods."

And it followeth after :

The
christian
religion
began
with the
empire of
Rome.

Christian
religion
maketh
common
weals to
flourish.

" Now if all this be done by your command, let it stand good. For a just emperor can never authorize anything that is unjust, and we will cheerfully submit to the honour of such a death. This only we humbly crave of you, that you would first take cognizance yourself of those who manifest such determination under all their trials, and then decide impartially whether they deserve punishment and death, or to live in peace and quietness. But if these proceedings and this new edict (too bad to be enacted even against barbarian enemies) do not proceed from you, then we the more earnestly beseech you not to permit us any longer to be infested with these public rapines. For the system which we profess first flourished among the barbarians.³ Afterward, in the reign of the great Augustus your progenitor it began to flourish in the Roman provinces, and proved a most fortunate omen for the rising empire. For from that time the power of Rome was greatly aggrandized. To which prosperous state of affairs you have happily succeeded, and shall continue, together with your son; if you will but defend that religion which was nursed up together with the empire, and which began under the reign of the great Augustus, and which your ancestors honoured together with other religions. And verily this is no small proof of the connexion between the success of our religion and the prosperity of your happily begun empire, viz. that from the time of Augustus no untoward accident has occurred, but on the contrary brilliant success and glory have crowned all the public measures, agreeably to the wishes of all men. Only Nero and Domitian (and they—influenced thereto by certain ill-natured persons) endeavoured to bring our religion under reproach; from whom the fashion of malicious detraction was propagated to succeeding times, agreeably to irrational usage in such cases. But your pious predecessors corrected their mistake, and frequently by rescripts reprov'd such as audaciously attempted to behave insolently towards us. Among whom your grandfather Adrian wrote to Fundanus proconsul of Asia, and many others; and your father (at the time when you were his colleague in the empire) wrote to the cities that they should not raise tumults nor commit any insolencies against us, particularly to the Larisseans, to the Thessalonians, to the Athenians, and to all the Greeks. The more confidently, then, do we persuade ourselves that you (who retain the same opinion of us as they held, yea, who are much more graciously and thoughtfully disposed) will do all that we request of you."

The
books of
the Old
Testa-
ment au-
thentic
and re-
ceived.

Thus much out of the Apology of Melito, who, writing to Onesimus, giveth to us this benefit; to know the true catalogue and the names of all the authentic books of the Old Testament, received in the ancient time of the primitive church. Concerning the number and names whereof, the said Melito in his letter to Onesimus declareth; how that he, returning into the parts where these things were done and preached, there he diligently inquired out the books approved of the Old Testament, the names whereof in order he subscribeth, and sendeth unto him as followeth : the five books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Joshua; Judges;

(1) Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. l. iv. cap. 26.—Ed.

(2) The following are new translations.—Ed.

(3) i. e. the Jews, as Valesius explains.

Ruth; Four Books of Kings; Two Books of Chronicles; the Psalms of David; the Proverbs of Solomon, called also the Book of Wisdom;¹ the Preacher; the Song of Songs; Job; the books of the Prophets Esay, Jeremy; Twelve Prophets in one book; Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras. And thus much of this matter which I thought here to record, for it is not unprofitable for these latter times to understand what in the first times was received and admitted as authentic, and what otherwise.

But from this little digression, to return to our matter omitted; that is, to the Apologies of Apollinarius and Melito, in the story so it followeth; that whether it was by the occasion of these two Apologies, or whether it was through the writing of Athenagoras, a philosopher, and a legate of the Christians, it is uncertain: but this is certain, that the persecution the same time was stayed. Some do think, which most probably seems to touch the truth, that the cause of staying this persecution did arise upon a wonderful miracle of God showed in the emperor's camp by the Christians, the story whereof is this. At what time the emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus² warred against the Quadi, Vandals, Sarmatians, and Germans, in the expedition against them, his army, by reason of the imminent assault of the enemy, was cooped and shut in within the straits and hot dry places, where his soldiers, besides other difficulties of battle, being destitute of water five days, were like to have perished; which dread not a little discomfited them, and abated their courage; whereupon, in this so great distress and jeopardy, the christian soldiers suddenly withdrew from the army for their succour; who, falling prostrate upon the earth, by ardent prayer by and by obtained of God double relief: by means of whom, God gave certain pleasant showers from the sky whereby as their soldiers quenched their thirst, so were a great number of their enemies discomfited and put to flight by continual lightnings which shot out of the air. This miracle so pleased and won the emperor, that, ever after, he waxed gentler and gentler to the Christians, and directed his letters to divers of his rulers (as Tertullian in his Apology witnesseth), commanding them therein to give thanks to the Christians, no less for his victory, than for the preservation of him and all his men.³ The copy of which letter ensueth:

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A mira-
culous
rain ob-
tained by
the Chris-
tians.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Emperor, to the Senate and People of Rome.⁴

This is to inform you of my efforts and successes in the German war, also of the difficulties to which I was once reduced in the enemy's territory, being

(1) Σολομώνος Παροιμίας, ἡ καὶ Σοφία. Euseb.—Ed.

(2) Foxe erroneously ascribes this expedition to both M. Antoninus and his brother. See p. 146, note 4.—Ed.

(3) Ex Eusebio, lib. v. cap. 5.

(4) The letter, attributed to Aurelius, may be seen in Greek, in Justin's Apolog. i. § 71; and, in Latin, in the Magdeburg Centuriators, cent. ii. cap. 3, col. 18, edit. 1624. "Plerique prodigii fidem probaturi provocarunt ad literas Imperatoris, quibus senatum populumque Romanum, non sine insigni Christianorum elogio, de re tanta certiores facit, quarum literarum ἀπόγραφον exstat ad calcem Apolog. post. Justin! Mart. in quibus Christianorum innocentiae tam clementer prospexit, ut damnationem, gravissimasque penas accusatoribus intenter t. Non desunt tamen, qui de tali edicto in Christianorum favorem, ea occasione, anno Marci XIV. (in quem refertur bellum Quadicum) sancto, valde dubitant, quia mox post Germanicam sitim tam mirabiliter depulsam, anno videlicet Marci XVII. innumera Christianorum multitudo questionibus atque suppliciis subjecta fuit, in Gallia cumprimis Lugdunensi, apud Euseb. H. E. lib. v. c. 1. Quinimo ipsas literas, quæ attexuntur Apologiæ secundæ Justin! M. vel supposititias esse vel certe interpolatas, summa consensione docent eruditissimi viri, Scaliger, Salsmasius, Blondellus, Huettius, Pagius, Witsius, et Fr. Spanhemius; in quorum sententiam ego eo libenter concedo, quo clariora verbiar indicia in iis se produnt, sive ipsum argumentum, sive barbariem styl! attendas, unde manifeste apparet, eas non ab ipso Imperatore Græce dictatas, aut ex Latino ipsius in Græcum

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hemmed in by seventy-four dragons.¹ When within nine miles of us, the scouts gave notice that they were approaching, and Pompeianus, my lieutenant-general, sent me word that they were in sight. I, therefore, thought no less but to be overwhelmed, I and my army—consisting of the first and tenth legions, the double legion, and the legion of the Euphrates²—by such an immense multitude, numbering nine-hundred-and-seventy-five thousand armed men. Seeing that my forces bore no comparison in point of numbers to the enemy, I betook myself in prayer to our national deities for assistance; gaining no answer from them, and being reduced to straits by the enemy, I sent for the people we call Christians. On being mustered they were found to be pretty numerous. I vented my fury at them in a manner they little deserved, as I afterward learned from experience of their marvellous power. They presently fell to work, not with weapons, armour, and trumpets, a mode of preparation from which they are abhorrent, being contented with the God whom they carry about with them in their consciences. And really it does seem—though we account them atheists—that they have a God in their breasts, and one who is able to defend: for falling prostrate on the ground, they interceded both for me and my army, imploring succour under our pressing need of water and provision: for it was the fifth day of our being without water, and we were in an enemy's country, in the very heart of Germany. Scarcely had they fallen prostrate on their faces, and poured forth prayers to a God unknown to me, when suddenly there descended from the sky—on us a most cool and refreshing rain, but on our enemies hail mixt with lightning; insomuch that we at once perceived, that a most potent God had interposed irresistibly in our favour. Wherefore, we hereby grant full toleration to these people, lest peradventure by their prayers they should procure some like interposition *against* us. And I forbid, in virtue of my imperial authority, that the profession of Christianity be objected to any man for a crime. And if any one shall accuse a Christian merely on the ground that he is such, I desire that the accused be acquitted, though he confess to the charge, provided nothing else be objected to him but his religion; but let his accuser be burnt alive. Nor do I wish a confessed and proved Christian to be urged by the proconsul of the province to change his religion, but that he should be left to his own choice. And this my decree I wish to be ratified by a decree of the senate; and I charge Verasius Pollio, prefect of the city, to take care that it be hung up publicly to be read, in Trajan's forum, and that it be transmitted into all the provinces. I also give free leave to all persons to transcribe and use this edict, taking it from our attested copy publicly hung up in the forum.³

Thus the tempestuous rage of persecution against the Christians began for a time to assuage, partly by the occasion hereof, partly also upon other causes incident, compelling the enemies to surcease their persecution; as—great plagues and pestilence lying upon the country of Italy; likewise great wars, as well in the east parts, as also in Italy and France; terrible earthquakes, great floods, noisome swarms of flies and vermin devouring their corn-fields, etc. And thus much of things done under Antoninus Verus; which Antoninus, in the beginning of his reign, joined with him in the government of the empire, his brother Lucius Ælius Verus, who also was with him at the miraculous victory gotten by the Christians, as Eusebius recordeth.⁴ Contrary, Platina, in “*Vita Soteris*,” and Matthew of

Antoni-
nus and
Commo-
dus, em-
perors.
The dis-
crepancy
between
Eusebius
and
Platina.

sermonem translatus; sed infra seculum Justiniani Imp. ab imperito rerum Romanarum Græculo confictas esse.”—Vid. Sal. Deglingii Observatt. Sac. pars secunda, Lipsiæ, 1737, p. 596.

(1) Rather “cohorts.” See Grabe's note in loc.—Ed.

(2) “Cum legionibus prima, decima, gemina, Euphratensique.” Any legion compounded of two others was called gemina, but especially the 13th, which had its head-quarters in Pannonia. The Euphrates legion is the same as the Cappadocian, or 12th, and was so called from its head-quarters being at Melitina, a region and city on the Euphrates, on the confines of Armenia and Cappadocia. Eusebius attributes this miracle to the legion of Melitina. He is mistaken, however, in representing it as called Fulminea from this event. See Brotier, Not. et Emend. in Taciti Hist. ii. 6. We have an allusion to Christian soldiers at Melitina, *supra* p. 119, note 3: see also under the tenth persecution, *infra* p. 229, note (2).—Ed.

(3) The above translation is made from the Latin edict in the Centuriators.—Ed.

(4) See Euseb. lib. v. cap. 5, where the affair is ascribed to “M. Aurelius Cæsar, brother to Antoninus,” in which Valesius remarks, “Graviter hic fallitur Eusebius, qui M. Aurelium fratrem fuisse ait Imp. Antonini, cum tamen unus idemque fuerit M. Aurelius Antoninus. Hujus autem

Westminster, in his book intituled "Flores Historiarum," refer the same to the time of Antoninus Verus, and his son Lucius Antoninus Commodus; and not of his brother Lucius Ælius Verus. But howsoever the truth of years doth stand, certain it is, that after the death of Marcus Antoninus Verus, and of Lucius Ælius Verus, succeeded Lucius Antoninus Commodus [A.D. 180], the son of Marcus Verus, who reigned thirty years.

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In the time of this Commodus, although he was an incommodious prince to the senators of Rome, yet notwithstanding there was some quietness universally through the whole church of Christ from persecution, by what occasion it is not certain. Some think (of whom is Xiphilinus),¹ that it came through Marcia, the emperor's concubine, who favoured the Christians. But howsoever it came, the fury of the raging enemies was then somewhat mitigated, and peace was given (saith Eusebius) by the grace of Christ unto the church, throughout the whole world; at what time, the wholesome doctrine of the gospel allured and reduced the hearts of all sorts of people unto the religion of the true God, insomuch that many, both rich and noble personages of Rome, with their whole families and households, to their salvation, adjoined themselves to the church of Christ.

Quietness
given to
the
church.

Among whom there was one Apollonius, a nobleman and a senator of Rome, mentioned in Eusebius,² who was maliciously accused unto the senate, by one whom Jerome writeth to be the servant of the said Apollonius, and nameth him Severus; but whose servant soever he was, the wretched man came soon enough before the judge, and was condignly rewarded for that his malicious diligence. For, by a law which the emperor made, that no man upon pain of death should falsely accuse the Christians, he was put to execution, and had his legs broken forthwith by the sentence of Perennis the judge, which, though a heathen man, he pronounced against him. But the beloved martyr of God, when the judge, with much ado, had obtained of him to render an account of his faith before the honourable senate, under their warrant of life he did the same, and delivered unto them an eloquent defence of the christian belief. But, the said warrant notwithstanding, he, by the decree of the senate, was beheaded, and so ended his life; for that there was an ancient law among them decreed, that none that professed Christ, and was arraigned there-for, should be released without recantation, or altering his opinion.

Apolloni-
us, mar-
tyr
Apolloni-
us ac-
cused by
his own
servant.

He exhib-
iteth an
apology of
his faith
to the
senate.

An old
wicked
law of the
Romans.

This Commodus is said in stories, to have been so sure and steady-handed in casting the dart, that in the open theatre, before the people, he would encounter with the wild beasts, and be sure to hit them in the place appointed. Among divers other his vicious and wild parts, he was so far surprised in pride and arrogancy, that he would be called Hercules; and many times would show himself to the people in the skin of a lion, to be counted thereby the king of men, like as the lion is of the beasts.

The ridi-
culous
pride of
the empe-
ror.

Upon a certain time, being his birth-day, this Commodus, calling the people of Rome together in a great royalty, having his lion's

adoptivus frater, non Marcus, sed Lucius Ælius Verus dictus est." No doubt Eusebius's text has been corrupted; for in his Chronicle he sets down this victory to the fourteenth year of M. Antoninus, four years after his brother's death.—Eo.

(1) Epitome Dionis. p. 819. Edit. Hanovizæ, 1606. Dion Cassius wrote a Roman History, in eight decads, which was epitomized by John Xiphilinus, patriarch of Constantinople. Dion died about A.D. 240, Xiphilinus A.D. 1080.

(2) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 21.—Eo.

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tion.*

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to
180.

Julius, a
senator,
converted
to Christ.

Peregrinus sent
to France,
and mar-
tyred at
Rome.

Julius,
with his
family,
baptized,
and mar-
tyred.

skin upon him, made sacrifice to Hercules and Jupiter, causing it to be cried through the city, that Hercules was the patron and defender of the city. There were the same time at Rome, Vincentius, Eusebius, Peregrinus, and Potentianus,¹ learned men, and instructors of the people, who, following the steps of the apostles, went about from place to place where the gospel was not yet preached, converting the gentiles to the faith of Christ. These, hearing the madness of the emperor and of the people, began to reprove their idolatrous blindness, teaching in villages and towns all that heard them to believe upon the one triune God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and to come away from such worshipping of devils, and to give honour to God alone, who only is to be worshipped; willing them to repent and to be baptized, lest they perish with Commodus. With this their preaching they converted one Julius, a senator, and others, to the religion of Christ. The emperor, hearing thereof, caused them to be apprehended of Vitellius his captain, and to be required to sacrifice unto Hercules and Jupiter, which when they stoutly refused, after divers grievous torments and great miracles by them done, at last they were pressed with leaden weights to death.²

This Peregrinus, above mentioned, had been sent before by Sixtus, bishop of Rome, into the parts of France, to supply there the room of a bishop and teacher, by reason that for the continual and horrible persecutions thereabout touched, those places were left desolate and destitute of ministers and instructors; where, after he had occupied himself with much fruit among the flock of Christ, and had stablished the church there, returning home again to Rome, there he finished at last (as it is said) his martyrdom.³ Now remaineth likewise to speak of Julius, which Julius being (as is touched before) a senator of Rome, and now won by the preaching of these blessed men to the faith of Christ, did eftsoons invite them, and brought them home to his house, where, being by them more fully instructed in christian religion, he believed the gospel, and sending for one Ruffinus, a priest, was with all his family by him baptized; who did not (as the common sort was wont to do) keep close and secret his faith, but, incensed with a marvellous and sincere zeal, openly professed the same; altogether wishing and praying it to be given to him by God, not only to believe in Christ, but also to hazard his life for him. Which thing the emperor hearing, how that Julius had forsaken his old religion and become a christian, forthwith sent for him to come before him; unto whom he spake on this wise: "O Julius, what madness hath possessed thee, that thus thou dost fall from the old and common religion of thy forefathers, who acknowledged and worshipped Jupiter and Hercules as their gods, and now dost embrace this new and fond religion of the Christians?" At which time Julius, having good occasion to show and open his faith, gave straightway account thereof to him, and affirmed that Hercules and Jupiter were false gods, and how the worshippers of them would perish with eternal damnation and punishments. The emperor hearing how that he condemned and despised his gods, being then

(1) Called "Pontianus" in Baronius, Ann 162, § 2.—Ed.

(2) Ex Vincentio, lib. x. cap. 119, 122, 123, et Chron. Henrici de Erfordia. [Cited by the Cent. Magdeb.—Ed.]

(3) Ex-Platina in Vitâ Sixti.

inflamed with a great wrath (as he was by nature very choleric), committed him forthwith to Vitellius, the captain of the guard, a very cruel and fierce man, either to see Julius sacrifice to mighty Hercules, or, refusing the same, to slay him. Vitellius (as he was commanded) exhorted Julius to obey the emperor's commandment, and to worship his gods, alleging how that the whole empire of Rome was not only constituted, but also preserved and maintained by them; which Julius denied utterly to do, at the same time admonishing sharply Vitellius to acknowledge the true God, and obey his commandments, lest he, with his master, should die some grievous death; whereat Vitellius, being moved, caused Julius with cudgels to be beaten unto death.

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tion.*

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These things being thus briefly recited, touching such holy martyrs as hitherto have suffered, now remaineth that we return again to the order of the Roman bishops, such as followed next after Alexander, at whom we left off; whose successor next was Xistus or Sixtus, the sixth bishop, counted after Peter, who governed the church the space of ten years; as Damasus and others do write. Uspergensis maketh mention but of nine years. Platina recordeth that he died a martyr, and was buried at the Vatican.¹ But Eusebius, speaking of his decease, maketh no word or mention of any martyrdom. In the second tome of the Councils, certain epistles be attributed to him, whereof Eusebius, Damasus, Jerome, and other old authors, as they make no relation, so seem they to have no intelligence nor knowledge of any such matter. In these counterfeit epistles, and in Platina, it appeareth that Sixtus was the first author of these ordinances: First, that the holy mysteries and holy vessels, should be touched but only of persons holy and consecrated, especially of no woman. Item, that the corporas-cloth should be made of no other cloth but of fine linen. Item, that such bishops as were called up to the apostolic see, returning home again, should not be received at their return, unless they brought with them letters from the bishop of Rome, saluting the people. Item, at the celebration, he ordained to be sung this verse, "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth." And here (by the way) it is to be noted, that the said Platina,² in the life of this Sixtus, doth testify that Peter ministered the celebration of the communion only with the Lord's Prayer. These trifling ordinances of Sixtus,³ who is so rude that seeth not, or may not easily conjecture them to be falsely fathered on Sixtus, or on any father of that time? First, by the uniform rudeness and style of all those decretal letters, nothing savouring of that age, but rather of the latter Dunstical times that followed; also, by the matter and argument in those letters contained, nothing agreeing with the state of those troublesome days. Neither again is it to be supposed, that any such recourse of bishops was then to the apostolical see of Rome, that it was not lawful to return without their letters; when the persecution against the Christians was then so hot, in the days of Adrian, that the bishops of Rome themselves were more glad to fly out of the city, than other bishops were to come to them unto Rome. And if Sixtus added the "Sanctus" unto the mass canon, what piece then of

Sixtus,
bishop of
Rome.

The tri-
fling ordi-
nances of
Sixtus.

St. Peter
celebrat-
ed the
Lord's
Supper
only with
the Lord's
Prayer.
The ordi-
nance of
Sixtus
suspect-
ed.

(1) Rather "in St. Peter's, on the Vatican." See Platina.—Ed. (2) Platini in vita Sixti.
(3) Vide Blondel's "Epist. Decretal Examen." (Genevæ, 1635) p. 181; and upon the "Ordinances of Telesphorus," soon after mentioned, p. 184.—Ed.

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tion.*

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180.

Telesphorus,
bishop of
Rome,
and mar-
tyr.
His ordi-
nance.

The ori-
ginal of
Lent ex-
amined.

Montanus first
brought
in the
laws of
fasting.

the canon went before it, when they who put to the other patches came after Sixtus? And if they came after Sixtus,¹ that added the rest, why did they set their pieces before his, seeing they that began the first piece of the canon, came after him?

The same likewise is to be judged of the epistles and ordinances of Telesphorus, who succeeded next unto Sixtus, and, being bishop of that church the term of eleven years, the first year of the reign of Antoninus Pius, died a martyr about the year of our Lord 138. His epistle, like unto the rest, containing in it no great matter of doctrine, hath these ordinances. First, he commandeth all that were of the clergy to fast and abstain from flesh-eating seven weeks before Easter: that three masses should be said upon the nativity-day of the Lord: that no man should accuse either bishop or priest. He ordained moreover, "Gloria in excelsis," to be added to the mass, etc. But these things falsely to be feigned upon him, may easily be conjectured. For, as touching the seven weeks' fast, neither doth it agree with the old Roman term commonly received, calling it "Quadragesima," that is, the forty days' fast; neither with the example of our Saviour, who fasted not seven weeks, but only forty days. Moreover, as concerning this forty days' fast, we read of the same in the epistle of Ignatius, which was long before Telesphorus: whereby it may appear that this Telesphorus was not the first inventor thereof. And, if it be true which is lately come out in the name of Abdias (but untruly, as by many conjectures may be proved), there it is read, that in the days of St. Matthew, this Lent fast of forty days was observed long before Telesphorus, by these words that follow: "In the days," saith he, "either of Lent, or in the time of other lawful fastings, he that abstaineth not as well from eating meat, as also from the mixture of bodies, doth incur in so doing, not only pollution, but also committeth offence, which must be washed away with the tears of repentance." Again, Apollonius affirmeth, that Montanus the heretic was the first deviser and bringer-in of these laws of fasting into the church, which before was used to be free.² But especially by Socrates, writer of the Ecclesiastical History, who lived after the days of Theodosius, it may be argued, that this seven weeks' fast is falsely imputed to Telesphorus. For Socrates, in his fifth book, speaking of this time, hath these words: "The Romans do fast three weeks continuously before Easter, except the Saturdays and Sundays."³ And moreover, speaking of divers and sundry fastings of Lent in sundry and divers churches, he addeth these words: "And because that no man can produce any written commandment about this matter, it is therefore apparent, that the apostles left this kind of fast free to every man's will and judgment, lest any should be constrained, by fear and necessity, to do that which is good," etc. With this of Socrates, agree also the words of Sozomen,⁴ living much about the same time, in his seventh book, where he thus writeth: "The whole fast of Lent," saith he, "some comprehend in six weeks; as do the Illyrians and west churches, with all Lybia, Egypt, and Palestine: some in seven weeks, as at Constantinople,

(1) He died about A. D. 127.—Ed.

(2) Ex Euseb. lib. v. cap. 13.

(3) "Romani namque tres ante pascha septimanas præter Sabbatum et Dominicam continuas jejunt." Socrat. Eccl. Hist. lib. v. cap. 22. [Hence Passion Sunday was also called Dominica Mediana.—Ed.]

(4) Sozomen, lib. vii. cap. 19.

and the parts bordering to Phœnicia: others in three weeks, next before the day of Easter, and some again in two weeks," etc. By which it may be collected, that Telesphorus never ordained any such fast of seven weeks, which otherwise never would have been neglected in Rome and in the west churches; neither again would have been unrecorded by these ancient ecclesiastical writers, if any such thing had been. The like is to be thought also of the rest, not only of his Constitutions, but also of those of the other ancient bishops and martyrs who followed after him, as of Hyginus, who, succeeding him, and dying also a martyr, A.D. 142, as Volateran declareth,¹ is said, or rather is feigned, to have brought in the use of the chrism and of at least one godfather or one godmother in baptism, and to have ordained the dedication of churches; whereas in his time so far was it off, that any solemn churches were standing in Rome, that unneth² the Christians could safely convent in their own houses. Likewise the distinguishing the orders of metropolitans, bishops, and other degrees, savours of nothing less than of that time.

After Hyginus followed Pius, who, as Platina reporteth, was so precisely devout about the holy mysteries of the Lord's table, that if any one crumb thereof did fall down to the ground, he ordained that the priest should do penance forty days; if any fell upon the altar,³ he should do penance three days; if upon the linen corporas-cloth, four days; if upon any other linen cloth, nine days. And if any drop of the blood, saith he, should chance to be spilt, wheresoever it fell, it should be licked up, if it were possible: if not, the place should be washed, or pared, or scraped, and the parings or scrapings burned, and the ashes laid in the sanctuary. All which toys may seem to a wise man more vain and trifling, than to savour of those pure and strict times of those holy martyrs. This Pius, as is reported, was much conversant with Hermas, called otherwise Pastor. Damasus saith, he was his brother.⁴ But how is it likely, that Hermas being the disciple of Paul, or one of the seventy disciples, could be the brother of this Pius? Of this Hermas, and of his Revelations, the aforesaid Pius, in his epistle decretal (if it be not forged)⁵ maketh mention; declaring that the angel of God appeared unto him in the habit of a shepherd, commanding him that Easter day should be celebrated of all men upon no other day but on Sunday: "whereupon," saith the epistle, "Pius the bishop, by his authority apostolical, decreeth and commandeth the same to be observed of all men."

Then succeeded Anicetus, Soter, and Eleutherius, about the year of our Lord one hundred and fourscore.⁶ This Eleutherius, at the request of Lucius, king of Britain, sent to him Damian and Fugatius, by whom the king was converted to Christ's faith, and baptized, about the year of our Lord 179. Naucerus⁶ saith it was in the year 156. Henry of Herford saith it was in the year 179, in the nineteenth of Verus the emperor. Some say it was in the sixth year of

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Ordi-
nances of
Teles-
phorus
falsely to
him as-
cribed.
Hyginus,
bishop of
Rome,
and mar-
tyr.
God-
fathers
and god-
mothers.

Dedica-
tion of
churches.
Danger of
letting the
holy mys-
teries fall
from the
Lord's
table.

The reve-
lation of
Hermas.
The de-
cretal
epistle of
Pius.

Anicetus,
Soter, and
Eleuther-
ius.
England
converted to
the faith of
Christ.

(1) Volateran. Anthrop. lib. xxii.

(2) Unneth, "scarcely;" a word of Saxon origin.—Ed.

(3) Vide Cent. Magdeburg. cap. 10, col. 168. The book entitled "Pontificale, sive de gestis summorum Pontificum" is incorrectly attributed to this pope; it belongs, more properly, to Anastasius Bibliothecarius. Antonio Biblioth. Hispana vetus, tom. i. p. 190; Vossius "De Hist. Lat." p. 200, edit. 1651.—Ed.

(4) See infra, p. 165, note (1), and Appendix.—Ed.

(5) "Hanc epistolam Pio suppositam indicant—1. Styli barbaries; 2. Fabula de revelatione Hermæ facta," etc. Blondel "Epist. Decretal. Exam." p. 196.—Ed.

(6) Rather A.D. 172—185.—Ed.

(6) Naucerus, lib. Chronog. Gen. vi. Naucerus rather says, "Anno autem Domini 177," etc.—Ed.

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tion.*

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to
180.

Whether
this land
of Britain
received
the gospel
before
king
Lucius's
days.

Commodus, which should be about A.D. 185. Timotheus, in his story, thinketh that Eleutherius came himself: but that is not likely. And, as there is a variance among the writers for the count of years, so doth there arise a question among some, whether Eleutherius was the first that introduced the faith from Rome into this land or not. Nicephorus¹ saith that Simon Zelotes came into Britain. Some others allege out of Gildas, "*De Victoriâ Aureliani Ambrosii*,"² that Joseph of Arimathea, after the dispersion of the [early church by the]³ Jews, was sent, by Philip the apostle, from France to Britain, about the year of our Lord 63; and here remained in this land all his time; and so with his fellows, laid the first foundation of christian faith among the people of Britain: whereupon other preachers and teachers, coming afterward, confirmed the same, and increased it more. And therefore doth Peter of Clugni count the Scottishmen among the more ancient Christians.⁴ For the confirmation hereof might be alleged the testimony of Origen, of Tertullian, and even the words of the letter of Eleutherius, which import no less but that the faith of Christ was here in England among the people of Britain, before Eleutherius' time, and before the king was converted: but hereof more shall be spoken hereafter (Christ willing), when, after the tractation of these ten persecutions, we shall enter into the matter of our English stories.

Ecclesi-
astical
writers.

About this time of Commodus afore mentioned, among divers other learned men and famous teachers, whom God stirred up at that time (as he doth at all other times raise up some) in his church, to confound the persecutors by learning and writing (as the martyrs, to confirm the truth with their blood), were Serapion, bishop of Antioch, and Hegesippus a writer of the Ecclesiastical History, from Christ's passion to his own time, as witness Jerome and Eusebius,⁵ which books of his be now remaining: but those that be remaining (which be five) "*De excidio urbis Hierosolymitanæ*"⁶ be not mentioned, neither of Jerome, nor Eusebius, nor of Miltiades, who also wrote his Apology in defence of Christian Religion, as did Melito, Quadratus, and Aristides before-mentioned. About the same time also wrote Heraclitus, who first began to write annotations on the epistles of the apostle Paul. Also Theophilus bishop of Cæsarea, Dionysius bishop of Corinth, a man famously learned, who wrote divers epistles to divers churches; and, among others, one to the Gnossian church, wherein he exhorts Pinytus, their bishop,⁷ "that he would lay no yoke of chastity of any necessity upon his brethren; but that he would consider the infirmity of others, and bear with it." Moreover, the said Dionysius, writing in his epistles of Dionysius the Areopagite,⁸ declareth of him how that he was first converted to the christian faith by St. Paul, according as in the Acts is recorded;

The yoke
of chas-
tity not
to be laid
upon the
infirm
brethren.
The book
of Diony-
sius Areo-
pagitâ
"De Hier-
archia" sus-
pect-
ed.

(1) Niceph. lib. iv. cap. 4.

(2) Gildas, cited by the Magdeburg Cent.—Ed.

(3) Acts viii. 1, 4: xi. 19. See Usseii Brit. Eccl. Ant. cap. 2.—Ed.

(4) "Unde et Scotos, Christianos antiquiores Petrus Cluniacensis vocat." (Epist. ad S. Bernardum.) See Cent. Magdeburg. ii. cap. 2, col. 7. edit. 1624. Petrus Mauricius, abbot of Clugni, died A.D. 1156. Cave.—Ed.

(5) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 8, 22.

(6) Hegesippus "De Bello Judaico, et urbis Hierosolymitanæ excidio." Coloniae, 1559. See supra, p. 98, note 1, and p. 101, note 4.—Ed.

(7) "Ne grave servandæ castitatis onus necessario fratribus imponat, sed multorum sese imbecillitati attemperet." Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 23.

(8) Thirteen objections are detailed by Rivet against these books, which no one now would, perhaps, undertake to assign to an apostolic age. "Eusebius, Hieronymus, et Sophronius nullam faciunt mentionem horum librorum, etsi veterum libros diligentissime collegerint et conquisierint. Neque alius admodum antiquus autor horum mentionem facit. Quod satis arguit, libros illos non ejus antiquitatis fuisse, cujus fuit Areopagita." Rivet. Crit. Sac. lib. i. cap. 9. ubi plura.—Ed.

and afterwards was made the first bishop of Athens; but maketh there no mention of his book "*De Hierarchiâ*," whereby it may easily appear, what is to be judged of that book. Furthermore, by the epistles of the said Dionysius of Corinth, this we have to understand to have been the use at that time in churches, to read the letters and epistles, such as were sent by learned bishops and teachers unto the congregations, as may appear by these words of Dionysius, who, writing to the church of the Romans, and to Soter, saith, "This day we celebrate the holy dominical-day, in which we have read your epistle, which always we will read for our exhortation; like as we do read also the epistle of Clement sent to us before," etc.¹ Where also mention is made of keeping of Sunday holy, whereof we find no mention made in ancient authors, before his time, except only in Justin Martyr, who, in his first Apology, declareth two times most especially used by christian men for congregating together: first, when any convert was to be baptized; the second was upon the Sunday, which was wont for two causes then to be hallowed, "first, because," saith he, "upon that day God made the world: secondly, because that Christ, upon that day, first showed himself, after his resurrection, to his disciples," etc.

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tion.*

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Celebra-
tion of the
Sunday.

The same time, moreover, lived Pantænus, who was the first in Alexandria that professed in open school to read, of whom is thought first to proceed the order and manner among the Christians to read and profess in universities. This Pantænus, for his excellency of learning, was sent by Demetrius, bishop of Alexandria, to preach to the Indians, where he found the gospel of St. Matthew written in Hebrew, left there by St. Bartholomew, which book, afterwards, he brought with him from thence to the library of Alexandria.²

The
gospel of
St. Mat-
thew in
Hebrew

Over and besides these above named, about the days of Commodus, wrote also Clemens Alexandrinus, a man of notable and singular learning, whose books, although for a great part they be lost, yet certain of them yet remain; wherein is declared among other things, the order and number of the books and gospels of the New Testament.³

Clement
of Alex-
andria.

During all the reign of Commodus, God granted rest and tranquillity, although not without some bloodshed of certain holy martyrs, as is above declared, unto his church. In the which time of tranquillity, the Christians, having now some leisure from the foreign enemy, began to have a little contention among themselves about the ceremony of Easter: which contention, albeit of long time before it had been stirring in the church (as is before mentioned, in speaking of Polycarp and Anicetus), yet the variance and difference of that ceremony brought no breach of christian concord and society among them; neither as yet did the matter exceed so far, but that the bond of love, and communion of brotherly life, continued, although they differed in the ceremony of the day. For they of the West church, pretending the tradition of Paul and Peter (but indeed being the tradition of Hermas and of Pius), kept one day, which was upon the Sunday after the fourteenth day of the first month.⁴ The church of Asia, following the ordinance of John the apostle, observed another,

Difference
about the
ceremony
of Easter.

(1) Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 23.

(2) Hieronym. Catal.—Ed.

(3) Eusebius and Jerome place Clemens Alexandrinus under Severus and Caracalla. He was a pupil of Pantænus.—Ed.

(4) i. e. the first Jewish month, Nisan.—Ed.

The Fifth Persecution. as more shall be declared (the Lord willing) when we come to the time of Victor bishop of Rome. In the mean time, as concerning the fourth persecution, let this hitherto suffice.

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THE FIFTH PERSECUTION.

Severus
emperor.

After the death of Commodus reigned Pertinax but a few months: after whom succeeded Severus, under whom was raised the fifth persecution against the christian saints; who, reigning the term of eighteen years, the first ten years of the same was very favourable and courteous to the Christians: afterward, through sinister suggestions and malicious accusations of the malignant, he was so incensed against them, that by proclamations he commanded no Christians any more to be suffered. Thus the rage of the emperor being inflamed against them, great persecution was stirred up on every side, whereby an infinite number of martyrs were slain, as Eusebius¹ recordeth, which was about the year of our Lord 205. The crimes and false accusations objected against the Christians are partly touched before; as sedition and rebellion against the emperor, sacrilege, murdering of infants, incestuous pollution, eating raw flesh, libidinous commixture, whereof certain indeed, called then "Gnostici," were infamed. Item, it was objected against them for worshipping the head of an ass; which, whereof it should rise, I find no certain cause, except it were, perhaps, by the Jews. Also, they were charged for worshipping the sun, for that peradventure before the sun did rise, they convented together, singing their morning hymns unto the Lord, or else because they prayed toward the east: but specially, for that they would not with them worship their idolatrous gods, and were counted as enemies to all men.

A. D. 205.

False accusations
against
the Christians.

The captains and
ministers
of this
persecution.

The persons who managed this persecution under the emperor were chiefly Hilarian, Vigellius, Claudius, Herminian governor of Cappadocia, Cecilius, Capella, Vespronius;² also Demetrius mentioned of Cyprian, and Aquila judge of Alexandria, of whom Eusebius³ maketh relation.

Leonidas,
father of
Origen,
martyr.

Origen
kept from
martyrdom
by his mother.

Origen
commended.

The places where the force of this persecution most raged, were Africa, Alexandria, Cappadocia, and Carthage. The number of them that suffered in this persecution, by the report of Ecclesiastical History, was innumerable; of whom the first was Leonidas the father of Origen, who was beheaded. With whom also Origen his son, being of the age then of seventeen years, would have suffered (such a fervent desire he had to be martyred for Christ), had not his mother privily, in the night season, conveyed away his clothes and his shirt. Whereupon more for shame to be seen, than for fear to die, he was constrained to remain at home; and when he could do nothing else, yet he writeth to his father a letter with these words, "Take heed to yourself, that you change not your thought and purpose for our sake," etc.⁴ Such a fervency had this Origen, being yet young, to the doctrine of Christ's faith, by the operation of God's heavenly providence, and partly also by the diligent education of his father, who brought him up from his youth most studiously in all

(1) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 1.

(2) Tertul. ad Scapulam. [cap. 3. Scapula was proconsul of Africa, and should be added to the list in the text.—Ed.]

(3) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 5.

(4) "Cave tibi, ne quid propter nos aliud, quam martyrii constanter faciendi, propositum cogites." Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 2.

good literature, but especially in the reading and exercise of holy scripture; wherein he had such inward and mystical speculation, that many times he would move questions to his father of the meaning of this place or that place in the scripture. Insomuch that his father, divers times, would uncover his breast being asleep, and kiss it, giving thanks to God which had made him so happy a father of such a happy child. After the death of his father, and all his goods confiscated to the emperor, he, with his poor mother and six brothers, were brought to such extreme poverty, that he did sustain both himself and them by teaching a school: till at length, being weary of the profession, he transferred his study only to the knowledge and seeking of divine scripture, and such other learning [as was] conducive to the same.¹ So much he profited both in the Hebrew and other tongues, that he conferred the Hebrew text with the translation of the Seventy; and, moreover, did find out and confer the other translations which we call the common translations of Aquila, of Symmachus, and Theodotion. Also he adjoined to these aforesaid other translations, whereof more is in the history of Eusebius expressed.²

They that write of the life of Origen, testify of him that he was quick and sharp of wit, much patient of labour, a great traveller in the tongues, of a spare diet, of a strict life, a great faster; his teaching and his living were both one; his going was much barefoot; a strict observer of that saying of the Lord, bidding to have but "one coat," etc. He is said to have written so much as seven notaries and so many maids every day could pen.³ The number of his books [say Epiphanius and Rufinus]⁴ came to six thousand volumes; the copies whereof he used to sell for three pence, or a little more, for the sustentation of his living.⁵ But of him more shall be touched hereafter. So zealous was he in the cause of Christ, and of Christ's martyrs, that he, nothing fearing his own peril, would assist and exhort them going to their death, and kiss them; insomuch that he was oft in jeopardy to be stoned of the multitude; and sometimes, by the provision of christian men, had his house guarded about with soldiers, for the safety of them who daily resorted to hear his readings.⁶ And many times he was compelled to shift places and houses, for such as laid wait for him in all places: but great was the providence of God to preserve him in the midst of all this tempest of Severus. Among others who resorted unto him, and were his hearers, Plutarch was one, and died a martyr; and with him

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tion.*

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Sundry
martyrs.

(1) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 2, 3; Antonin.; et Simoneta, [Johannes Simoneta, "De Rebus Gestis Francisci Sportiæ." Milan, 1479.—Ed.]

(2) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 16. In this way (as Eusebius observes) Origen composed his Hexapl. and Tetrapla. Aquila was a native of Sinope in Pontus, and lived during the reign of Adrian: his version was executed previous to the year 160. Much difference of opinion exists as to the time when Symmachus flourished. Montfaucon places him about the year 200. Theodotion was a native of Ephesus, and was nearly contemporary with Aquila. See more, Horne's *Introduc.* vol. ii. p. 52. ed. 1825. London.—Ed.

(3) Euseb. *ibid.* cap. 3, 23.—Ed.

(4) Foxe, misapprehending a passage of the Centuriators, says, "by the account of Jerome," whereas they quote Jerome as rather impugning the opinion of Epiphanius and Rufinus. Foxe also by mistake says "seven" thousand volumes. Dupin remarks, that "volume" must be here understood as applicable to any separate treatise, however small.—Ed.

(5) This statement is most likely founded on a misconception of Eusebius, who says (lib. vi. cap. 3), that Origen sold all his *profane authors* to a person who engaged to supply him with 4 oboli (or 5 pence) per diem.—Ed.

(6) Eusebius states (lib. vi. cap. 3), that "so great was the hostility of the infidels against him (because of the multitudes which resorted to him to be instructed in the faith), that they set soldiers to watch about the house in which he abode." *i. e.* (as Valesius observes) to hinder the resort of hearers. Nicephorus has taken the same view of the passage as Foxe. See *infra*, p. 173.—Ed.

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Serenus his brother,¹ who was burnt. The third after these was Heraclides, the fourth Heron, who were both beheaded. The fifth was another Serenus, also beheaded. [Of women] Rhais,² and Potamiena who was tormented with pitch poured upon her, and martyred with her mother Marcella, who died also in the fire.

Basilides
of a per-
secutor
made a
martyr.

This Potamiena was of a fresh and flourishing beauty, who, because she could not be removed from her profession, was committed to Basilides, one of the captains there in the army, to see the execution done. Basilides, receiving her at the judge's hand, and leading her to the place, showed her some compassion in repressing the rebukes and railings of the wicked adversaries: for the which Potamiena the virgin, to requite again his kindness, bade him be of good comfort, saying, "That she would pray the Lord to show mercy upon him," and so went she to her martyrdom, which she both strongly and quietly did sustain.

Not long after it happened that Basilides was required by his fellow-soldiers, on some occasion, to swear; which thing he refused to do, plainly affirming that he was a Christian [for their oath then was wont to be by the idols and the emperor]. At the first he was thought dissemblingly to jest; but after, when he was heard constantly and in earnest to confirm the same, he was had before the judge, and so by him committed to ward. The Christians marvelling thereat, as they came to him in the prison, inquired of him the cause of that his sudden conversion. To whom he answered again, and said, "That Potamiena, three days after her martyrdom, stood by him in the night, put a crown upon his head, and said she had entreated the Lord for him, and had obtained her request; adding moreover, That it should not be long, but he should be received up." Which things thus done, the next day following he was had to the place of execution, and there beheaded.³

Alexander
confessor,
and
bishop of
Jerusalem.

Albeit, the said Eusebius giveth this story of no credit, but only of hear-say, as he there expresseth.

Narcissus,
bishop of
Jerusalem.

As divers and many there were that suffered in the days of this Severus, so some there were again, who, being put to great torments, through the protection of God's providence yet escaped with life: of whom was one Alexander, who, for his constant confession and torments suffered, was made bishop afterward of Jerusalem, together with Narcissus; who, being then an old man of a hundred and sixteen years, as saith Eusebius, was unwieldy for his age to govern that function alone.

Of this Narcissus it is reported in Eusebius's History, that certain miracles by him were wrought, very notable, if they be true.

A miracle
of water
turned
into oil.

First, of water by him turned into oil, at the solemn vigil of Easter, what time the congregation wanted oil for their lamps. Another miracle is also told of him, which is this: "There were three evil disposed persons, who, seeing the soundness and grave constancy of his virtuous life, and fearing their own punishment (as a conscience that is guilty is always fearful), thought to prevent his accusations, in accusing him first, and laying a heinous crime unto his charge. And to make their accusation more probable before the people, they bound their accusation with a great oath, one wishing to be destroyed with fire, if he said not true; the other to be consumed with a grievous sickness; the third to lose both his eyes, if they did lie. Narcissus, although having his conscience clear, yet not able, being but one man, to withstand their accusation bound with such oaths, gave place, and removed himself from the multitude into a solitary desert by himself, where he continued the space of many years. In the mean time, to them which so willingly and wickedly forswore themselves, this happened: The first, by casualty of one little small

Terrible
example
of perjury
punished.
Narcissus
and Alexander
joined to-
gether in
one bishopric.

(1) Eusebius (*ibid.* cap. 4) does not say that Serenus was brother to Plutarch, but in the preceding chapter he represents Heraclas, (brother of Plutarch, and afterward bishop of Antioch,) as the second of Origen's pupils. Foxe hastily assumed hence, that Heraclas and Serenus were the same individual. Heraclas "was no martyr." See *infra*, p. 174.—Ed.

(2) Valesius would read *ἡ ραῖς* as one word—Herais.—Ed.

(3) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 5.

sparkle of fire, was burnt with his goods and all his family. The second was taken with a great sickness from the top to the toe, and devoured with the same. The third, hearing and seeing the punishment of the others, confessed his fault, but through great repentance poured out such tears, that he lost both his eyes; and thus was their false perjury punished.¹ Narcissus, after long absence, returning home again, was by this means both cleared of the fact, and received into his bishopric again: to whom as is said, for impotency of his age, Alexander was joined in execution of the function.²

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Of this Alexander is recorded in the said Ecclesiastical History, that after his agonies and constancy of his confession showed in the persecution of Severus, he was admonished, by a vision in the night season, to make his journey up to Jerusalem from Cappadocia (where he had been a bishop already), to see there the sacred places, and to pray. Thus he, taking his journey, and drawing near to the city, a vision with plain words was given to certain chief heads of Jerusalem, to go out of the gate of the city, there to receive the bishop appointed to them of God. And so was Alexander met and received, and joined partner with aged Narcissus, as is before expressed, in the city of Jerusalem; where he continued bishop above forty years, until the persecution of Decius, and there erected a famous library, where Eusebius had his chiefest help in writing his Ecclesiastical History.⁴ He wrote also divers epistles to divers churches, and licensed Origen openly to teach his church. At length, being very aged, he was brought from Jerusalem to Cesarea before the judge under Decius, where, after his constant confession the second time, he was committed to prison, and there died.

Alexander ordained bishop of Jerusalem by God's miracle, A. D. 210.

Constancy and death of Alexander.

Besides these that suffered in this persecution of Severus, recited by Eusebius, Vincentius also⁵ speaketh of one Andoclus, whom Polycarp before had sent into France: which Andoclus, because he had spread there the doctrine of Christ, was apprehended of Severus, and first beaten with staves and bats, and after was beheaded.⁶

Andoclus martyr.

To these above-named may also be added Asclepiades, who, although he was not put to death in this persecution of Severus, yet therein constantly he did abide the trial of his confession, and suffered much for the same, as Alexander before-mentioned did. Wherefore afterward he was ordained bishop of Antioch, where he continued the space of seven years; of whom Alexander writes unto the church of Antioch out of prison, much rejoicing and giving thanks to God, to hear that he was their bishop.⁷

Asclepiades, bishop of Antioch.

About the same time, during the reign of Severus, died Irenæus. Henry of Herford, Ado, and other martyr-writers, do hold that he was martyred, with a great multitude of others more, for the confession and doctrine of Christ, about the fourth or fifth year of Severus. This Irenæus, as he was a great writer, so was he greatly commended of Tertullian for his learning, who calleth him, "A great searcher of all kind of learning."⁸ He was first scholar and hearer of Polycarp; from thence either was sent, or came to France;

Irenæus bishop of Lyons, and martyr.

(1) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 9.

(2) Ib. cap. 11.

(3) Ib. Some expressions of Foxe are more conformed to the Greek.—Ed.

(4) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 20.—Ed.

(5) Lib. xi. cap. 6. ex Martyrologio [also Baron. ad ann. 205. § 27.—Ed.]

(6) Tillmont, Mémoires à l'Hist. Eccles. tom. iii. part. 1. p. 63. Bruxelles. 1699.—Ed.

(7) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 11.—Ed.

(8) Omnium Doctrinarum curiosissimum exploratorem. [Adv. Valent. cap. v.—Ed.]

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and there, by Pothinus, and the rest of the martyrs, was instituted into the ministry, and commended by their letter to Eleutherius, as is before premonished. At length, after the martyrdom of Pothinus, he was appointed bishop of Lyons, where he continued about the space of three and twenty years. In the time of this Irenæus the state of the church was much troubled, not only for the outward persecution of the foreign enemy, but also for divers sects and errors then stirring; against which he diligently laboured, and wrote much, although but few books be now remaining. The nature of this man, well agreeing with his name, was such, that he ever loved peace, and sought to set agreement when any controversy rose in the church. And therefore, when the question of keeping the Easter day was renewed in the church between Victor bishop of Rome and the churches of Asia, and when Victor would have excommunicated them as schismatics, for disagreeing from him therein; Irenæus, with other brethren of the French church, sorry to see such a contention among brethren for such a trifle, convented themselves together in a common council, and directing their letter with their common consent subscribed, sent unto Victor, entreating him to stay his purpose, and not to proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Although they themselves agreed with him in observing the Sunday-Easter as he did, yet with great reasons and arguments they exhorted him not to deal so rigorously with his brethren, who followed the ancient custom of their country-manner in that behalf. And besides this, he wrote divers other letters abroad concerning the same contention, declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.¹

Tertul-
lian an
ecclesi-
astical
writer.

Not long after Irenæus followed also Tertullian, about the time of this Severus and Antoninus Caracalla his son; a man both in Greek and Latin well expert, having great gifts in disputing, and in writing eloquent; as his books declare, and as the commendation of all learned men doth testify no less. To whom Vincentius of Lerins giveth such praise, that he calleth him "the flower of all Latin writers." And of the eloquence of his style he thus writeth, "that with the force of his reasons," he saith, "whom he could not persuade, them he compelled to consent unto him. How many words, so many sentences, and how many sentences, so many victories he had," etc.

The Apo-
logy of
Tertul-
lian, de-
fending
the Chris-
tians.

Such men, for doing and writing, God raised up from time to time, as pillars and stays for his poor church, as he did this Tertullian in these dangerous days of persecution. For when the Christians were vexed with wrongs and falsely accused of the Gentiles, Tertullian, taking their cause in hand, defended them against the persecutors, and against their slanderous accusations.² First, that they never minded any stir or rebellion, either against the empire or emperors of Rome, he proved, forso much as the use of Christians was to pray for the state of their emperors and governors. And whereas they were accused falsely to be enemies of all mankind, "How could that be?" saith Tertullian to Scapula, "seeing the proper office of the Christians is, by their profession, to pray for all men, to love their enemies, never requiting evil for evil, whereas all others do love but only their friends, and scarcely them." As touching the horrible slander of

(1) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 24.—Ed.

(2) Tertullian Apol.

murdering infants, "How can that be true of the Christians?" saith he, "whose order is to abstain from all blood and strangled; insomuch that it is not lawful for them to touch the blood of any beast at their tables when they feed? From filthy copulation no sort more free than they, which are, and ever have been, the greatest observers of chastity; of whom, such as may, live in perpetual virginity all their life; such as cannot, contract matrimony, for avoiding all whoredom and fornication." Neither could it be proved that the Christians worshipped the sun: which false surmise Tertullian declared to rise hereof, for that the manner of the Christians was to pray toward the east. Much less was there any of them so mad as to worship an ass's head; whereof the occasion being taken only of the Jews,¹ the slander thereof he proved to be falsely and wrongfully laid to the charge of the Christians.

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And likewise from all other lies and slanders objected of the heathen against the Christians, the said Tertullian purgeth the Christians, declaring them to be falsely belied and wrongfully persecuted, not for any desert of theirs, but only for the hatred of their name. And yet notwithstanding, by the same persecutions, he proveth, in the same Apology, the religion of the Christians nothing to be impaired, but rather increased. "The more," saith he, "we are mown down of you, the more rise up. The blood of Christians is seed. For what man," saith he, "in beholding the painful torments, and the perfect patience of them, will not search and inquire what is the cause? And when he hath found it out, who will not agree unto it? And when he agreeth to it, who will not desire to suffer for it?"² "Thus," saith he, "this sect will never die, which, the more it is cut down, the more it groweth. For every man, seeing and wondering at the sufferance of the saints, is moved the more thereby to search the cause; in searching, he findeth it, and finding, he followeth it."³

Thus Tertullian, in this dangerous time of persecution being stirred up of God, defended the innocency of the Christians against the blasphemy of the adversaries; and moreover, for the instruction of the church, he compiled many fruitful works; whereof some are extant, some are not to be found. Notwithstanding the great learning and famous virtues of this worthy man, certain errors and blemishes are noted in his doctrine, as are both in Origen and Irenæus, who were before him, and likewise in them (were they never so excellent) that followed him; which errors all here in order to note and comprehend, were too long a matter for this story to prosecute. This, by the way, shall be sufficient to admonish the reader, never to look for any such perfection of any man in this world, how singular soever he be (Christ only excepted), but some blemish or other joineth itself withal, whereof more, perchance, shall be said when we come to Cyprian.

Errors
and im-
perfec-
tions in
learned
men.

And now, to return again to the order of bishops of Rome intermitted. After Eleutherius afore-mentioned, next in the bishopric of Rome succeeded Victor; who, as Platina saith, died quietly in the days of Severus. But Damasus, and such as do follow the common

Victor,
bishop of
Rome,
reported
of some,
a martyr.

(1) The occasion hereof, belike, came of the Jews worshipping the jaw of an ass, in the story of Sampson.

(2) Tertullian. Apolog.

(3) Idem, ad Scapulam.

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Why the
Holy
Ghost
forbade
blood and
things
strangled,
in the
primitive
church.

Doctrine
of chris-
tian lib-
erty in out-
ward
usages.

chronicles,¹ affirm that he died a martyr, after he had sat ten (or as some say twelve) years. This Victor was a great stirrer (as partly before is signified) in the controversy about Easter-day, for the which he would have proceeded in excommunication against the churches of Asia, had not Irenæus, then bishop of Lyons, with the counsel of his other brethren there assembled, repressed his intended violence.

As touching that controversy of Easter in those days of the primitive church, the original thereof was this, as Eusebius, Socrates, Platina, and others record. First, certain it is, that the apostles, being only intente and attendant to the doctrine of salvation, gave no heed nor regard to the observation of days and times, neither bound the church to any ceremonies and rites, except those things necessary, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, as strangled and blood; which was ordained then of the Holy Ghost, not without a most urgent and necessary cause, touched partly in the history before. For when the murdering and blood of infants were commonly objected by the heathen persecutors against the Christians, they had no other argument to help themselves, nor to repel the adversary, but only their own law, by the which they were commanded to abstain, not only from all men's blood, but also from the blood of all common beasts. And therefore that law seemeth by the Holy Ghost to be given, and also to the same end continued in the church, so long as the cause (that is, the persecutions of the heathen gentiles) continued. Besides these, we read of no other ceremonies or rites, which the apostles greatly regarded, but left such things free to the liberty of Christians, every man to use therein his own discretion, for the using or not using thereof. Whereupon, as concerning all the ceremonial observations of days, times, places, meats, drinks, vestures, and such others; of all these things neither was the diversity among men greatly noted, nor any uniformity greatly required. Insomuch that Irenæus, writing to Victor of the tradition of days, and of fastings, and of the diversity of these things then used among the primitive fathers, saith: "Notwithstanding all this variety, all they kept peace among themselves, and yet we keep it still; and this difference of fasting among us commendeth more the concord of faith."² And so long did the doctrine of christian liberty remain whole and sound in the church till the time of Victor, which was about the year of our Lord 197; although the diversity of these usages began before also in the days of Pius, about the year of Christ 143, to be misliked; yet restraint hereof was not so much urged before, as in the time of Victor. And yet neither did the violence of Victor take such place, but that the doctrine of christian liberty was defended and maintained by means of Irenæus and others, and so continued in the church till after the council of Nice.—And thus much concerning the doctrine of christian liberty, and of the differences of rites and ceremonies.

Now to return to Victor again, to show what diversity there was in observing the day of Easter, and how it came, thus is the story. First, in the time of Pius, in the year of Christ 143, the question of Easter-day began first to be moved, at what time Pius, by the

(1) Supplem. [Bergomensis] lib. viii.

(2) "Nihilò tamen minus omnes illi pacem inter se retinuerunt et retinemus etiamnum, et jejuniis dissonantia fidei concordiam commendat," etc.—Euseb. lib. v. cap. 24.

revelation of Hermas, decreed the observation of that day to be changed, from the wonted manner of the fourteenth day of the moon in the first month, unto the next Sunday after. After him came Anicetus, Soter and Eleutherius, bishops of Rome, who also determined the same.¹ Against these stood Melito bishop of Sardis, Polycarp, and, as some think, Hegesippus, with other learned men of Asia; which Polycarp, being sent by the brethren of Asia, came to Rome as is aforesaid, to confer with Anicetus in that matter: wherein when they could not agree after long debating, yet notwithstanding, they did both communicate together with reverence, and departed in peace. And so the celebration of Easter-day² remained ἀδιάφορον, as a thing indifferent in the church, till the time of Victor; who, following after Anicetus and his fellows, and chiefly stirring in this matter, endeavoured by all means and might to draw, or rather subdue, the churches of Asia unto his opinion; thinking moreover to excommunicate all those bishops and churches of Asia, as heretics and schismatics, which disagreed from the Roman order: had not Irenæus otherwise restrained him from that doing, as is aforesaid, which was about the year of our Lord 197, in the reign of Commodus. Thus then began the uniformity of keeping that holy day to be first required as a thing necessary, and all they accounted as heretics and schismatics, who dissented from the bishop and tradition of Rome.

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Polycarp and Anicetus, disagreeing in controversy, agreed in charity.

Uniformity in ceremonies not required.

With Victor stood the following bishops—Theophilus bishop of Cesarea in Palestine, Narcissus of Jerusalem, Irenæus of Lyons, Palmas [of Amastris] and the other bishops in Pontus, Bachyllus of Corinth, the bishops of Osroene, and others more: all which condescended to have the celebration of Easter upon the Sunday, partly, because they would differ from the Jews in all things as much as they might, and partly, because the resurrection of the Lord fell on the same day.³

On the contrary side, divers bishops were in Asia, of whom the principal was Polycrates bishop of Ephesus; who, having assembled a great multitude of bishops and brethren of those parts, by the common assent of the rest, wrote again to Victor and to the church of Rome, declaring, that they had ever from the beginning observed that day, according to the rule of Scripture, unchanged, neither adding nor altering any thing from the same; alleging, moreover, for themselves the examples of the apostles and holy fathers their predecessors, as Philip the apostle, with his three daughters, who died at Hierapolis; also John the apostle and evangelist, at Ephesus; Polycarp, at Smyrna; Thraseas of Eumenia, bishop and martyr, at Smyrna; likewise Sagaris at Laodicea, bishop and martyr; holy Papirius, and Melito at Sardis. Beside these, bishops also of his own kindred, and his own ancestors, to the number of seven, who were all bishops before him, and he the eighth now after them; all of these observed (saith he) the solemnity of Easter on the same day, and after the same wise and sort, as we do now.⁴

Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus.

Bishops in those days martyred.

Victor excommunicating the churches of Asia.

Victor, being not a little moved herewith, by letters again denounceth against them (more bold upon authority than wise in his

(1) Ex Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 26.

(2) See Stillington, Answer to Cressy; Usserii Antiq.—En.

(3) See Euseb. lib. v. cap. 23, and Valesius's notes in locum.—En.

(4) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 24.—En.

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Diversity
com-
mendeth
the con-
cord of
faith.

commission) violent excommunication; albeit by the wise handling of Irenæus, and other learned men, that matter was staid, and Victor otherwise persuaded. What the persuasions of Irenæus were, partly may appear in Eusebius,¹ the sum whereof tendeth to this effect:

“ That the variety and difference of ceremonies is no strange matter in the church of Christ, when as this variety is not only in the day of Easter, but also in the manner of fasting, and in divers other usages among the Christians: for some fast one day, some two days, some others fast more. Others there be, who, counting forty hours, both day and night, take that for a full fast. And this so diverse fashion of fasting in the church of Christ began not only in this our time, but was before among our fore-elders. And yet, notwithstanding, they with all this diversity were in unity among themselves, and so be we; neither doth this difference of ceremonies any thing hinder, but rather commendeth the concord of faith. And he bringeth forth the examples of the fathers, of Telesphorus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, and such others, who neither observed the same usage themselves, nor prescribed it to others; and yet, notwithstanding, kept christian charity with such as came to communicate with them, though not observing the same form of things which they observed; as well appeared by Polycarp and Anicetus, who, although they agreed not in one uniform custom of rites, yet refused not to communicate together, the one giving reverence unto the other.”

Thus the controversy being taken up between Irenæus and Victor, [the matter] remained free to the time of the Nicene council. And thus much concerning the controversy of that matter, and concerning the doings of Victor.

Zephyri-
nus,
bishop of
Rome.
His
epistles
and ordi-
nances
suspected
to be
counter-
feit.

After Victor, succeeded in the see of Rome, Zephyrinus, in the days of the aforesaid Severus, about the year of our Lord 202. To this Zephyrinus be ascribed two epistles, in the first tome of the Councils. But, as I have said before of the decretal epistles of other Roman bishops, so I say and verily suppose of this; that neither the countenance of the style, nor the matter therein contained, nor the condition of the time, doth otherwise give to think of these letters, but that they be verily bastard letters; not written by these fathers, nor in these times, but craftily and wickedly packed in by some, which, to set up the primacy of Rome, have most pestilently abused the authority of these holy and ancient fathers, to deceive the simple church. For who is so rude, but that in considering only the state of those terrible times he may easily understand (except affection blind him), beside a number of other probable conjectures to lead him, that the poor persecuted bishops in that time would have been glad to have any safe covert to put their heads in: so far was it off, that they had any list or leisure then to seek for any primacy or patriarchship, or to drive all other churches to appeal to the see of Rome, or to exempt all priests from the accusation of any layman; as in the first epistle of Zephyrinus is to be seen, written to the bishops of Sicily: and likewise the second epistle of his to the bishops of the province of Egypt, containing no manner of doctrine, nor consolation necessary for that time, but only certain ritual decrees to no purpose, argueth no less, but the said epistles neither to savour of that man, nor to taste of that time.

His first
epistle to
the
bishops of
Sicily.

Of like credit also seemeth the constitution of the patines of glass, which Damasus saith that the same Zephyrinus ordained to be carried

(1) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 24.—Ed.

before the priest at the celebration of the mass. Again Platina writeth that he ordained the administration of the sacrament to be no more used in vessels of wood, or of glass, or of any other metal, except only silver, gold, and tin, etc. But how these two testimonies of Damasus and Platina join together, let the reader judge;¹ especially seeing the same decree is referred to Urban that came after him. Again, what needed this decree of golden chalices² to be established afterward in the councils of Tribur³ and Rheims, if it had been enacted before by Zephyrinus? How long this Zephyrinus sat, our writers do vary. Eusebius saith, he died in the reign of Caracalla, and sat seventeen years. Platina writeth that he died under Severus, and sat eight years; and so saith also Naucerus. Damasus affirmeth, that he sat sixteen years and two months.⁴

Matthew of Westminster,⁵ author of the story intituled "Flores Historiarum," with other later chronicles, maketh mention of Perpetua, and Felicitas, and Revocatus her brother, also of Saturninus and Satyrus brothers, and Secundolus, who, in the persecution of this Severus, gave over their lives to martyrdom for Christ; being thrown to wild beasts, and devoured of the same in Carthage in Africa; save that Saturninus, brought again from the beasts, was beheaded, and Secundolus died in prison about the year of our Lord 202, as writeth Florilegus.

This Severus, the persecutor, reigned, as the most part of writers accord, the term of eighteen years, who, about the latter time of his reign, came with his army hither into Britain; where, after many conflicts had with the Britons, in the borders of the north he cast up a ditch, with a mighty wall made of earth and turfs and strong stakes, to the length of about seventy miles, from the one side of the island to the other, beginning at the Tyne, and reaching to the Scottish sea. Which done, he removed to York, and there, by the breaking in of the northern men and Scots, was besieged and slain, about the year of our Lord 211, leaving behind him two sons, Bassianus and Geta; which Bassianus, surnamed Caracalla, after he had slain his brother Geta here in Britain, governed the empire alone, the space of six years. After whose death, (he being slain also of his servants, as he had slain his brother before), succeeded Macrinus with his son Diadumenus, to be emperor; who, after they had reigned one year, were both slain of their own people.

After them followed Varius Heliogabalus in the empire, rather to be called a monster than a man; so prodigious was his life in all gluttony, filthiness, and ribaldry. Such was his pomp, that in his lamps he used balm, and filled his fish-ponds with rose-water. To let pass his sumptuous vestures, which he would not wear but only of gold and most costly silks; and his shoes glistering with precious

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Patines
of glass
borne
before the
priest.
The ordi-
nances of
Zephyri-
nus of
small
credit.

Golden
chalices.
Councils
of Tribur
and
Rheims.

Martyrs.

Severus
warreth
in Britain.

A wall
between
England
and Scot-
land.

Severus,
the perse-
cutor,
slain at
York.

Bassi-
anus.

Macrinus
with his
son Dia-
dumenus.

Mon-
strous
life of He-
liogaba-
lus.

(1) Platina has been misunderstood here; he quite coincides with Damasus.—Ed.

(2) "Ligneum calicem usurpatum esse, expresse dicitur dist. 1. de consecrat. can. 'vasa' idemque aperte colligitur ex Concil. Triburiensi c. 18, ubi prohibentur sacerdotes *ne in ligneis vasculis illo modo conficere præsumant*. Quia tamen propter fragilitatem vitri, usus vitrei calicis periculosus est, tandem circa tempora Caroli M., in concilio Remensi statutum est, *ut calix Domini cum patena, si non ex auro, omnino ex argento fiat*," etc. Binius apud Labbe conc. tom. i. col. 603.—Ed.

(3) Teuver, near Mentz, A.D. 695. Labbe, Conc. tom. ix. col. 451.—Ed.

(4) He died about A.D. 219.—Ed.

(5) Foxe, it will be remarked, occasionally defers to indifferent or rather modern authority; in the present case, a reference to Tertull. de Animâ, § 55, and Augustin, tom. 6, col. 611, edit. Bened. would be better vouchers. See Tillemont Mémoires, tom. iii. pt. 1, p. 240.—Ed.

(6) The wall of Severus (or the "Pict's Wall") extended from Cousin's House, through Newcastle, to Boulness on the Solway Firth, 68 English and 74 Roman miles. Butler's Geog.—Ed.

*The Fifth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
197
to
235.

A prodigious
belly-god.

Heliogabalus
slain of
his soldiers.

Alexander Severus,
emperor.

Against
corrupt
judges.

The saying of
Alexander to be
noted and
followed.

A note,
worthy to be
marked.

stones finely engraved ; he was never two days served with one kind of meat ; he never wore one garment twice. And likewise, for his fleshly wickedness, some days his company was served at meal with the brains of ostriches, and a strange fowl called phœnicoptery, another day with the tongues of popinjays, and other sweet singing birds. Being nigh to the sea, he never used fish ; in places far distant from the sea, all his house was served with most delicate fishes. At one supper he was served with seven thousand fishes, and five thousand fowls. At his removing in his progress, often there followed him six hundred chariots laden only with bawds, common harlots, and ribalds. He sacrificed young children, and preferred to the best advancements in the common-wealth most light personages, as bawds, minstrels, carters, and such like ; in one word, he was an enemy to all honesty and good order. And when he was foretold by his sorcerers and astronomers that he should die a violent death, he provided robes of silk to hang himself, swords of gold to kill himself, and strong poison in [boxes of] jacinth and emerald to poison himself, if needs he must thereto be forced. Moreover, he made a high tower, having the floor of boards covered with gold plate, bordered with precious stones, from the which tower he would throw himself down, if he should be pursued of his enemies. But notwithstanding all his provision, he was slain of the soldiers, drawn through the city, and cast into the Tiber, after he had reigned two years and eight months, as witnesseth Eutropius ; others say four years.

This Heliogabalus, having no issue, adopted to his son and heir Aurelius Alexander Severus, the son of Mammæa, who, entering his reign the year of our Lord 222, continued thirteen years, well commended for being virtuous, wise, gentle, liberal, and to no man hurtful. And as he was not unlearned himself, through the diligent education of Mammæa his mother, so he was a great favourer of wise and learned men. Neither did he any thing in the commonwealth, without the assistance of learned and sage counsellors. It is reported of him that he bore such stomach against corrupt judges, that when he chanced to meet with any of them, by the commotion of his mind he would cast up gall, being so moved with them that he could not speak, and was ready with his two fingers to put out their eyes. From his court he dismissed all superfluous and unneedful servants, saying, that he was no good pupil which fed idle servants with the bowels of his commonwealth.¹

Among his other good virtues, it appeareth also that he was friendly and favourable unto the Christians, as by this act may be gathered : for when the Christians had occupied a certain public place in some good use (belike for the assembling and conventing together of the congregation) the company of the cooks or tiplers made challenge of that place to belong unto them. The matter being brought before the emperor, he judged it more honest, for the place to be continued to the worship of God, howsoever it were, than be polluted by the dirty slubbering of cooks and scullions.

By this it may be understood, that in Rome no Christian churches

(1) This passage is from *Ælius Lampridius, Vit. Alexandri*, § 15. *Malum pupillum esse imperatorem*, etc. : for *pupillum*, *Salmasius* proposes to read "*pop. villum*," contracted for "*populi villicum*," and shows that Alexander was fond of the sentiment, that the emperor was the steward and dispenser, not the owner, of the public wealth.—*En.*

were erected unto this time, when yet (notwithstanding this favour of the emperor) no public house could quietly be obtained for the Christians. So that, by the reason hereof, may appear the decretal epistle and ordinance of pope Hyginus concerning the dedication of churches, above-mentioned, to be falsified. And likewise the ordinance of Pius his successor, concerning the altar,¹ to be also false. For what altar was it likely they had in the time of Hyginus and Pius, A.D. 150, when at this time, A.D. 223, which was long after, no public place almost could be granted them for the Christians to assemble together.

Of this Alexander, Platina writeth,² that as he was a great hater of all boasters and flatterers, so he was of such prudence, that no deceit could escape him; and bringeth in a story of one Turinus, who had gotten craftily many great bribes and gifts, by making the people believe that he was of great authority with the emperor, and that he could help them to have whatsoever they sued for. Whereof the emperor being certified, he caused him in the open market to be fastened to a stake, and there killed with smoke, while the crier stood thus crying to the people; "Smoke he sold, and with smoke he is punished."

Mammæa, the mother of this Alexander above-mentioned (whom Jerome calleth a devout and religious woman), hearing of the fame and the excellent learning of Origen, who was then at Alexandria, sent for him to Antioch, desirous to see and hear him: unto whom the aforesaid Origen, according to her request, resorted, and after that he had there remained a space with the emperor and his mother, returned again to Alexandria. And thus continued this good emperor his reign the space of thirteen years; at length, at a commotion in Germany, with his mother Mammæa he was slain. After whom succeeded Maximin, A.D. 235, contrary to the mind of the senate, only appointed by the soldiers to be emperor. During all this time between Severus and this Maximin, the church of Christ, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had some mean tranquillity from persecution. Albeit, some martyrs there were at this time that suffered, whereof Nauclerus giveth this reason: "For although," saith he, "Alexander, being persuaded through the entreating of his mother Mammæa, did favour the Christians, yet notwithstanding, there was no public edict or proclamation provided for their safeguard." By reason whereof, divers there were who suffered martyrdom under Almachius and other judges. In the number of whom, after some stories, was Calixtus bishop of Rome, who succeeded next unto Zephyrinus³ above mentioned; and after him Urban also, who, both being bishops of Rome, did both suffer, by the opinion of some writers, under Alexander Severus. This Calixtus, in his two decretal epistles, written to Benedict and to the bishops of France, giveth these ordinances; that no actions or accusations against the prelates or doctors of the church should be received; that no secret conspiracies should be made against bishops; item, no man to communicate with persons excommunicate; also, no bishop to excommunicate or to deal in another's diocese. And here he expoundeth the diocese or the parish of any bishop or minister to be his wife: "The wife," saith the apostle, "is bound to the law,

The Fifth Persecution.

A. D.
197
to
235.

Punished
with
smoke,
that sold
smoke.

Mammæa, the
mother of
the emperor.

Naucle-
rus

Calixtus,
bishop of
Rome and
martyr.

The de-
cretal
epistles of
Calixtus
examined.

The place
of St. Paul
unfily
expound-
ed.

(1) See *suprà*, p. 151.—Ed

(2) Platina in *vitâ Pontiani*.

(3) Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vi. 21.—Ed.

The Fifth Persecution. as long as the husband liveth ; when he is dead, she is free from the law." " So," saith Calixtus, " the wife of a bishop (which is his church) so long as he liveth, is bound only to him, neither ought to be judged or disposed by any other man, without his will and judgment. After his death, she is free from the law to marry to whom she will, so it be in the Lord, that is ' regulariter,' regularly." In the end of the said his epistle decretal, he confuteth the error of those who hold, " that they which are fallen are not to be received again : " which heresy, after the time of Calixtus or Calistus, came in first by Novatian, in the days of Cornelius, A.D. 251. Moreover, in his said first epistle decretal is contained the Fast of the Four Times, commonly called the Ember-fast, whereof also Marianus Scotus maketh mention. But Damasus, speaking of the same fast, saith, he ordained the fast but of three times, which was for the increase of corn, wine, and oil.

Ember
Fasts first
ordained

By these hitherto premised, it is not hard for a quick reader to smell out the crafty juggling of that person or persons, whosoever they were, that falsely have ascribed these decretal institutions to those holy fathers. For first, what leisure had the Christians to lay in their accusations against their bishops, when we never read, or find in any story, any kind of variance in those days among them ; but all love, mutual compassion, and hearty communion among the saints ? And as we read of no variance among the people in those days, nor of any fault or backsliding among the bishops, who for the most part then died all constant martyrs, so neither do we read of any tribunal seat or consistory used or frequented then about any such matters. Again, if a man examine well the dangers of those busy days, he shall see the poor flock of the Christians so occupied and piteously oppressed by the cruel accusations of the heathen infidels, that though the *cause* did, yet the *time* would not serve them to commence any law against their bishops. Secondly, as touching their conspiracy against bishops, what conspiracy either would they then practise against them, who always gave their lives for their defence ? Or how could they then conspire in any companies together, when never a true christian man durst once put his head out of his doors ? neither was there in the church any christian man in those perilous days, except he were a true man indeed, such as was far from all false conspiracies. And when all the world almost in all places conspired against them, what time, what cause, or what heart, trow ye, could they have to conspire against their instructors ? Thirdly, concerning the confutation of that heresy, how standeth the confutation with the time of Calixtus, when Novatian, the author of that heresy, was after him in the time of Cornelius ? Fourthly, if by the law of Calixtus every diocese or parish be the proper wife of every bishop or minister, then how many bishops' wives, and parsons' wives, has the adulterous pope of Rome deflowered in these latter days of the church ! who so proudly and impudently hath intermeddled and taken his pleasure, and his own profit, in every diocese and parish almost through all Christendom, without all leave and license of the good man ; who hath been in the mean time, and yet is compelled still, wheresoever the pope's holiness cometh, " Vigilanti stertere naso,"¹ and to give him leave unasked to

(1) Juvenal, sat. i. 57.—Ed.

do what he list. Wherefore if this canon decretal be truly his,¹ why is it not observed, so as it doth stand, without exception? If it be not, why is it then falsely forged upon him, and the church of Christ deceived? and certes, lamentable it is, that this falsifying of such trifling traditions, under the false pretence of antiquity, either was begun in the church to deceive the people, or that it hath remained so long undetected. For, as I think, the church of Christ will never be perfectly reformed, before these decretal constitutions and epistles, which have so long put on the visor of antiquity, shall be fully detected, and appear in their own colour, wherein they were first painted.

*The Fifth
Persecution.*

A. D.
197
to
235.

Against
the de-
cretal
epistles
and con-
stitu-
tions.

And yet neither do I say this, or think contrary, but that it may be, that bishops of Rome, and of the same name, have been the true authors of these traditions. But here cometh in the error (as I credibly suppose), that when other later bishops of the like name have devised these ceremonial inventions, the vulgar opinion of men hath transferred them to the first primitive fathers; although being of another time, yet bearing the same name with the true inventors thereof. But of Calixtus enough; who, as Damasus saith, in the days of this Alexander Severus died a martyr. Vincentius affirmeth, that he was tied to a great stone, and so out of a window was thrown into a ditch.² Eusebius, speaking of his death, maketh no mention of his martyrdom, and saith he sat five years; Platina saith six years; Sabellicus giveth him seven years, and so doth Damasus.³

Calixtus,
a martyr.

After Calixtus followed Urban, about the year of our Lord 223; who, in his epistle decretal (coming out of the same forge) which he wrote in common to all bishops, maketh no mention of the heavy persecutions of the church, nor ministereth any exhortation of comfort or constancy to the brethren; but only giveth many strict precepts for not transporting or alienating the goods of the church, and to pay truly their offerings which they vow: also to have all common among the clergy. Moreover, about the end of his epistle, he instituteth the confirmation of children after baptism (which the papists be wont to take into the number of their seven sacraments) affirming and denouncing more than Scripture will bear, that the imposition of the bishop's hand bringeth the Holy Ghost, and that thereby men be made full Christians, etc. But of these decretal epistles enough is said before, more may be considered of the discreet reader. Marianus Scotus, Sabellicus, Nauclerus, and other late story-writers do hold, as is aforesaid, that he died a martyr in the days of Alexander Severus,⁴ after he had governed that seat four years, as Damasus and Platina do witness; as Marianus saith, eight years.

Urban,
bishop of
Rome.

Confirma-
tion of
children
institut-
ed.

Urban
martyred.

The same Damasus and Platina do testify of him, that he, by his preaching and holiness of life, converted divers heathens to the faith. Among whom were Tiburtius, and Valerian the [espoused] husband of Cecilia, who both, being [brothers and] noblemen of Rome, remained

Tiburtius
and Vale-
rius, mar-
tyrs.

(1) "Selecti viri, qui Romæ operam navarunt in Gratiano emendando, Callixti primi epistolæ rejecerunt." Anton. August. in Blondel, p. 265.—Ed.

(2) Vincen. in Spec. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 24.—Ed.

(3) Anton. tit. 7, cap. 6.

(4) "Anno sequenti 233 Urbanus Papa, cum sedisset annos 6, menses septem, et dies quatuor, martyrio functus est; licet Eusebius in Chron. cum sedisse dicat annos 9, et anno duodecimo Alexandri ponat successoris ingressum." Baronius ad ann. 233, § 1. Pagi settles the time of his session, more exactly, at seven years, and some months and days.—Ed.

*The fifth
Persecution*

constant in the faith unto martyrdom. Of this Cecilia thus it is written in the Martyrology by Ado :

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197
to
235.

Cecilia,
martyr.

" Cecilia the virgin, after she had brought Valerian, her husband espoused. and Tiburtius his brother, to the knowledge and faith of Christ, and, with her exhortations, had made them constant unto martyrdom ; after the suffering of them she was also apprehended by Almachius the ruler, and brought to the idols to do sacrifice : which thing when she abhorred to do, she should be presented before the judge to have the condemnation of death. In the mean time, the serjeants and officers which were about her, beholding her comely beauty, and the prudent behaviour in her conversation, began, with many persuasions of words, to solicit her mind to favour herself, and that so excellent beauty, and not to cast herself away, etc. But she again so replied to them with reasons and godly exhortations, that, by the grace of Almighty God, their hearts began to kindle, and at length to yield to that religion which before they did persecute. Which thing she perceiving, desired of the judge Almachius a little respite ; which being granted, she sendeth for Urban, the bishop, home to her house, to stablish and ground them in the faith of Christ. And so were they, with divers others, at the same time baptized, both men and women, to the number (as the story saith) of four hundred persons ; among whom was one Gordian a nobleman. This done, this blessed martyr was brought before the judge, where she was condemned ; then, after, was brought to the house of the judge, where she was enclosed in a hot bath. But she, remaining there a whole day and night without any hurt, as in a cold place, was brought out again, and commandment given that in the bath she should be beheaded. The executioner is said to have had four strokes at her neck ; and yet her head being cut off, she (as the story goeth) lived three days after. And so died this holy virgin martyr, whose body, in the night season, Urban the bishop took and buried among the other bishops."

The mar-
tyrdom of
Cecilia.

Ado, the compiler of this Martyrology, addeth that this was done in the time of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. But that cannot be, forsomuch as Urban, by all histories, was long after those emperors, and lived in the days of this Alexander, as is above declared. Antoninus, Bergomensis, and Equilinus, with such other writers, set forth this history with many strange miracles wrought by the said Cecilia, in converting her husband Valerian and his brother, in showing them the angel which was the keeper of her virginity, and of the angel putting on crowns upon their heads.¹ But as touching these miracles, as I do not dispute whether they be true or fabulous, so, because they have no ground upon any ancient or grave authors, but are taken out of certain new legends, I do therefore refer them thither from whence they came.

Agapitus,
a blessed
martyr.

Under the same Alexander divers other there be, whom Bergomensis mentioned to have suffered martyrdom, as one Agapitus of the age of fifteen years, who, being apprehended and condemned at Preneste in Italy, because he would not sacrifice to idols, was assailed with sundry torments ; first with whips scourged, then hanged up by the feet ; after, having hot water poured upon him ; at the last cast to the wild beasts : with all which torments when he could not be hurt, finally, with sword he was beheaded.² The executer of these punishments (as by Henry of Herford may be gathered) was one Antiochus ; who, in the executing of the foresaid torments, suddenly fell down from his judicial seat, crying out, that all his inward bowels burned within him, and so gave up the breath.³

A notable
example
of God's
just
plague
upon a
persecu-
tor.

(1) Ex Martyrologio Adonis.

(2) Ex Bergomens. lib. viii. [fol. 165, edit. Brixiae 1485.—En.]

(3) Henr. de Herfordia, lib. vi. cap. 29.

Also with the same Agapitus is numbered Calepodius, a minister of Rome, whose body first was drawn through the city of Rome, and afterwards cast into the Tiber.¹

Then followeth Palmatus, a senator of Rome, with his wife and children, and others both men and women, to the number of forty and two; also another noble senator of Rome named Simplicius; all which together, in one day, had their heads smitten off, and their heads afterwards were hanged up on divers gates of the city for a terror of others, that none should profess the name of Christ. Besides these suffered also Quiritius, a nobleman of Rome, who, with his mother Julitta, and a great number more, were put likewise to death. Also Tiberius and Valerian [before-mentioned], citizens of Rome and brothers, suffered (as Bergomensis saith) the same time; who, first being bruised and broken with bats, afterwards were beheaded. Also Vincentius, Bergomensis, and Henry of Herford, make mention of Martina, a christian virgin, who, after divers bitter punishments, being constant in her faith, suffered in like manner by the sword.

Albeit, as touching the time of these aforementioned martyrs, as I find them not in older writers, so do I suppose them to have suffered under Maximin or Decius, rather than under Alexander.

THE SIXTH PERSECUTION.

After the death of the emperor Alexander, who, with his mother Mammæa (as is said), was murdered in Germany, followed Maximin, chosen by the will of the soldiers, rather than by the authority of the senate, about the year of our Lord 235; who, for the hatred he had to the house of Alexander (as Eusebius recordeth), raised up the sixth persecution against the Christians, especially against the doctors and leaders of the church; thinking thereby the sooner to vanquish the rest, if the captains of them were removed out of the way. For which reason I suppose the martyrdom of Urban, the bishop of Rome, and of the rest above specified, to have happened rather under the tyranny of this Maximin than under Alexander. In the time of this persecution Origen wrote his book, "De Martyrio;" which book, if it were extant, would give us some knowledge, I doubt not, of such as in this persecution did suffer, who now lie in silence unknown: and no doubt but a great number they were, and more should have been, had not the provident mercy of God shortened his days, and bridled his tyranny; for he reigned but three years. After whom succeeded Gordian III. in the year of our Lord 238, a man no less studious of the welfare of the commonwealth, than mild and gentle to the Christians. This Gordian, after he had governed with much peace and tranquillity the monarchy of Rome the space of six years, was slain of Philip, the emperor after him.

In the days of these emperors above recited was Pontian bishop of Rome, who succeeded next after Urban above rehearsed, about the year A.D. 230; or in the twelfth year of Alexander, A.D. 233, as Eusebius noteth,² declaring him to sit six years.³ Contrary, Damasus and Platina write, that he was bishop nine years and a half, and that in the time of Alexander he, with Philip⁴ a priest, was banished

The Sixth Persecution.

A. D.
235
to
250.

Forty-two martyred
Simpli-
cius.

Quiritius,
Julitta,
his mo-
ther.
Tiberius
and Vale-
rian.

Martina,
a virgin

Maximin
emperor.

Gordian.
A.D. 238.

Pontian,
bishop of
Rome.

Damasus
and Euse-
bius.

(1) Bergomensis, ibidem.

(3) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 29.—Ed.

(2) In Chronico.—Ed.

(4) Alias, Hippolytus.—Ed.

*The Sixth
Persecu-
tion.*

A.D.
235
to
250.

into Sardinia, and there died. But it seemeth more credible, that he was banished rather under Maximin, and died in the beginning of the reign of Gordian. In his Epistles Decretal (which seem likewise to be feigned) he appeareth very much bent, after the common example of other bishops, to uphold the dignity of priests, and of clergymen; saying, "that God hath them so familiar with him, that by them he accepteth the offerings and oblations of others, he forgiveth their sins, and reconcileth them unto him:" also, "that they do make the body of the Lord with their own mouth, and give it to others," etc.; which doctrine, how it standeth with the glory of God and testament of Christ, let the reader use his own judgment.¹

Other notable fathers also in the same time were raised up in the church, as Philetus bishop of Antioch, who succeeded after Asclepiades afore mentioned, in the year of our Lord 221; and after him Zebinus, bishop of the same place, in the year of our Lord 233.

Hippo-
lytus,
bishop
and mar-
tyr.

Of Hippolytus, also, both Eusebius and Jerome make mention that he was a bishop; but where, they make no relation. And so likewise doth Theodoret witness him to be a bishop and also a martyr, but naming no place. Gelasius² saith, he died a martyr, and that he was metropolitan of Arabia. Nicephorus writeth, that he was bishop of Porto, a port-town near to Rome.³ Certain it is, he was a great writer, and left many works in the church, which Eusebius and Jerome do recite. By the computation of Eusebius, he was about the year of our Lord 230. Prudentius, in his "*Περὶ Στεφάνων*," making mention of great heaps of martyrs buried by threescore together, speaketh also of Hippolytus,⁴ and saith that he was drawn with wild horses through fields, dales, and bushes, and describeth thereof a pitiful story.

Ammo-
nius, a
christian
writer.

To these also may be added Ammonius the schoolmaster of Origen, as Suidas supposeth, also the kinsman of Porphyry, the great enemy of Christ: notwithstanding, this Ammonius, indued with better grace, as he left divers books in defence of Christ's religion, so did he constantly persevere (as Eusebius reporteth⁵) in the doctrine of Christ, which he had in the beginning received; who was about the days of Alexander.

Julius
Africa-
nus.

Julius Africanus also, about the time of Gordian aforesaid, is numbered among the ancient writers;⁶ of whom Nicephorus writeth, that he was the scholar of Origen, and a great writer of histories of that time.

Natalius.

Unto these doctors and confessors may be adjoined the story of Natalius, mentioned in the fifth book of Eusebius.⁷ This Natalius had suffered persecution before, like a constant confessor; but was seduced and persuaded by Asclepiodotus and Theodorus (who were

(1) This doctrine seemeth derogatory to Christ, and blasphemous.

(2) Gel. contra Eutychien, tom. v. "Biblioth. Patrum," col. 477, Edit. Paris, 1575.—Ed.

(3) "Cæterum absque aliqua ambiguitate eum fuisse Episcopum Portuensem, cum tabulæ ecclesiasticæ, tum ejus ac sociorum martyrii Acta significant; eodemque titulo Nicephorus (lib. v. cap. 15) eundem nominat, et alii pæne innumeri recentiores." See Baron. ad an. 229, § 5. Dupin prefers Le Moynes's conjecture, that he was bishop of Portus Romanus (hod. Aden) in Arabia; as it would be easy for those who were unacquainted with this Arabian Portus to suppose, that he was called Portuensis from the bishopric at the mouth of the Tiber.—Ed.

(4) "Quem tamen canit Prudentius, multo discrimine a nostro Hippolyto discernitur. Ille Presbyter, hic Episcopus. Ille Novatiano addictus, hic alienus ab ejus disciplina." Basnagii "Tillemont's Annual." ad an. 222, § 8.—Ed.

(5) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 19.—Ed.

(6) Ibid. cap. 31.—Ed.

(7) Euseb. lib. v. cap. 28. quoting (as appears from Valesius's note) the "little labyrinth," written by one Calus against the heresy of Artemon.—Ed.

disciples of Theodotus the tanner¹), to take upon him to be bishop of their sect; promising to give him every month a hundred and fifty pieces of silver. And so, joining himself to them, he was admonished [of his error] by frequent visions from the Lord; for such was the great mercy of our God and Lord Jesus Christ, that he would not have his martyr, who had suffered so much for his name before, now to perish out of his church: "For the which cause," saith Eusebius, "God, by certain visions, did admonish him. But he, not taking great heed thereunto, being blinded partly with lucre, partly with honour, was at length all the night long scourged of the angels; insomuch that he, being made thereby very sore, and early on the morrow putting on sackcloth, with much weeping and lamentation went to Zephyrinus, the bishop above mentioned; where he, falling down before him and all the christian congregation, showed them the stripes of his body, and prayed them, for the mercies of Christ, that he might be received into their communion again, from which he had sequestered himself before; and so was admitted according as he desired."

The Sixth Persecution.

A. D.
250
to
253.

The Lord will not lose them that have done or suffered for him.

After the decease of Pontian, bishop of Rome, afore mentioned, succeeded next in that place Anterus,² of whom Isuardus writeth, that Pontian, leaving Rome, did substitute him in his room: but Eusebius writeth that he succeeded immediately after him. Damasus saith, that because he caused the acts and deaths of the martyrs to be written, therefore he was put to martyrdom himself by Maximin. Concerning the time of this bishop our writers do greatly jar.³ Eusebius and Marianus Scotus affirm that he was bishop but one month; Sabellicus saith that not to be so; Damasus assigneth to him twelve years and one month; Volateran, Bergomensis, and Henry of Herford, give to him three years and one month; Naclerus writeth that he sat one year and one month. All which are so far discrepant one from another, that which of them most agreeth with truth, it lieth in doubt. Next to this bishop was Fabian, of whom more is to be said hereafter.

Anterus, bishop of Rome. A. D. 235.

Authors disagree.

After the emperor Gordian III. the empire fell to Philip, in the year of our Lord 244, who, with Philip his son, governed the space of six years. This Philip, with his son and all his family, were converted and christened by Fabian⁴ and Origen, who by letters

Prudentius, Philip, emperor. Philip, the first christian emperor.

(1) Said to be the first who asserted that Christ was a mere man, and excommunicated for this opinion by Victor. Euseb. lib. v. cap. 28.—Ed.

(2) "In chronico Damasi legitur: Anteros mense uno, diebus decem. Dormit iii. Nonas Januarii, Maximino et Africano Coss. presenti sc. anno. Ordinatus fuerat anno præcedenti die 21 mensis Novembris, et currenti e vivis excessit die tertio Januarii. Quare error irrepsit in præfatum locum, quemadmodum et in auctius chronicon veterum pontificum, in quo dicitur Anteros sedisse annos undecim, mensem unum, dies duodecim. Sedit enim mensem, et dies tredecim, die mortuali excluso. Anastasius Antero etiam annum tribuit præter illum mensem et dies; sed annus ille ut temere adjectus omnino expungendus." "Pagii critique in annal. eccles. Baron." an. 238, § 1.—Ed.

(3) "Errore gravissimo libri pontificalis afficitur chronologia, quæ annos xii. mensem unum, dies xii. Antero vindicavit. Quem refellit et errorem Eusebium." Basnagii "Annales" ad an. 235, § 7; who supposes also that this bishop died a natural death: "Quippe si martyrem Euseb. Anterorem scivisset, illum ipsum non minus quam Fabianum tanto titulo exornasset. Neque verba Indicii Bucheriani Anterorem martyrem sonant, "dormit iii. Nonas Januarii," quæ siccam magis, quam cruentam mortem indicant."—Ed.

(4) Baronius has a long argument (ad an. 246) to show the improbability of this alleged conversion of Philip having taken place, at this date at least; and Pagii, his commentator, endeavours to set it aside altogether: "Philippum Imperatorem Christianam religionem amplexum esse putavit Eusebius, lib. 6, cap. 34, cujus verba Baronius, § 5, recitat. In Chronico vero: Primus omnium ex Rom. Imperatoribus [Constantinus] Christianus fuit. Et denique in vit. Constant. lib. 4, cap. 62. Solut ex omnibus qui unquam fuerunt Imperatoribus Constantinus, in Christi martyris renatus et consummatus est, id est, in Ecclesiis, quia forte supponit Philippum occulte baptizatum fuisse. Quam opinionem de conversione Philippi ad fidem nostram ab Eusebio hauserunt Paulus Orosius et Vincentius Lirinensis, et ante illos D. Hieronymus lib. de Script. eccles. cum de Origene loquitur." Pagii thinks that there is no evidence that Eusebius had seen the letters

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exhorted him and Severa his wife to be baptized, being the first of all the emperors that brought Christianity into the imperial seat. Howsoever Pomponius Letus reporteth him to be a dissembling prince. This is certain, that for his Christianity, he, with his son, was slain of Decius, one of his captains. Sabellicus¹ and Bergomensis² show this hatred of Decius against Philip to be conceived, for that the emperor Philip, both the father and the son, had committed their treasures unto Fabian, then bishop of Rome.

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Decius,
emperor.

The
cause and
occasion
of this
persecu-
tion.

Fabian,
bishop of
Rome.
A.D. 236.

His mira-
culous
election.

Fabian,
martyr.

His ordi-
nances
pre-
tensed.

False
doctrine
detected.

Thus Philip being slain, after him Decius invaded the crown about the year of our Lord 249; by whom was moved a terrible persecution against the Christians, which Orosius noteth to be the seventh persecution. The first occasion of this hatred and persecution of this tyrant, conceived against the Christians, was chiefly (as is before touched) because of the treasures of the emperor which were committed to Fabian the bishop.

This Fabian, first being a married man (as Platina writeth), was made bishop of Rome after Anterus above-mentioned, by the miraculous appointment of God; which Eusebius doth thus describe:³ "When the brethren," saith he, "were congregated together in the church about the election of their bishop, and divers of them had nominated divers noble and worthy personages of Rome, it chanced that Fabian, among others, was there present; who of late before was newly come out of the country to inhabit in the city. The brethren thinking of nothing less than of choosing this Fabian, there suddenly cometh a dove flying from above, and sitteth upon his head; whereupon all the congregation were moved, with one mind and one voice, to choose him for their bishop;" in the which function he remained the space of thirteen years, as Eusebius writeth; Damasus, Marianus, and Sabellicus say fourteen years, unto the time of Decius; who, whether for that Philip had committed to him his treasures, or whether for the hatred he bare to Philip, in the beginning of his reign caused him to be put to death; sending out moreover his proclamation into all quarters, that all who professed the name of Christ should be slain.

To this Fabian be ascribed certain ordinances; as, of consecrating new oil for baptism once every year, and burning the old; of accusations against bishops; of appealing to the see apostolic; of not marrying within the fifth degree; of communicating thrice a year; of offering every Sunday; with such other things more in his three Epistles Decretal: which epistles, as by divers other evidences may be supposed to be untruly named upon him, giving no signification of any matter agreeing to that time; so do I find the most part of the third epistle word for word standing in the epistle of Sixtus III., who followed almost two hundred years after him; beside the unseemly doctrine

of Origen: that he was misled, etc.; and brings forward long proofs of Philip's adhesion to gentile customs in after life. See "Annal. Baron." tom ii. p. 558, edit. Lucæ, 1738. If the reader cares to inquire farther into this contested point, he may consult the authors referred to in Heinecken's note ad Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 34, vol. ii. p. 241, edit. Lips. 1828.—Ed.

(1) "M. Anton. Sabellicus—maxime celebratur historia Enneadum xi. ab urbe conditâ usque ad annum m.drv. post quem annum triennio superfuît, teste Leandro." Vid. Vossius de hist. Lat. p. 669. The "Enneades" were printed at Basle 1538; but Foxe, if we mistake not, avails himself here of the Magdeburg Centuriators, cent. 3, cap. 3, col. 10, edit. 1624.—Ed.

(2) Bergoin. lib. viii.

(3) Euseb lib. vi. cap. 29.

also in the end of the said epistles contained, where he, contrary to the tenor of the gospel, applieth remission of sins (only due to the blood of Christ) unto the offerings of bread and wine by men and women every Sunday in the church.

To this Fabian wrote Origen "De orthodoxyâ suâ fidei," that is, "Of the orthodoxy of his faith:" whereby is to be understood, that he continued to the time of Decius: some say also to the time of Gallus. Of this Origen partly mention is touched before, declaring how bold and fervent he was in the days of Severus, in assisting, comforting, exhorting, and kissing the martyrs that were imprisoned, and suffered for the name of Christ; with such danger of his own life, that had it not been for the singular protection of God, he had been stoned to death many times of the heathen multitude. Such great concourse of men and women was daily at his house to be catechised and instructed in the christian faith by him, that soldiers were hired on purpose to defend the place where he taught them.¹

Again, such search sometimes was set for him, that scarce any shifting of place or country could cover him; in whose laborious travails and affairs of the church, in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting, and expounding, he continued about the space of fifty-two years, unto the time of Decius and Gallus. Divers and great persecutions he sustained, but especially under Decius, as testifieth Eusebius,² declaring that, for the doctrine of Christ, he sustained bands and torments in his body, rackings with bars of iron, dungeons, besides terrible threats of death and burning. All this he suffered in the persecution of Decius, as Eusebius recordeth of him, and maketh no relation of any further matter. But Suidas and Nicephorus, following the same, say further concerning him, that the said Origen, after divers and sundry other torments which he manfully and constantly suffered for Christ, at length was brought to an altar, where a foul filthy Ethiopian was appointed to be, and there this option or choice was offered unto him; whether he would sacrifice to the idols, or have his body polluted with that foul and ugly Ethiopian. Then Origen, saith he, who, with a philosophical mind, ever kept his chastity undefiled, much abhorring that filthy villany to be done to his body, condescended to their request. Whereupon the judge, putting incense in his hand, caused him to set it to the fire upon the altar; for the which impiety he afterward was excommunicated of the church. Epiphanius writeth that he, being urged to sacrifice to idols, and taking the boughs in his hand, wherewith the heathen were wont to honour their gods, called upon the Christians to carry them in the honour of Christ. The which fact the church of Alexandria misliking, removed him from their communion;³ whereupon Origen, driven away with shame and sorrow out of Alexandria, went into Jewry, where, being in Jerusalem among the congregation, and there requested of the priests and ministers (he being also a priest) to

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Persecutions of Origen.

His fall

Origen excommunicated.

(1) See *suprà*, p. 155, note (6).—*En.*

(2) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 39.

(3) The whole of this story is doubted by some writers, and they are disposed to reject it, as supported only by the rather weak testimony of Epiphanius (*Hæres*, 64, § 2): "Hæc Epiphanius, Origeni haudquaquam amicus, in antiquiorum graviorumque auctorum, Eusebii atque Hieronymi, contentum nugatur, ne Photio quidem assentiente. Solut Nicephorus (lib. v. pp. 24 et 32) istius auctoris fabulam repetere non dubitat." Vid. "De Scholâ quæ Alexandria floruit commentatio, auct. H. E. F. Guericke," p. 55, Hal. 1824. The subject is fully discussed in Tillemont's "Mémoires" tom. iii. part 3, pp. 354—360.—*En.*

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His repentance.

Blemishes noted in him.

Commended for his learning.

Herac拉斯, bishop of Alexandria.

Called pope, yet no bishop of Rome.

A. D. 247.

make some exhortation in the church, he refused a great while to do. At length, by importunate petition being constrained thereunto, he rose up, and turning the book, as though he would have expounded some place of the Scripture, he only read the verse of the fiftieth Psalm: "But to the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do, to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth?" which verse being read, he shut the book, and sat down weeping and wailing, the whole congregation also weeping and lamenting with him.¹ What more became of Origen, it is not found in history, but only that Suidas addeth, he died and was buried at Tyre. Eusebius affirmeth, that he departed under the emperor Gallus, about the year of our Lord 255; and in the seventieth year of his age, in great misery (as appeareth) and poverty.

In this Origen divers blemishes of doctrine be noted, whereupon Jerome sometimes doth inveigh against him; albeit in some places again he doth extol and commend him for his excellent learning, as in his Apology against Ruffinus, and in his epistle to Pammachius and Ocean; where he praiseth Origen, although not for the perfection of his faith and doctrine, nor for an apostle, yet for an excellent interpreter, for his wit, and for a philosopher: and yet in his Prologue upon the Homilies of Origen on Ezekiel, he calleth him the second master of the churches after the apostle; and, in the preface to his Questions upon Genesis, he wisheth to himself the knowledge of the Scriptures, which Origen had; also with the envy of his name. Athanasius, moreover, calleth him admirable and laborious, and useth also his testimonies against the Arians.²

After Origen, the congrue order of history requireth next to speak of Heraclas his usher; a man singularly commended for his knowledge, not only in philosophy, but also in such faculties as, to a christian divine do appertain. This great towardness of wit and learning when Origen perceived in him, he appointed him above all others to be his usher, or under-teacher, to help in his school or university of Alexandria in the reign of Antoninus Caracalla, son of Severus. And after, in the tenth year of Alexander, Origen departing unto Cæsarea, he succeeded in his room to govern the school in Alexandria. Further also, in the time of Alexander³ after the decease of Demetrius bishop of Alexandria, this Heraclas succeeded to be bishop of the said city; in which function he ministered the term of sixteen years.⁴ Of this Heraclas writeth Origen himself, that he, although he was a priest, yet ceased not to read over and peruse the books of the Gentiles, to the intent he might the better, out of their own books, confute their errors.⁵

After Heraclas succeeded Dionysius of Alexandria in the bishopric of Alexandria, like as he succeeded him in the school before; which Dionysius also writeth of the same Heraclas unto Philemon a priest of Rome, saying thus: "This canon and type I received of blessed Heraclas our pope," etc.⁶ This Heraclas was no martyr, who died three years before Decius, about the year of our Lord, 247. After whom succeeded next in the same see of Alexandria, Dionysius Alex-

(1) Suid. et Niceph. lib. v. cap. 32.

(2) Socrates, lib. vi. cap. 13.

(3) Eusebius says "Gordian," lib. vi. cap. 29: but compare cap. 26, and lib. v. cap. 22.—Ed.

(4) Eusebius, cap. 35.

(5) Ibid. cap. 29.

(6) Hunc ego canonem et typum a beato Heracla Papa nostro accepi, etc.

andrinus, who also suffered much under the tyranny of Decius; as hereafter shall be showed (Christ willing) when we come to the time of Valerian. *The Seventh Persecution.*

Nicephorus in his first book,¹ and others who write of this persecution under Decius, declare the horribleness thereof to be so great, and such innumerable martyrs to suffer in the same, that he saith, it is as easy to number the sands of the sea, as to recite the particular names of them whom this persecution did devour; in which persecution the chiefest doers and tormentors under the emperor appear, in the history of Vincentius, to have been these: Optimus the proconsul, Valerian, and Quartus Promotus,² &c. Although therefore it be hard here to infer all and singular persons, in order, that died in this persecution, yet such as remain most notable in stories, I will briefly touch by the grace of Him for whose cause they suffered.

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In the former tractation of the fifth persecution, mention was made of Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and of his troubles suffered under Severus; and how, afterward, by the miracle of God, he was appointed bishop of Jerusalem, where he continued governor of that church above the term of forty years, till the time of the first year of Decius; at what time he, being brought from Jerusalem to Cæsarea into the judgment place, after a constant and evident confession of his faith made before the judge, was committed unto prison, and there finished his life a very aged man; as testifieth Dionysius Alexandrinus in the sixth book of Eusebius.³ After whom succeeded in that see Mazabanes, the thirty-and-fourth bishop of that city after James the apostle.

Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, martyr. A. D. 249.

Mention was made also before of Asclepiades, bishop of Antioch, who succeeded after Serapion, and in the persecution of Severus did likewise persevere in a constant confession; and, as Vincentius⁴ testifieth, suffered martyrdom at last under this Decius. But this computation of Vincentius can in no wise agree with the truth of time; forso much as by probable writers, as Zonaras, Nicephorus, and others, the said Asclepiades, after Serapion, entered the bishop's seat of Antioch, in the year of our Lord 214, and sat seven years before the time of Alexander; after whom succeeded Philetus, A. D. 221, governing the function twelve years. And after him Zebinus followed, A. D. 233; and so after him Babylas; which Babylas, if he died in this persecution of Decius, then could not Asclepiades also suffer in the same time, who died so long before him, as is declared. Of this Babylas, bishop of Antioch, Eusebius and Zonaras record, that under Decius he died in prison, as did Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem above rehearsed.

Asclepiades, bishop of Antioch, martyr. A place of Vincentius reserved.

We read in a certain treatise of Chrysostom, intituled "Contra Gentiles," a noble and long history of one Babylas a martyr, who, about these times, was put to death for resisting a certain emperor, not suffering him to enter into the temple of the Christians after a cruel murder committed; the story of which murder is this:

Babylas, bishop of Antioch, martyr.

(1) Ex Niceph. lib. i. cap. 29.

(2) The last two names are substituted for "Secundianus, Verianus, and Marcellianus," whom Vincent himself makes martyrs, *infra*, p. 183. Foxe was misled by the Magdeburg Centuriators, who misrepresent Vincent, century iii. col. 10, edit. 1624.—Ed.

(3) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 46.

(4) Specu. Vincent. lib. xi. cap. 52

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His story.

There was a certain emperor, who, upon conclusion of peace made with a certain nation, had received for hostage, or surety of peace, the son of the king, being of young and tender age; with conditions upon the same, that neither he should be molested of them, nor that they should ever be vexed of him. Upon this the king's son was delivered, not without great care and fear of the father, unto the emperor; whom the cruel emperor, contrary to promise, caused in short time, without all just cause, to be slain. This fact so horrible being committed, the tyrant with all haste would enter into the temple of the Christians, where Babylas, being bishop or minister, withstood him that he should not into that place approach. The emperor therewith not a little incensed, in great rage bade him forthwith to be laid in prison with as many irons as he could bear, and from thence shortly after to be brought forth to death and execution. Babylas, going constantly and boldly to his martyrdom, desired after his death to be buried with his irons and bands, and so he was.

The story proceedeth moreover, and saith ;

The body of Babylas stoppeth the oracles of idols

In the continuance of time in the reign of Constantine, Gallus, then made the overseer of the east parts, caused his body to be translated into the suburbs of Antioch, called Daphne,¹ where was a temple of Apollo, famous with devilish oracles and answers given by that idol, or by the devil rather in that place. In the which temple, after the bringing of the body of Babylas, the idol ceased to give any more oracles, saying, that for the body of Babylas he could give no more answers, and complaining that that place was wont to be consecrated unto him, but now it was full of dead men's bodies. And thus the oracles there ceased for that time till the coming of Julian; who, inquiring out the cause why the oracles ceased, caused the bones of the holy martyr to be removed again from thence by the Christians, whom he then called Galileans. They, coming in a great multitude, both men, maidens, and children, to the tomb of Babylas, transported his bones according to the commandment of the emperor, singing by the way as they went, the verse of the Psalm, in words as followeth: "Confounded be all that worship images, and all that glory in idols;" which, coming to the emperor's ear, set him in great rage against the Christians, stirring up persecution against them.²

Albeit Zonaras declareth the cause something otherwise, saying, that so soon as the body of him and [those of] other martyrs were removed away, incontinent the temple of the idol, with the image, in the night was consumed with fire: for the which cause, saith Zonaras, Julian, stirred up with anger, persecuted the Christians;³ as shall be showed (Christ willing) in his order and place hereafter.

And thus much of Babylas,⁴ who, whether it was the same Babylas bishop then of Antioch, or another of the same name, it appeareth not by Chrysostom, who neither maketh mention of the emperor's name, nor of the place where this Babylas was bishop. Again, the stopping of the emperor out of the church importeth as much as that emperor to have been a Christian: for otherwise, if he had come in as a heathen, and as a persecutor, it was not then the manner of christian bishops violently to withstand the emperors, or to stop them out. Over and besides the testimony of Eusebius, Zonaras doth witness contrary, that this Babylas, who was then bishop of Antioch after Zebinus, was not put to death by the tormentors, but died in prison:⁵ wherefore it is not impossible, but this Babylas, and this emperor of whom Chrysostom speaketh, may be another Babylas

(1) "Daphne" was a famous grove near the city, on the river Orontes.—Ed.

(2) Chrysost. lib. contra Gentiles.

(3) Zonaras, tom. iii. [His "Annales were first published by Wolf in 3 tom. Basilæ, 1557.—Ed.]

(4) If the reader is desirous of settling these or any other difficulties connected with this martyr, he may consult Tillemont's Mémoires, tom. iii. pt. 2, pp. 459—65.—Ed.

(5) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 39.

than that which suffered under Decius. Nicephorus maketh mention of another Babylas beside this, that suffered under Decius, who was bishop of Nicomedia.¹

Vincentius² speaketh of forty virgins, martyrs, in the forenamed city of Antioch, who suffered in the persecution of Decius.

The same Vincentius also speaketh of one Peter, who was apprehended, and suffered bitter torments for Christ's name in the country of Hellespont, and in the town of Lampsacus,³ under Optimus the proconsul: and likewise of other martyrs that suffered in Troas, whose names were, Andrew, Paul, Nicomachus, and Dionysia a virgin.⁴

Also in Babylon, saith he, divers christian confessors were found of Decius, who were led away into Spain,⁵ there to be executed.

In the country of Cappadocia, at the city Cæsarea, in like manner of the said author it is testified, that Germanus, Theophilus, Cæsarius, and Vitalis, suffered martyrdom for Christ.⁶ And in the same book mention is also made of Polychronius, bishop of Babylon,⁷ and of Nestor bishop of Perga in Pamphylia, that died martyr there.⁸

In Persia, at the town of Corduba, Olympiades and Maximus; in Tyre also, Anatolia a virgin, and Audax, gave their lives likewise to death for the testimony of Christ's name.⁹

Eusebius moreover, in his sixth book reciteth out of the epistles of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, divers that suffered diversely at Alexandria, which places of Dionysius, as they be cited in Eusebius, I thought here good for the ancientness of the author, to insert and notify in his own words, as he wrote them to Fabius bishop of Antioch, and rendered in our language as followeth:¹⁰

This persecution began not with the proclamation set forth by the emperor, but a whole year before, by the occasion and means of a wicked person, a soothsayer and poet; who, coming to our city here, stirred up the multitude of the heathen against us, and incited them to maintain their own country superstition; whereby they, being set agog, and obtaining full power to prosecute their wicked purpose, so thought, and no less declared, all piety and religion to consist only in their idolatrous worship of devils, and in destruction of us. And first, flying upon a venerable old man, named Metra, they apprehended him and commanded him to speak blasphemous words; which when he would not do, they laid upon him with staves and clubs, and with sharp reeds pricked his face and eyes; and afterward bringing him out into the suburbs, there they stoned him to death. Then they took a faithful woman, called Quinta, and brought her to the temple of their idols, to compel her to worship with them; which when she refused to do, and expressed abhorrence thereof, they tied her by the feet, and dragged her through the whole city over the rough pavement, and dashed her against millstones, at the same time scourging her with whips; and having finally brought her to the same place of the suburbs, as they did the other before, they stoned her likewise to death. After this, they all with one accord rushed to the houses of the godly, and, each singling out those of his own neighbourhood, spoiled and plundered them, purloining the more valuable goods; the refuse and every thing made of wood they threw out and burnt in the roads; and thus they exhibited the appearance of a city taken and

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Babylas,
bishop of Nico-
media,
martyr.

Forty
virgins
martyrs.

Martyrs.
Martyrs
of Baby-
lon.

Olympi-
ades and
Maximus
martyrs.

Martyrs.

Epistle of
Dionysius
to Fabius.

A com-
motion
of the
people of
Alexan-
dria
against
the Chris-
tians.

Metra.
Quinta, a
faithful
woman
and
martyr.

Patience,
joy, and
constancy
of the
martyrs
of Alex-
andria.

(1) Niceph. lib. v. cap. 25. -

(2) Vincent. lib. xi. cap. 52.

(3) Tillemont. "Mém. Eccles." tom. iii. pt. 2, p. 191 and 272. - Ed.

(4) Vincent. lib. xi. cap. 46.

(5) Lib. eodem, cap. 49: but see note (9). - Ed.

(6) Eodem, cap. 52.

(7) Cap. 89.

(8) Cap. 52.

(9) Cap. 52. Foxe has copied the Magdeburg Centuriators in his mention of these martyrs. "Extant horum acta" writes Baronius (Martyrol. Rom. April 15) "in Surio, tom. iv. ubi legitur hos passos esse Cordubæ in Perside. Interdum suspicatus sum pro Corduba, Corduena restituendum. Est Corduena civitas in Perside, cujus meminit Ammian. Marcel. lib. xxiii. et lib. xxiv." - Ed.

(10) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 41, &c. A better translation of these extracts from Eusebius has been substituted for Foxe's. - Ed.

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Apollonia,
a virgin,
and
martyr.
Serapion,
martyr.
Just punishment
of God
turning
the
cruelty of
adversaries on
themselves.

sacked in war. The brethren fled and withdrew themselves, taking no less joyfully the spoiling of their goods than did they of whom St. Paul doth testify; and I am not aware that any person who fell into their hands—except perhaps one—has revolted from his profession and denied the Lord, to this day.

Among others, they seized a most surprising old woman, a virgin, named Apollonia, and dashed out all her teeth; and having made up a pile outside the city, they threatened to burn her alive, unless she would join them in blaspheming Christ: she begged and was allowed a little respite, and shortly after leaped into the fire and was consumed.

There was also one Serapion, whom they laid hands on in his own house, and having racked him with excruciating tortures, and broken all his joints, they threw him down headlong from the top loft. No way, public or private, was passable by us, night or day; the people always and everywhere crying out, if we would not repeat their blasphemies, that we should be dragged to the fire and burnt; and these evils continued a long time. A sedition and civil war then succeeded among the wretches themselves, which averted their fury from us against one another; and so we had a little breathing time, from their wanting leisure to persecute us.

Shortly after this, news came that the government which had been somewhat favourable toward us was changed, and great terror was excited among us by what was threatened against us. At length the edict came; the very thing (one would almost imagine) predicted by our Lord, so exceedingly terrible, as “to seduce if it were possible the very elect.” All were seized with consternation: many Christians of quality came running to sacrifice immediately through fear; others who held public offices were constrained by their office to appear. Others were brought up by their Gentile connexions, and, being called on by name, approached the impure and profane sacrifices:—some of them pale and trembling, not as if they were going to sacrifice but to be themselves the victims, so that they were derided by the multitude who stood round, as being manifestly afraid either to die or to do sacrifice; but others of them ran more readily to the altars, affirming boldly that they never had been Christians; of such our Lord affirmed most truly, that they should be saved with great difficulty. Of the rest, some followed one or other of the examples just mentioned, and others fled. Many were taken, whereof some persevered unto bonds and imprisonment, enduring them perhaps for many days, and then, just before they were led to the tribunal, they abjured; others, after having endured torments for some time, then lost heart. But the firm and blessed pillars of the Lord, being strengthened by him and having received vigour and courage proportionate and correspondent to the strong faith which was in them, became admirable martyrs of his kingdom. The first of these was Julian, a gouty person, who could neither stand nor walk; he was brought forth with two others who used to carry him, one of whom immediately denied Christ; the other, called Cronion the benevolent, and old Julian himself, having confessed the Lord, were led through the whole city—very large as you know it is—sitting on camels, and in that conspicuous situation were scourged: at last they were burnt in a very hot fire in the view of surrounding multitudes.

Julian,
martyr.

A certain
soldier.

As these aforesaid were going to their martyrdom, a soldier, named Besas, stood by them and defended them from the insults of the mob; on which they raised an outcry, and this most manful champion for his God was brought forward, and, after behaving himself nobly in the great cause of true religion, had his head struck off.

Macar.
Epimachus,
Alexander, with
four
women,
martyrs.
Ammonarion,
Mercuria,
Dionysia,
and
Ammonarion.

Another person, a Libyan by birth, named Macar,¹ and truly meriting the appellation, having resisted much importunity of the judge to deny Christ, was burnt alive. After these Epimachus and Alexander, who had long sustained imprisonment and undergone infinite tortures with razors and scourges, were burnt to death; and along with them four women;—viz. Ammonarion, a holy virgin, who, though she was long and grievously tormented by the judge, for having declared beforehand, that she would not repeat the blasphemy which he dictated, yet was true to her word, and was led off to execution. The other three, viz. the venerable matron Mercuria—and Dionysia, a mother indeed of many children, but a mother who did not love her children more than the Lord—and another Ammonarion,—these were slain by the sword without

(1) Blessed or happy.—Ed.

being first exposed to torments : for the judge was ashamed of torturing them to no purpose, and of being baffled by women ; which had been remarkably the case in his attempt to overcome the first of the four, Ammonarion, who had undergone what might have been esteemed sufficient torture for them all.

Heron, Ater, and Isidore, Egyptians, and with them Dioscorus, a boy of fifteen, were presented to the judge, who first began with the boy as most likely from his tender years to yield ; but the boy resisted both the blandishments and the tortures which were applied to him : the rest, after most barbarous torments still persevering, were burnt. The boy having answered in the wisest manner to all questions, and excited the admiration of the judge, was dismissed by him from regard to his extreme youth, with an intimation of hope that he might afterwards repent. And now the excellent Dioscorus is, with us, reserved to a greater and longer conflict.

Nemesion, another Egyptian, was first accused as a partner of robbers, but he cleared himself of this charge before the centurion : an information that he was a Christian was then brought against him, and he came bound before the president, who most unjustly tortured and scourged him with twice the severity used in the case of malefactors, and then burnt him among robbers.¹ Thus was he honoured in resembling Christ in suffering.

And now some of the military guard, Ammon, Zeno, Ptolemy, and Ingenus, and with them an old man named Theophilus, stood before the tribunal ; when a certain person being interrogated whether he was a Christian, and appearing disposed to deny the imputation, they made the most lively signs of aversion, gnashing their teeth, writhing their countenances, lifting up their hands, and throwing themselves into various attitudes, so as to attract general observation ; but before they could be seized, they ran up voluntarily to the tribunal and owned themselves Christians, so that the president and his assessors were astonished : the accused in fact seemed to wax bolder at the prospect of suffering, and the judges were quite daunted. God triumphed gloriously in these, for they went from the judgment-seat to execution in a sort of ovation, glorying in their testimony.

Many others, throughout the various cities and villages, were torn to pieces by the Gentiles. For example—Ischyron was agent to a certain magistrate. His employer ordered him to sacrifice ; on his refusal he scolded him ; persisting, he grossly abused him ; till at length, seizing a large stake, he ran it through his body and killed him.

But what shall we say of the multitude of those who wandered in deserts and mountains, and were at last destroyed by famine, and thirst, and cold, and diseases, and robbers, and wild beasts ? Those who have survived, are witnesses of their faithfulness and victory. Suffice it to relate one fact : There was a very aged person named Chæremon, bishop of the city of Nilus. He, together with his wife, fled into an Arabian mountain, and did not return ; nor could the brethren, after much searching, discover them alive or dead. Many other persons were caught about this Arabian mountain and made slaves by the barbarian Saracens, some of whom were afterwards redeemed for money with difficulty ;—others have never regained their liberty to this day.

Thus much out of the epistle of Dionysius to Fabius.

Moreover, the aforesaid Dionysius in another place² writing to Germanus,³ of his own and others' dangers sustained in this persecution, and before this persecution, of Decius, thus inferreth as followeth :

I say it before God, who knows that I lie not—I did not betake myself to flight, of my own accord or without a providential leading. On the contrary, when the persecuting edict was put forth under Decius, Sabinus, the Roman governor, the same hour sent an officer to seek me, and I remained four days at home, expecting his coming : he made the most accurate search in the roads, the rivers, and the fields where he suspected I might be hid or pass along.

(1) Thieves were, in the old time, amongst the Romans burnt.

(2) Vid. Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 40.—Ed.

(3) This Germanus was a bishop in that time, who charged Dionysius for his flying persecution, against whom he purgeth himself.

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God
willed
Dionysius
to fly in
persecu-
tion.
The story
of the de-
liverance
of Diony-
sius and
his fel-
lows.

Provi-
dence of
God in
preserv-
ing his.

Dionysius
and
others
delivered
from the
centurion
and
soldiers.

Christo-
pher,
martyr.
His fable.

A dulness seems to have seized him, that he never inquired for my house, for he had no idea that a man in my circumstances should stay at home. At length after four days, God ordered me to remove; and having opened me a way contrary to all expectation, I and my servants and many of the brethren went out together. The event showed that the whole was the work of Divine Providence.

Again, shortly after, the aforesaid Dionysius, proceeding in the narrative of himself, thus inferreth :

About sunset, I was seized, together with my whole company, by the soldiers and was led to Taposiris. But my friend Timotheus, by the providence of God, was not present, nor was he seized. He came afterwards to my house and found it uninhabited and guarded; and he then learned that we were taken captive. How wonderful was the dispensation! but it shall be related precisely as it happened.

And again shortly after it followeth :

A countryman met Timotheus as he was flying in confusion, and asked the cause of his hurry: he told him the truth: the peasant heard the story and went away to a nuptial feast, at which it was the custom to sit up merry-making all night. He informed the guests of what he had heard. At once they all started up, as by a signal, and ran quickly to find us, bawling and shouting: our guards, struck with a panic, fled; and the party came upon us, just as we were, lying on unfurnished beds. I first thought they must have been a company of robbers, in pursuit of their prey, and continued lying still in my shirt as I was, and offered them the rest of my clothes which lay at my side. They ordered me to rise and go out quickly; at length I understood their real designs, and I cried out and entreated them earnestly to depart, and to let us alone. But, if they really meant any kindness to us, I requested them to strike off my head at once, and so to deliver me from my persecutors. They compelled me to rise by downright violence, as my companions can testify: and then I threw myself on the ground. They then seized me by my hands and feet, and pulled me out by force. Gaius, Faustus, Peter, and Paul, followed me (who also are my witnesses), and taking me up carried me out of the place on a chair, and setting me on the back of an ass, conducted me away.

Thus much writeth Dionysius of himself, the example of whose epistle is cited in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.¹

Nicephorus, in his fifth book,² maketh mention of one named Christopher, who also suffered in this persecution of Decius; of which Christopher, whether the fable riseth³ of that mighty giant set up in churches, wading through the seas with Christ on his shoulder, and a tree in his hand for a walking-staff, etc., it is uncertain. Georgius Wicelius⁴ allegeth out of Ruggerus of Fulde and mentioneth one Christopher, born of the nation of Canaanites, who

(1) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 40; lib. vii. cap. 11.—Ed.

(2) Niceph. lib. v. cap. 27.

(3) The Church of Rome has nevertheless, it appears, made its use of St. Christopher. "Christophorus describitur ab autore historiæ Lombardicæ, cap. 95, et Petro de Natalibus, lib. vi. cap. 135. Passio ejus placet Joh. Hessels. Eum negare non audent Baronius in notis ad Martyrolog. Jul. 25; sed acta in multis depravata fatetur. Cultum ejus in Papatu evincunt vota ipsi facta, statuae passim erectæ, et in processionibus solemniter circumductæ. Audiantur modo versus, quos non sine pudore suo fatetur Molanus (de picturis sacris, cap. 27) statuis adscriptos:

Christophore sancte, virtutes sunt tibi tantæ,
Qui te mane vident, nocturno tempore rident.
Christophori sancti speciem quicunque tuetur;
Istâ nempe die non morte mala morietur.

Item :—

Christophorum videas, postea tutus eris.

Officium Christophori celebrare concessum fuit a SS. rit. Congreg. 17 Maii 1600, teste Barbosa in Collectaneis Bullarij, etc. Cameraci reliquias ejus coli, os scilicet magnum testis est Arn. Raisse, p. 354." Voetii Disputat. Theolog. pars iii. p. 504.—Ed.

(4) Probably in "Historiarum de Sanctis V. et N. Test. celebr." lib. ii. Basilicæ 1577; or in "Vitæ Patrum per Rom. Eccles. in divorum relat. numerum," Moguntiæ 1546. Ruggerus, monk of Fulde, drew up an elaborate hagiography about the year 1156. Vid. "Vossius de Hist. Lat." p. 431.—Ed.

suffered under Decius, being, as he saith, twelve cubits high. But the rest of the history painted in churches, the said Wicelius derideth as fables of centaurs, or other poetical fictions.¹

Bergomensis² maketh relation of divers martyred under Decius, as Meniatius, who suffered at Florence; Agatha, a holy virgin of Sicily, who is said to have suffered divers and bitter torments at Catania under Quintian the proconsul; with imprisonment, with beatings, with famine, with racking; rolled also upon sharp shells and hot coals; having moreover her breasts cut from her body, as Bergomensis and the martyrology of Ado record. In which authors as I deny not but that the rest of the story may be true, so again, concerning the miracles of the aged man appearing to her, and of the young man clothed in a silken vesture, with a hundred young men after him, and of the marble table with the inscription, "Mentem sanctam," etc., I doubt.

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Meniatius, Agatha, martyrs.

Hard it is to recite all that suffered in this persecution, when whole multitudes went into wildernesses and mountains, wandering without succour or comfort; some starved with hunger and cold, some with sickness consumed, some devoured of beasts, some with barbarous thieves taken and carried away. Vincentius, in his eleventh book, speaking of Asclepiades, writeth also of forty virgins martyrs, who, by sundry kinds of torments, were put to death at Antioch about the same time, in the persecution of this tyrant.

Martyrs wandering in mountains.

Forty virgins martyrs.

Likewise, in the said Vincentius, mention is made of Trypho, a Trypho man of great holiness, and constant in his suffering; who being brought to the city of Nicæa, before the president Aquilinus,³ for his constant confession of Christ's name was afflicted with divers and grievous torments, and at length with the sword put to death.

At what time Decius had erected a temple in the midst of the city of Ephesus, compelling all that were in the city there to sacrifice to the idols, seven Christians were found, whose names were Maximian, Malchus, Martinian, Dionysius, Johannes, Serapion, and Constantine, who, refusing the idolatrous worship, were accused for the same unto the emperor to be Christians. Which when they constantly professed and did not deny notwithstanding, because they were soldiers pertaining to the emperor's service, respite was given them for a certain space, to deliberate with themselves, till the return again of the emperor, who then was going to war. In the mean space, the emperor being departed, they, taking counsel together, went and hid themselves in secret caves of the mount Cælius. The emperor returning again, after great inquisition made for them, hearing where they were, caused the mouth of the place where they were to be closed up with heaps of stones; that they, not able to get out, should be famished within. And thus were those good men martyred. The story (if it be true) goeth further, that they, between fear and sorrow, fell asleep, in which sleep they continued the space of certain ages after, till the time of Theodosius the emperor, before they did awake, as report Vincentius, Nicephorus,⁴ and partly also Henry of Herford. But of their awaking, that I refer to them that list to believe

Maximian, and six other martyrs, commonly called the seven sleepers.

The fable of the awaking of these seven martyrs

(1) In this he is supported by Tillemont, tom. iii. part ii. p. 628.—Ed.

(2) Ex Bergomens. lib. viii.; et ex Martyrologio Adonis.

(3) See Baron. Mart. Rom. Nov. 10.—Ed.

(4) Vincent. lib. xi. cap. 45. Niceph. lib. v. cap. 27, and lib. xiv. cap. 45.—Ed.]

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A notable example of a chaste youth.

it. Certain it is, that at the last day they *shall* awake indeed, without any fable.

Jerome, in the life of Paul the hermit, reciteth a story of a certain youth, whom when the prætor could not otherwise with torments remove from his Christianity, he devised another way, which was this :

He commanded the youth to be laid upon a soft bed in a pleasant garden, among the flourishing lilies and red roses ; which done, all others being removed away, and himself there left alone, a beautiful harlot came to him, who embraced him, and with all other incitements of an harlot laboured to provoke him to her naughtiness. But the godly youth, fearing God more than obeying flesh, bit off his own tongue with his teeth, and spit it in the face of the harlot, as she was kissing him ; and so got he the victory, by the constant grace of the Lord assisting him.¹

A like example of chastity.

Another like example of singular chastity is written of the virgin Theodora, and a soldier, by Ambrose.²

At Antioch this Theodora, refusing to do sacrifice to the idols, was condemned by the judge to the stews ; and notwithstanding, by the singular providence of God, was well delivered. For as there was a great company of wanton young men ready at the door to press into the house where she was, one of the brethren [named Didymus, as Ado saith], moved with faith and motion of God, putting on a soldier's habit, made himself one of the first that came in, who, rounding her in the ear, told her the cause and purpose of his coming, being a Christian as she was : his counsel was, that she should put on the soldier's habit, and so slip away ; and he, putting on her garments, would there remain to abide their force, and so did, whereby the virgin escaped unknown. Didymus, left unto the rage and wondering of the people, being found a man instead of a woman, was presented unto the president, unto whom, without delay, he uttered all the whole matter as it was done, professing himself, so as he was, to be a Christian ; and thereupon was condemned to suffer. Theodora understanding thereof, and thinking to excuse him by accusing herself, offered herself, as the guilty party, unto the judge ; claiming and requiring the condemnation to light upon her, the other, as innocent, to be discharged. But the cruel judge (crueller than Dionysius, who spared Damon and Pythias), neither considering the virtue of the persons, nor the innocency of the cause, unjustly and inhumanly proceeded in execution against them both ; who, first, having their heads cut off, after were cast into the fire.³

Theodora, Didymus, martyrs.

At what time, or in what persecution these did suffer, in the authors of this narration it doth not appear.⁴ Agathon, a man of arms in the city of Alexandria, for rebuking certain lewd persons scornfully deriding the dead bodies of the Christians, was cried out of, and railed on, of the people ; and afterwards, accused to the judge, was condemned to lose his head.⁵

Paulus, Andreas.

Henry of Herford maketh mention also of Paul and Andreas, whom the proconsul at Troas gave to the people ; who, being scourged, and after drawn out of the city, were trodden to death with the feet of the people.

Justin, Nicostratus, Portius.

Among others that suffered under this wicked Decius, Bergomensis also maketh mention of one Justin a priest of Rome, and of another, Nicostratus a deacon. To these Vincentius also addeth Portius a priest of Rome, whom he reporteth to be the converter of Philip the emperor aforementioned.

(1) Foxe (copying the Centuriators) erroneously calls this youth a soldier : see Hieron. in vitâ Pauli Eremitæ.—Ed.

(2) Ambr. lib. ii. De Virginibus, cap. 4.—Ed.

(3) Ambros. et Ado. The narrative in the text is a translation of Ado's martyrology, April 28.—Ed.

(4) Basnage has placed them under Diocletian, an. 304, § 6, and supposes Ambrose to have miscalculated the time, and mistaken the place, Antioch, instead of Alexandria.—Ed.

(5) Henr. de Erford.

Of Abdon and Sennas¹ we read also in the aforesaid Bergomensis and Vincentius, two noble men; who, because they had buried the Christians whom Decius had brought from Babylon to Corduba, and there put them to death, were therefore accused to Decius, and brought to Rome, where they, being commanded to sacrifice to dead idols, would not obey; and, for the same, were given to the wild beasts to be devoured. But when the wild beasts, more gentle than the men, would not touch them, they were at length with the sword beheaded. Albeit to me it seemeth not impossible nor unlike this Abdon and Sennas to be the same, whom in other stories we find, and before have mentioned to be Ammon and Zeno.

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Abdon,
Sennas.

One Secundian was accused to Valerian, a captain of Decius, to be a Christian; which profession when he stoutly and constantly did maintain, he was commanded to prison. By the way, as the soldiers were leading him to the gaol, Verian and Marcellian, seeing the matter, cried to the soldiers, asking them whither they drew the innocent? At the which word, when they also confessed themselves to be Christians, they were likewise apprehended, and brought to a city named Centum-Cellæ, where being willed to sacrifice, they did spit upon the idols. And so after sentence and judgment given, first they were beaten with wasters or truncheons; after that they were hanged and tormented upon the rack, having fire set to their sides. Vincentius addeth moreover that some of the tormentors falling suddenly dead, others being taken with wicked spirits, the martyrs with the sword at length were beheaded.⁴

Secundian,
Verian,
and Marcellian.

To prosecute in length of history the lives and sufferings of all them, which in this terrible persecution were martyred, it were too long,⁵ and almost infinite: briefly therefore to rehearse the names of such as we find alleged out of a certain brief treatise of Bede, intitled, "De Temporibus," cited by Henry of Herford, it shall be at this time sufficient.⁶ Under Decius suffered—at Rome, Hippolytus and Concordia, Irenæus and Abundus, Victoria a maiden, Miniates, and Tryphonia, wife of Decius, eldest son of the emperor:⁷ at Antioch, Babylas the bishop: at the city of Apollonia in Pontus, Leucius, Thysrus, and Callinicus: at the city of Thmuis in Egypt, Phileas the

A brief catalogue of divers which suffered under Decius. Ex Beda.

(1) "Nous avons l'histoire des SS. Abdon et Sennen dans la première partie des actes de S. Laurent, qui est si insoutenable et si fabuleuse, que Baronius l'abandonne absolument." Tillemont, tom. iii. pt. 2, p. 406, edit. 12mo. 1699. For "Corduba," we should, according to Baronius (Mart. Rom. April 22), read "Corduena" or "Cordubenna."—Ed.

(2) Bergomensis et Vincent. lib. xi. cap. 48, 91.

(3) Now called Civita Vecchia, bordering upon the Campagna di Roma.—Ed.

(4) Vincent. lib. xi. c. 51.

(5) It is an advantage, perhaps, that no more have been catalogued, for there is doubtless much truth in Spanheim's remark: "*Actis innumeris Martyrum, quales fervente hac Deciana persecutione memorantur, et tanquam ex Hieronymo, Greg. Nysseno, Beda, Adone, Usuardo, et veteribus Menologiis asseruntur, nulla fides.*" See "Spanheim Hist. Christ." sæc. iii. col. 764, edit. 1701.—Ed.

(6) Bede de Temporibus, citante Henrico de Erfordia. [Foxe is here copying the Magdeburg Centuriators. The reference to Bede is to his smaller treatise "De Temporibus, seu Chronicon de Sex Mundi Ætatibus." No such list, however, occurs in the printed copies of that work; but it will be found with some variation in the "Chronicon de Sex Mundi Ætatibus" of Hermannus Contractus, p. 142, in the "Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores," tom. i. edit. Ratisb. 1726, and in the Chronicle of Regino; and a part of it in "Mariani Scoti Chronicon," and Rolwink's "Fasciculus Temporum," quoted by Foxe under the tenth persecution. From these sources, with the aid also of Bede's Martyrology, Aug. 13, Sep. 17, Dec. 23, Jan. 24, Feb. 28, Feb. 4, Feb. 17, Feb. 26, April 22, April 30, March 2, Dec. 4, Jan. 21, and March 3; Baronius's "Martyrologium Romanum;" Adonis Martyrologium; and Tillemont's "Mémoires à l'Histoire Eccles.," it has been attempted to correct the list, which is extremely corrupt as it stands in the Centuriators and in Foxe. The exact list, as it stands in Foxe (edit. 1583, p. 64), will be found in the Appendix. Some of these martyrs seem to have suffered under subsequent emperors, but there is an acknowledged difficulty and confusion concerning them.—Ed.]

(7) See "Fasciculus Temporum," and Bede's and Ado's Martyrologies, October 18th.—Ed.

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bishop, and Philoromus a military tribune, with many others: in Persia, Polychronius bishop of Babylon and Ctesiphon:¹ at Perga in Pamphylia, Nestor the bishop: at Corduba in Persia, Parmenius a priest, with divers more:² at Cirta in Numidia, Marianus and Jacobus: in Africa, Nemesian and Felix, bishops, Rogatian a priest, and Felicissimus: at Rome, Jovinus and Basilus, Ruffina and Secunda, virgins, Tertullian and Valerian; also Nemesius, Symphronius, and Olympius: in Spain at Tarragona, Fructuosus the bishop, with Augurius and Eulogius, deacons: at Verona, Zeno the bishop: at Cæsarea in Palestine, Marinus and Astyrius: in France at the town of Mende,³ Privatus the bishop.⁴

Children martyred.

Vincentius, in his eleventh book, maketh mention of certain children suffering martyrdom under the same persecution, in a city of Tuscany, called Arezzo,⁵ whose names were Pergentinus and Laurentinus; they are also mentioned in Equilinus.⁶

Such as revolted and fell in this persecution.

Now that I have recorded of those sufficiently, who under this tempest of Decius constantly gave their lives to martyrdom for the testimony of Christ, it remaineth that a few words also be spoken of such as for fear or frailty in this persecution did shrink and slide from the truth of their confession. In the number of whom first cometh

Serapion.

in the remembrance of Serapion, an aged old man; of whom writeth Dionysius bishop of Alexandria unto Fabius bishop of Antioch, declaring that this Serapion was an old man, who lived amongst them a sincere and upright life of long time, but at length fell.⁷ This Serapion oft and many times desired to be received again; but no man listened to him, because he had sacrificed. After this, not long after, he fell into sickness, wherein he remained three days dumb, and benumbed of all senses. The fourth day following, beginning a little to recover, he called to him his daughter's son, and said, "How long, how long, my son, do ye hold me here? Make haste, I pray you, that I may be absolved. Call hither one of the presbyters to me." And so, saying no more, held his peace as dumb and speechless. The boy ran (it was then night) unto the presbyter, who, at the same time being sick, could not come with the messenger: but—forsomuch as Dionysius had previously ordered that such as lay a dying, if they coveted to be received and reconciled, and especially if they required it earnestly, should be admitted, whereby with the better hope and confidence they might depart hence—therefore he gave to the boy a little of the Eucharist,⁸ willing him to moisten it in water, and so to drop it into the mouth of the old man. With this the boy returned, bringing with him the Holy Eucharist. As he was now near at hand, before he had entered in, Serapion the old man, speaking again, said, "Thou art come, my son: the priest is sick and cannot come, but do as he willeth you, and let me go." Then the boy moistened the Eucharist in water, and dropped it softly into the

The holy Eucharist in time of great need committed to a boy.

(1) See Regino, and Ado's Martyrology, Feb. 17; also April 21, where he calls St. Simeon bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, Seleucia being the same as Babylonia.—Ed.

(2) See Ado's Martyrology, April 22; and *suprà*, p. 177, note 9.—Ed.

(3) See Gallia Christiana.—Ed.

(4) Herman Contract ends the list with the words "Theodorus, cognomento Gregorius, episcopus Ponti." To these we should prefix "Nazanzo," from the middle of Foxe's list; Regino adds "virtutum gloriâ claret;" i. e. he flourished then at Nazianzum, not suffered: in fact he retired from the persecution. See Baron. *Annal. Eccles.* an. 253, § 129.—Ed.

(5) Vincent. lib. xi. c. 52.

(6) Also Baron Mart. Rom. Junii 3.—Ed.

(7) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 44. This story is alluded to *infra*, vol. vii. p. 662.—Ed.

(8) Note here the sacrament to be called the Eucharist, and not the body of Christ.

mouth of the old man, who, after he had swallowed it by little and little, immediately gave up the ghost.¹

In the city of Troas, as the proconsul was grievously tormenting one Nicomachus, he cried out, "That he was no Christian;" and so was let down again. And after, when he had sacrificed, he was taken afterwards with a wicked spirit, and so thrown down upon the ground, where he, biting off his tongue with his teeth, so departed.²

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Dionysius in his epistles also, writing to Fabius, and lamenting the great terror of this persecution, declareth, how that many worthy and notable Christians, for fear and horror of the great tyranny thereof, did show themselves feeble and weak men. Of whom some for dread, some of their own accord, others after great torments suffered, yet afterwards revolted from the constancy of their profession. Also St. Cyprian, in his treatise "De Lapsis," reciteth with great sorrow, and testifieth how that a great number, at the first threatening of the adversary, neither being compelled nor thrown down with any violence of the enemy, but of their own voluntary weakness, fell down themselves. "Not even," saith he, "tarrying while the judge should put incense in their hands, but before any stroke stricken in the field, they turned their backs, and played the cowards; not only coming to their sacrifices, but preventing the same, and pretending to come without compulsion; bringing moreover their infants and children, either put into their hands, or taking them with them of their own accord; and exhorting moreover others to do the like after their example."

A terrible example of denying, showed upon Nicomachus.

Weakness of Christians denying their faith.

Of this weakness and falling the said author sheweth two causes, either love of their goods and patrimony, or fear of torments: and addeth, moreover, examples of the punishments of them which revolted; affirming, that many of them were taken and vexed with wicked spirits; and that one man among others, after his voluntary denial, was suddenly stricken dumb. Again, another after his abjuration, as he should communicate with others, instead of bread, received ashes in his hand. Item, a certain maiden, being taken and vexed with a spirit, did tear her own tongue with her teeth, and tormented with pain in her belly and inward parts, so deceased.

Examples of God's punishment after denial.

Amongst others of this sort, St. Cyprian, in his Epistles,³ maketh also mention of one Evaristus, a bishop, who, leaving his proper charge, and making shipwreck of his faith, went wandering about in other countries, forsaking his own flock. In like manner, he maketh also mention of Nicostratus a deacon, who, forsaking his deaconship and taking the goods of the church with him, fled away into other countries. Albeit Bergomensis affirmeth, that this Nicostratus the deacon afterward died a martyr. Thus then, although some did relent, yet a very great number (saith he) there were, whom neither fear could remove, nor pain could overthrow, to cause them to betray their confession; but they stood like glorious martyrs unto the end.

Nicostratus.

The same Cyprian also, in another book, "De Mortalitate,"⁴ reciteth a notable story of one of his own colleagues and fellow-priests,

(1) Hæc Dionys. ex Euseb.; whence some expressions in Foxe's text have been changed.—Ed.

(2) Ex Henr. de Erford.

(3) S. Cyprian. lib. ii. epist. 8. Evaristus and Nicostratus were adherents of Novatian at Rome, and accompanied Novatus on his return from Rome to Carthage.—Ed.

(4) Cyprian. lib. De Mortalitate. [Tract. p. 163. Edit. Oxon, 1682.—Ed.]

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A notable voice of God to a priest of Carthage.

The occasion and rising up of the Novatian heresy.

The meaning of Cyprian opened: writing of one bishop only to govern in a catholic church, falsely wrested of the papists for the papacy.

who, being oppressed with weakness and greatly afraid, with death drawing at hand, prayed for a longer furlough ere he departed.¹ As he was thus entreating, and almost now dying, there appeared by him a young man, of an honourable and reverent majesty, of a tall stature and comely behaviour, so bright and clear to behold, that scarce any man's carnal eyes were able to bear it, unless he were now ready to depart this world. This young man, speaking to him with a certain indignation of mind and voice, thus said, "To suffer ye dare not; to depart ye wish not; what would ye have me to do for you?"²

Upon the occasion of these and such others, who were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is aforesaid, in this persecution of Decius, rose up first the quarrel and heresy of Novatus, who, in these days, made a great disturbance in the church, holding this opinion, that they which once renounced the faith, and for fear of torments had offered incense to the idols, although they repented there-for, yet could not afterward be reconciled, nor admitted to the church of Christ. This Novatus, being first priest under Cyprian at Carthage, afterward by stirring up discord and factions, began to disturb the bishopric of Cyprian, to appoint there a deacon called Felicissimus, against the bishop's mind or knowledge; also to allure and separate certain of the brethren from the bishop; all which Cyprian³ doth well declare. After this the said Novatus going to Rome, kept there the like stir with Cornelius (as the same Cornelius in Eusebius⁴ doth testify), setting himself up as bishop of Rome against Cornelius, who was the lawful bishop of Rome before: which to bring to pass, he used this practice: first, he had allured to him, to be his adherents, three or four good men and holy confessors, who had suffered before great torments for their confession, whose names were Maximus, Urban, Sidonius, and Celerinus. After this he enticed three simple bishops about the coasts of Italy to repair to Rome, under pretence to make an end of certain controversies then in hand. This done, he caused the same, whether by making them drunk, or by other crafty counsel, to lay their hands upon him, and to make him bishop; and so they did. Wherefore the one of those three bishops hardly was received to the communion, by the great intercession of his people: the other two, by discipline of the church, were displaced from their bishoprics, and others possessed with their rooms. Thus then were there two bishops together in one church of Rome, Novatian and Cornelius, which was unseemly, and contrary to the discipline of the church. And hereupon riseth the true cause and meaning of St. Cyprian, writing in his epistles so much of one bishop, and of the unity to be kept in ecclesiastical regiment.⁵ And in like sort writeth also Cornelius himself of one bishop, saying of Novatian, "He knows not that there ought to be one bishop in a catholic church."⁶

(1) "Commeatum sibi precabatur." Commeatus, "a soldier's furlough," i. e. here, "leave of longer absence from the Lord."—Ep.

(2) "Pati timetis, exire non vultis, quid faciam vobis?"

(3) Cyprian. lib. ii. epist. 8.

(4) Cornelli Epist. ad Fabium; Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43. Both Eusebius and Foxe are slightly inaccurate here: the anti-bishop was Novatian, a priest of Rome, whom Novatus seduced to his party: but the two names are often confounded. See Heinecke, not. in Euseb. lib. vi. 43.—Ed.

(5) As appeareth, lib. iv. epist. 2. "De Simpliciter. Prælat.;" Item, lib. iii. epist. 11, etc.

(6) "Itaque vindex ille evangelii ignoravit unum esse debere episcopum in catholicâ ecclesiâ." Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43.

This by the way (not out of the way I trust) I have touched briefly, to detect or refute the cavilling wresting of the papists, who falsely apply these places of Cyprian and Cornelius to maintain the pope's supreme mastership alone, over the whole universal church of Christ in all places; when their meaning is otherwise, how that every one catholic church or diocese ought to have one bishop over it, not that the whole world ought to be subject to the dominion of him only that is bishop of Rome. Now to the story again.

Novatian, being thus bishop, took not a little upon him, going about by all means to defeat Cornelius, and to allure the people from him. Insomuch that (as in the aforesaid book of Eusebius appeareth) when Novatian came to the distributing of the offerings, and should give every man his part, he compelled the simple persons every man to swear, before they should receive of the benediction and of the collects or oblations, holding both their hands in his, and holding them so long (speaking these words unto them, "Swear to me by the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt not leave me and go to Cornelius"), till that they, swearing unto him, instead of "Amen" (to be said at the receiving of the bread)¹ should answer, "I will not return to Cornelius." Where note by the way, that the Latin book of Christopherson's translation,² in this place, craftily leaveth out the name of "bread." This story being written in Eusebius, and also contained in Nicephorus (although not in the same order of words, yet in effect drawn out of him), doth declare in plain words in both the authors (whoso will mark the same), that the sacrament of the body of Christ is termed with the plain name of "bread," after the consecration.

It followeth moreover in the story, that Maximus, Urban, Sidonius, and Celerinus, before mentioned, perceiving at length the crafty dissimulation and arrogancy of Novatian, left him, and with great repentance returned again to the church, and were reconciled to Cornelius; as they themselves, writing to Cyprian, and Cyprian likewise writing to them an epistle gratulatory, do declare;³ and Cornelius, also, in his epistle to Fabius witnesseth the same. In this epistle the said Cornelius, moreover, writeth of one Moses, a worthy martyr, who once being also a follower of Novatian, afterwards perceiving his wickedness, forsook him, and refused communion with him. Of whom Cyprian also maketh mention, and calleth him "a blessed confessor."⁴ Damasus, in his "Pontifical" saith, "That he was apprehended with Maximus and Nicostratus above mentioned, and was put with them in prison, where he ended his life." And thus much of Novatian, against whom (as Eusebius testifieth) a synod was holden at Rome of threescore sundry bishops in the time of Cornelius, under the reign of Decius, in the year of our Lord

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The Latin translation of Eusebius corrupted by Christopherson.

Four confessors.

Moses, martyr.

A synod at Rome. A. D. 251.

(1) Note here the sacrament of the body to be called bread. Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43. Nicephor. lib. vi. cap. 3.—Ed.

(2) [He was bishop of Chichester in the reign of queen Mary; a learned man, and according to Godwin ("De Præsulibus Angliæ," p. 513. edit. Cantab. 1743) "multa Eusebii et Philonis e Græco in Lat. sermonem fidelissime transtulit." This may consist with occasional oversights; see the last note of Valois upon Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 10. Baronius, it is stated by Ittigius, has been led into mistakes by his partiality for Christopherson's translation: "Dum Baronius linguæ Græcæ minus peritus in annalibus suis (Christoph.) sequitur, haud raro cæcus a cæco in erroris foveam abripitur, ut monet Pet. Halloixius Jesuita, tom. ii. Script. orient. p. 730. Fuitque hæc verso Baronio tanto gravior, quanto est dogmatibus Romanæ ecclesiæ accommodator, quod exemplis nonnullis Dallæus 'de usu Patrum,' cap. 5. p. 124, demonstravit." Ittigii de biblioth. et catenis Patrum tractatus, (Lips. 1707,) p. 736.—Ed.]

(3) Cyprian, lib. iii. epist. 3.

(4) Lib. ii. epist. 4.

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Cornelius
bishop of
Rome,
and mar-
tyr.

A censure
of the de-
cretal
epistles of
Corneli-
us.

251; whereby it may be supposed that the heat of the persecution at that time was somewhat calmed.

After Fabian (or, as Zonaras calleth him, Flavian) next succeeded into the bishopric of Rome Cornelius, whom Cyprian noteth to be a worthy bishop, and for his great virtue and maidenly continency much commendable, chosen to that room not so much by his own consent, as by the full agreement, both of the clergy and also of the people.¹ Jerome addeth also, that he was a man of great eloquence: whereby it may appear those two epistles decretal, which go in his name, not to be his, both for the rudeness of the barbarous and gross style, and also for the matter therein contained, nothing tasting of that time, nor of that age, nor doings then of the church. Whereof in the first, he writeth to all his brethren of the holy church, concerning the lifting up of the bodies and bones of Peter and Paul from the catacombs, and transferring them to the Vatican and the Appian Way, at the instance of a certain devout woman named Lucina, having no great argument or cause to write thereof unto the churches, but only that he, in that letter, doth desire them to pray unto the Lord, that, through the intercession of those apostolical saints, their sins might be forgiven them, etc. In the second epistle, written to Rufus, a bishop of the eastern church, he decreeth and ordaineth, that no oath ought to be required or exacted of any bishop or clergyman, for any cause or by any power; also, that no cause of priests or ministers ought to be handled in any strange or foreign court, without the precinct, except only in the court of Rome by appellation: wherein who seeth not the train of our later bishops, going about craftily to advance the dignity of the court of Rome, under and by the pretended title of Cornelius, and of such ancient bishops? If Cornelius did write any epistles to any indeed in those turbulent times of persecution, no doubt but some signification thereof he would have touched in the said his letters, either in ministering consolation to his brethren, or in requiring consolation and prayers of others. Neither is there any doubt, but he would have given some touch also of the matter of Novatian, with whom he had so much to do: as he did elsewhere; for so we find it recorded both in Eusebius and Jerome, that he wrote unto Fabius, bishop of Antioch, of "the decrements of the council of Rome;" and another letter "of the manner of the council;" the third also, of "the cause of Novatian;" and again of the "repentance of such as fell," whereof there is no word touched at all in these aforesaid epistles decretal.²

Constancy of Cornelius in his trial.

What trouble this Cornelius had with Novatian, sufficiently is before signified. In this persecution of Decius, he demeaned himself very constantly and faithfully, and sustained great conflicts with the adversaries, as St. Cyprian giveth witness.³ Jerome testifieth that he remained bishop after the death of Decius, to the time of Gallus, and so appeareth also by St. Cyprian, who hath these words: "Et tyrannum armis et bello postmodum victum, prior sacerdotio suo vicit." But Damasus and Sabellicus, his followers,⁴ affirm, that he was both

(1) Bishops were chosen then not without the voice of the people.

(2) Blondel has quoted refutation sufficient of these tales from Baronius, and to him we may leave it. Epist. Decret. Examen, pp. 310—314.—Ed.

(3) Cyprian, lib. i. epist. 1.

(4) "Damasus and Sabellicus, his followers" (Foxe means his *copyists*), "affirm," etc. This statement, it appears from Baronius, is not strictly correct. "Error inde a Scriptoribus sumptus

exiled, and also martyred, under the tyrannous reign of Decius. Of whom Sabellius writeth this story, taken out (as it seemeth) of Damasus, and saith, "that Cornelius, by the commandment of Decius, was banished to a town called Centum-Cellæ,¹ bordering on Etruria, from whence he sent his letters to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and Cyprian again to him." This coming to the ears of Decius the emperor, he sendeth for Cornelius, asking him, "How he durst be so bold to show such stubbornness; that he, neither caring for the gods, nor fearing the displeasure of his princes, durst, against the commonwealth, give and receive letters from others?" To whom Cornelius answering again, thus purged himself, declaring to the emperor, "That letters indeed he had written, and received again, concerning the praises and honouring of Christ and the salvation of souls; but nothing as touching any matter of the commonwealth." And it followeth in the story, "Then Decius, moved with anger, commanded him to be beaten with plumbats² (which, as saith Sabellius, is a kind of scourging), and so to be brought to the temple of Mars; either there to do sacrifice, or to suffer the extremity. But he, rather willing to die than to commit such iniquity, prepared himself to martyrdom, being sure that he should die. And so, commending the charge of the church unto Stephen, his archdeacon, he was brought to the Appian Way, where he ended his life in faithful martyrdom." Eusebius, in one place, saith that he sat two years; in another place, he saith that he sat three years; and so doth Marianus Scotus, following also the diversity of the said Eusebius. Damasus giveth him only two years.

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Accused
for writing
letters
to Cyprian.

Cornelius
martyred.

In this aforesaid persecution of Decius, it seemeth by some writers also that Cyprian was banished; but I suppose rather his banishment to be referred to the reign of Gallus, next emperor after Decius, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in his place hereafter. In the meantime the said Cyprian in his epistles³ maketh mention of two that suffered, either in the time of this Decius, or much about the same time. Of whom one was Aurelius, a worthy and valiant young man, who was twice in torments for his confession, which he never denied, but manfully and boldly withstood the adversary till he was banished, and also after; and therefore was commended of Cyprian to certain brethren, to have him for their "lector;" as in the aforesaid epistle of Cyprian appeareth. The other was named Mappalicus, who, on the day before he suffered, declaring to the proconsul in the midst of his torments, and saying, "To-morrow you shall see a struggle for a prize,"⁴ was brought forth, according as he forespoke, to martyrdom; and there, with no less constancy than patience, did suffer.

Aurelius.

Mappalicus.

videtur quod passim ferretur Cornelius in persecutione Decii martyrio insignitus; deceptus (quisquis fuerit) auctor ille, dum, quod in persecutione Decii factum esset, sub ipso Decio contigisse putavit; sieque et quod sub Volusiano gestum esset, sub Decio actitatum, inconsulte correxit." See "Annales Eccles." an. 255, § 55. The story given by Foxe is taken (as he supposes) from Damasus, or Anastasius "De Vitis Rom. Pontif." (Mogunt. 1602.), p. 10. In the 12th volume of Mansi's edition of Baronius, pp. 671, 672, there are some critical remarks upon this compilation, as from the strange inequalities of style noticed by Holstenius, it may well be entitled. The various readings are very numerous: vide Riveti "Critici Sacri," lib. iii. cap. 14; and Pagi on Baronius, tom. iii. p. 17; Lucæ, 1738.—Ed.

(1) Civita Vecchia, see supra p. 183, note (3).—Ed.

(2) Either clubs loaded with lead, or thongs (see Ducange's Glossary). Upon the place of martyrdom, Basnage ("Annales Politico-Eccles." tom. ii. p. 368: Roterod. 1706) remarks:—"Ut autem vera sint, quæ de plumbatis Corneli vultui admotis, &c. prædicantur, Romæ beato martyri mors afferri debuit."—Ed.

(3) Lib. ii. epist. 5 et 6.

(4) "Videbis cras agonem."

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Death and destruction of Decius.

Just revenge of God against persecutors.

Just punishment of God upon the heathen, for persecuting of his people.

The plague and hand of God.

Brotherly love and piety among the Christians in the time of plague.

Terrible pestilence reigning through all the Roman monarchy

And thus much of the tyranny of this wicked Decius against God's saints. Now to touch also the power of God's vengeance and punishment against him. Like as we see commonly a tempest that is vehement not long to continue, so it happened with this tyrannical tormentor; who, reigning but two years, as saith Eusebius,¹ or three at most, as writeth Orosius, among the middle of the barbarians, with whom he did war, was there slain with his son.² Like as he had before slain Philip and his son, his predecessors, so was he with his son slain by the righteous judgment of God himself. Pomponius affirmeth, that he, warring against the Goths and being by them overcome, lest he should fall into their hands ran into a whirlpit, where he was drowned, and his body never found afterwards.

Neither did the just hand of God plague the emperor only, but also revenged, as well, the heathen Gentiles and persecutors of his word throughout all provinces and dominions of the Roman monarchy; amongst whom the Lord, immediately after the death of Decius, sent such a plague and pestilence, lasting for the space of ten years together, that horrible it is to hear, and almost incredible to believe. Of this plague or pestilence testifieth Dionysius to Hierax, a bishop in Egypt,³ where he declareth the mortality of this plague to be so great in Alexandria, where he was bishop, that there was no house in the whole city free. And although the greatness of the plague touched also the Christians somewhat, yet it scourged the heathen idolaters much more: besides that the order of their behaviour in the one and in the other was much diverse. For, as the aforesaid Dionysius doth record, the Christians, through brotherly love and piety, did not refuse one to visit and comfort another, and to minister to him what need required, notwithstanding it was to them great danger; for divers there were, who, in closing up their eyes, in washing their bodies, and in interring them in the ground, were next themselves who followed them in their graves: yet all this stayed not them from doing their duty, and showing mercy one to another. Whereas the Gentiles, contrarily, being extremely visited by the hand of God, felt the plague, but considered not the striker, neither yet considered they their neighbour; but, every man shifting for himself, nothing cared one for another; but such as were infected, some they would cast out of the doors, half dead, to be devoured of dogs and wild beasts; some they let die within their houses without all succour; some they suffered to lie unburied, for that no man durst come near them. And yet, notwithstanding, for all their voiding and shifting, the pestilence followed them whithersoever they went, and miserably consumed them. Insomuch that Dionysius, bishop the same time of Alexandria, thus reporteth of his own city; that such a mortality was then among them, that the said city of Alexandria had not in number so many altogether, both old and young, from fourteen to fourscore years of age, as it was wont to contain before of the old men only from the age of forty to seventy.⁴ Pomponius Lætus also, and other Latin writers, making mention of the said pes-

(1) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 1.

(2) Orosius, lib. iv. cap. 14.

(3) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 21, 22.—Ed.

(4) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 21. The men from forty to seventy years of age were called ἀμωρόντες at Alexandria, and were registered to receive a public distribution of corn. Vales. and Heinecke. ad locum.—Ed.

tilence, declare how the beginning thereof first came (as they think) out of Ethiopia, and from the hot countries; and so, invading and wasting first the south parts, from thence spread into the east; and so further running and increasing into all other quarters of the world, especially wheresoever the edicts of the emperor went against the Christians, it followed after and consumed the most part of the inhabitants; whereby many places became desolate and void of all course. It continued the term of ten years together.

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This pestiferous mortality (by the occasion whereof Cyprian took the ground to write his book "De Mortalitate") began (as is said) immediately after the death of Decius the persecutor, in the beginning of the reign of Vibius Gallus, and Volusian his son; who succeeded through treason next unto Decius, about the year of our Lord 251, and continued their reign but two years.

Gallus and Volusian, emperors, A. D. 251.

This Gallus, although the first beginning of his reign was something quiet, yet shortly after, following the steps of Decius by whom rather he should have taken warning, set forth edicts in like manner for the persecution of the Christians; albeit we find no number of martyrs to have suffered in consequence thereof, but all this persecution to rest only in the exilement of bishops and guides of the flock. Of other sufferings or executions we do not read; for the terrible pestilence following immediately, kept the barbarous heathen otherwise occupied. Unto this time of Gallus, rather than to the time of Decius, I refer the banishment of Cyprian, who was then bishop of Carthage; of the which banishment he himself testifieth in divers of his epistles, declaring the cause thereof to rise upon a commotion or sedition among the people, out of the which he withdrew himself, lest the sedition should grow greater: notwithstanding, the said Cyprian, though being absent, yet had no less care of his flock and of the whole church, than if he had been present with them, and therefore never ceased in his epistles continually to exhort and call upon them to be constant in their profession, and patient in their afflictions. Amongst divers others whom he doth comfort in his banishment, although he was in that case to be comforted himself, writing to certain that were condemned to mining for metals, whose names were Nemesian, Felix, and Lucius, with other bishops, priests, and deacons, he declareth unto them—

First banishment of Cyprian.

How it was no shame, but a glory, not to be feared, but to be rejoiced at, when they suffered banishment, or other pains, for Christ. And, confirming them in the same, or rather commending them, he signifieth how nobly they distinguished themselves as valiant captains of virtue; and that they stirred up, both by the confessions of their mouth and by the suffering of their bodies, the hearts of their brethren to christian martyrdom; and that their example was a great confirmation to many, even maids and children, to follow the like. "That you have been grievously beaten with clubs (saith he), and have been initiated by that punishment in your christian confession, is a thing not to be lamented. The body of a Christian trembles not on account of clubs: all his hope is in wood.¹ The servant of Christ acknowledges the emblem of his salvation: redeemed by wood to eternal life, by this wood he is advanced to his crown. O happy feet, shackled indeed at present with fetters, ye will quickly finish a glorious journey to Christ! Let malice and cruelty bind you as they please, ye will soon pass from earth and its sorrows to the kingdom of heaven. In the mines ye have not a bed on which the body may be refreshed; nevertheless, Christ is

The bishops and priests condemned to the mines. Bishops condemned for the name of Christ.

Cyprian exhorteth and confirmeth the christian martyrs.

(1) That is, in the passion of him that died on the tree.

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The christian man's sacrifice.

Seagrius, Rogatian.

your rest and consolation : your limbs are fatigued with labour, and have only the ground to lie on ; but so to lie down, when you have Christ with you, is no punishment : filth and dirt defile your limbs, and ye have no baths at hand ; but remember, ye are inwardly washed from all uncleanness : your allowance of bread is but scanty ; be it so, 'man doth not live by bread alone, but by the word of God : ' ye have no proper clothes to defend you from the cold ; but he who has put on Christ, is clothed abundantly. How will all these deformities be compensated with honour proportioned to the disgrace ! What a blessed exchange will be made of this transient punishment for an exceeding and eternal glory ! And if this do grieve you, that the priests of the Lord are not permitted now to present your oblations and celebrate divine sacrifices among you after the wonted manner, yet you do indeed offer that which is most precious and glorious in the sight of the Lord, of which he saith, 'The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit, a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.'¹ You also cease not day and night offering yourselves as victims, according to the exhortation of the apostle, ' I beseech you, therefore, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service : and be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed in the renewing of your minds, that ye may know what is that good and acceptable, and perfect will of God : ' ² this is of all sacrifices the most acceptable to God. And though your travail be great, yet is the reward greater, which is most certain to follow : for God, beholding and looking down upon them that confess his name, in their willing mind approveth them, in their striving helpeth them, in their victory crowneth them ; rewarding that in us which he hath performed, and crowning that which he hath perfected in us.'³ With these and such like comfortable words he doth animate his brethren, admonishing them that they are now in a joyful journey, hasting apace to the mansions of the martyrs, there to enjoy after this darkness a light and brightness, greater than all their passions, according to the apostle's saying, " The sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed in us." ⁴

And, after the like words of sweet comfort and consolation, writing to Seagrius and Rogatian, who were in prison and bonds for the testimony of truth, " he doth encourage them to continue steadfast and patient in the way wherein they have begun to run ; for that they have the Lord with them as their helper and defender, who promiseth to be with us to the world's end ; and therefore willeth them to set before their eyes, in their death, the immortality to follow ; in their pain, everlasting glory ; remembering that it is written, ' Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.' Item, ' Though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality : and having been a little chastised, they shall be greatly rewarded : for God proved them, and found them worthy for himself ; as gold in the furnace hath he tried them, and received them as a burnt-offering. And in the time of their visitation they shall shine, and run to and fro like sparks among the stubble : they shall judge the nations, and have dominion over the people, and their Lord shall reign for ever.' " ⁵ He writeth moreover, admonishing them, that " it is appointed from the beginning of the world, that righteousness here should suffer in conflicts with the powers of this world ; for so just Abel was slain in the beginning of the world, and, after him, a long train of righteous men and prophets, down to the apostles sent of the Lord himself ; unto whom the Lord gave an example in himself, teaching that there is no coming to his kingdom, but by that same way by which he entered himself, and telling them, ' He

(1) Ps. li. 17.

(2) Rom. xii. 1, 2.

(3) This, and the subsequent extracts from Cyprian's writings are given more accurately and fully than they appear in Foxe.—Ed.

(4) Cyprian, lib. iii. Epist. ult.

(5) Wisdom, chap. iii. 4-8.

that loveth his life in this world, shall lose it,' etc. And again, 'Fear ye not them that slay the body, but have no power to slay the soul,' etc. And St. Paul, likewise, admonishing all them who-soever covet to be partakers of the promises of the Lord, to follow his example, saith, 'If we suffer together with him, we shall reign together,'¹ etc."

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Furthermore, as the same Cyprian doth encourage here the holy martyrs, who were in captivity, to persist, so likewise, writing to the priests and deacons who were free, he exhorteth them to be serviceable and obsequious, with all care and love to cherish and embrace them that were in bonds.² Whereby may appear the fervent zeal and care of this good bishop toward the church of Christ, although being now in exile in the time of this emperor Gallus.

In the same time, and under the said Gallus, reigning with his son Volusian, was also Lucius, bishop of Rome, sent into banishment; who next succeeded after Cornelius in that bishopric, about the year of our Lord 252. Albeit, in this banishment he did not long continue, but returned home to his church, as by the epistles of St. Cyprian³ may appear. As to all the other bishops of Rome in those primitive days certain decretal epistles with several ordinances be ascribed, bearing their names and titles, as hath been before declared; so also hath Lucius one epistle fathered upon him, in the which epistle he, writing to the brethren of France and of Spain, appointeth such an order and form of the church as seemeth not to agree with the time then present: for so he decreeth in that epistle, that a bishop in all places, whithersoever he goeth, should have two priests with three deacons⁴ waiting upon him to be witnesses of all his ways and doings. Which ordinance, although I deny not but it may be and is convenient, yet I see not, how that time of Lucius, A. D. 252, could serve then for a bishop to carry such a pomp of priests and deacons about him, or to study for any such matter; forso much as bishops commonly in those days were seldom free to go abroad, went they never so secret, but either were in houses close and secret, or in prison, or else in banishment. Moreover in the said epistle how pompously writeth he of the church of Rome! "This holy and apostolical church of Rome," saith he, "the mother of all churches of Christ, through the grace of God omnipotent, hath never been proved to swerve out of the path of apostolical tradition, neither hath ever been depraved and degraded with heretical innovations: but even as, in the beginning, she received the rule of the apostolical faith from its first teachers, the princes of the apostles, so she continueth ever immaculate and undefiled unto the end."

Lucius, bishop of Rome, banished, A. D. 252.

His epistle decretal, and ordinances.

Pompous style of the church of Rome.

Unto this Lucius also is referred, in the decrees of Gratian, this constitution, that no minister whatsoever, after his ordination, should at any time re-enter into the chamber of his own wife, on pain of losing his ministry in the church.⁵ Eusebius, in his seventh book, making mention of the death of Lucius, and not of his martyrdom, saith, that he sat but eight months: but Damasus, in his Martyrology,

Eusebius and Damasus vary in time. Lucius, bishop of Rome, martyr.

(1) Cyprian, lib. iv. epist. 1. [This portion of Cyprian's writings is, in the earlier editions (namely, that of Antwerp, 1542, and that of Rome, 1563), divided into books. In the former of these (page 162) we find this epistle addressed to Seagravius; but later editions read *Sergius*.—Ed.]

(2) Cyprian, lib. iii. epist. 6.

(3) Lib. iii. epist. 1.

(4) See Appendix—F.d.

(5) Dist. 81, "ministri." Also, Labbei Conc. Gen. tom. i. cols. 721, 725, 727.—Ed.

The Seventh Persecution.

A. D.
250
to
253.

Stephen,
bishop of
Rome,
martyr.
Censure
of the
decretal
epistles
and ordi-
nances of
Stephen.

No bishop
ought to
be ac-
cused,
after he
be ex-
pulsed,
before he
be re-
stored
again.

Number
of the
poor
found at
Rome
by the
church
goods.

holdeth that he sat three years, and was beheaded the second year of Valerian and Gallien, emperors; ¹ and so do also Marianus Scotus and Nauclerus, with others that follow Damasus, affirm the same.

After him came Stephen, next bishop of Rome following Lucius, whom Damasus, Platina, and Sabellicus affirm to have sat seven years and five months, and to have died a martyr. ² Contrary, Eusebius, and Volaterran holding with him, give him but two years: which part cometh most near to the truth, I leave to the reader's judgment. Of his two epistles decretal, and of his ordinances out of the same collected, I need not much to say, for two respects; either for that concerning these decretal epistles, suspiciously entitled by the names of the fathers of the primitive church, sufficiently hath been said before; or else because both the phrase is so barbarous and incongruous, and also the matter itself therein contained is such, that although no testimony came against them, yet they easily refell themselves. As where, in the second epistle, he decreeth: "That no bishop, being expulsed out of his see, or deprived of his goods, ought to be accused of any, or is bound to answer for himself, before that by the law regularly he be restored again fully to his former state; and that the primate and the synod render unto him again all such possessions and fruits as were taken from him before his accusation, as is agreeing both to the laws canon and also secular." First, here I would desire the reader a little to stay, and this to consider with himself, who be these here meant, who either used to, or might, despoil these bishops of their goods, and expulse them from their sees for such wrongful causes, but only kings and emperors? who at this time were not yet christened, nor used any such proceedings against these bishops, in such sort as that either primates or synods could restore them again to their places and possessions. Again, what private goods or possessions had bishops then to be taken from them? whereas, neither were churches yet endowed with patrimonies or possessions; and if any treasures were committed to the church, they pertained not properly to the bishop, but went in general to the subvention of the poor in the church, as appears in the epistle of Cornelius to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, alleged in Eusebius; ³ wherein he, speaking of his own church, and declaring how there ought to be but one bishop in the same, inferreth mention of forty and six priests, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolyths, fifty-two exorcists, readers, and janitors, of widows and indigent persons to the number of fifteen hundred and above, found and nourished in the same, by the merciful benignity and providence of God. ⁴ It followeth, moreover, in the end of the said canon, "Which thing is forbidden both by the laws ecclesiastical, and also secular." Now what laws secular were in the time of Stephen, for bishops not to be charged with any accusation before they were restored again to

(1) Basnage is disposed to agree with Eusebius as to the duration of Lucius' *episcopate*. On the time of his death he remarks: "Passum esse IV. Nonas Martii anno 253, probabilis existimamus. In errore versantur Martyrologia, Auctoresque, quibus placet *Lucium* extinctum esse imperante Valeriano, quorum sententiam refellit Dionys. Alexandrinus." Basnagii "Annales Politico-Eccles." ad an. 252, § 13.—Ed.

(2) "Hoc ipso anno (260) quarto Nonas Augusti, Stephanus Martyrio coronatur, cum sedisset annos tres, menses tres, et dies viginti-duos." Pagi assents to the accuracy of this reckoning, with the verification of which we do not trouble the reader: the "Acta passionis Stephani" are printed by Baronius from MSS. § 8.—Ed.

(3) Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43.

(4) See Euseb. lib. vi. cap. 43.—Ed.

their state, let any reader, marking well the state of the heathen laws that then were, judge; and, in judging, I doubt not but this matter alone, though there were no other, will be enough to describe the untruth hereof.

Moreover, by divers other probable notes and arguments in the said second epistle of Stephen, it may be easily espied, that this epistle is feigned and mis-authorized; especially by the sixth canon of the said epistle, wherein he so solemnly entreateth of the difference between primates, metropolitans, and archbishops: which distinction of degrees and titles, savouring more of ambition than of persecution, giveth me verily to suppose this epistle not to be written by this Stephen, but by some other man either of that name, or of some other time, when the church began to be settled in more prosperity, and orders therein to be taken for every man to know his degree and the limits of his authority; according as is specified by the sixth and seventh canons of the Nicene council, decreeing of the same matter.

The like estimation may be conceived also of the seventh canon of the said epistle, wherein he willeth and appointeth all causes judiciary to be decided and determined within the precinct of their own proper province, and not to pass over the bounds thereof, "unless," saith he, "the appeal be made to the apostolical see of Rome;" which savoureth in my nose rather of a smack of popery, than of the vein of Christianity, especially in these times, during this terrible persecution among the bishops of Christ. And thus much of the second decretal epistle of Stephen; although of the first epistle, also, written to Hilary, something may be said—as where he speaketh in the said epistle of holy vestments, and holy vessels, and other ornaments of the altar serving to divine worship; and therefore not to be touched nor handled of any man, saving of priests alone—concerning all which implements my opinion is this: I think the church of Rome not to have been in so happy a state then, that either Stephen, or Sixtus before him, being occupied about other more serious matters, and scarce able to hide their own heads, had any mind or cogitation to study upon such unnecessary inventions serving in public churches. Neither do I see how the heathen in those days would have suffered those ornaments to be unconsumed, who would not suffer the bishops themselves to live amongst them, notwithstanding Isidore and Polydore judge the contrary. Between this Stephen and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, was a great contention about re-baptizing heretics, whereof more hereafter (Christ willing) shall be said.

Besides these bishops above specified, divers others there were also sent into banishment under the aforementioned emperors, Gallus and Volusian, as appeareth by Dionysius, writing to Hermammon on this wise: that Gallus, not seeing what was Decius's destruction, nor foreseeing the occasion of his own ruin, stumbled himself also at the same stone, lying openly before his eyes: for whereas, at the first beginning, his empire went prosperously forward, and all things went luckily with him, afterward he drave out the holy men who prayed for his peace and safeguard, and so with them rejected also the prayers by which they interceded for him.¹ Otherwise, of any

The Seventh Persecution.
A. D.
250
to
253.

Primates,
metropolitans,
archbishops.

Lawful to
appeal to
Rome.

Vestments
and holy
vessels
serving
for the
altar.

Bishops
banished
in the
time of
Gallus.

(1) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 1.—Ed.

*The
Eighth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
257
to
259.

Gallus
and Volu-
sian, em-
perors,
slain,
A. D. 253.
Persecu-
tion
ceases for
a time.
The good
beginning
of Vale-
rian.

bloodshed, or any martyrs that in the time of this emperor were put to death, we do not read.

After the reign of which emperor Gallus and of his son Volusian being expired (who reigned but two years), Æmilian, who slew them both by civil sedition, succeeded in their place; who reigned but three months, and was also slain: next to whom, Valerian and his son Gallien were advanced to the empire.

About the changing of these emperors, the persecution which first began at Decius, and afterward slacked in the time of Gallus, was now extinguished for a time, partly for the great plague reigning in all places, partly for the change of the emperors, although it was not for very long. For Valerian, in the first entrance of the empire, for the space of three or four years was right courteous and gentle to the people of God, and well accepted of the senate. Neither was there any of all the emperors before him, no not of those who are openly reported to have been Christians, that showed himself so loving and familiar toward the Christians as he did: insomuch that (as Dionysius, writing to Hennammon, doth testify) his whole household was replenished with holy saints and servants of Christ and godly persons, and was seemingly a church of God. But, by the malice of Satan, through wicked counsel, these quiet days endured not very long. For, in process of time, this Valerian—being mis-advised by a certain Egyptian, a chief ruler of the heathen synagogue of the Egyptians, a master of the charmers or enchanters (who indeed was troubled, because that he could not for the Christians¹ do his magical feats)—was so far infatuated and bewitched, that, through the detestable provocations of that devilish Egyptian, he was wholly turned unto abominable idols, and to execrable impiety, in cutting the throats of young infants, and sacrificing the children of unhappy parents, and ripping open the bowels of new-born children; and so, proceeding in his fury, he moved the eighth persecution against the Christians, whom the wicked Egyptian could not abide, as being the hinderers and destroyers of his magical enchantings, about the year of our Lord 257.²

Wicked
counsel,
what evil
it doth.

THE EIGHTH PERSECUTION.

A. D. 257. In this persecution the chief administers and executors were Æmilian, president of Egypt, and Paternus and Galerius Maximus, pro-consuls in Africa. Bergomensis also maketh mention of Paternus, prefect of Rome, and of Perennis.³ Vincentius speaketh also of Nicerius and Claudius, presidents.

The chief
executors
of this
persecu-
tion.
The spe-
cial
causes
of it.

What was the chief original cause of this persecution partly is signified before, where mention was made of the wicked Egyptian; but as this was the outward and political cause, so St. Cyprian sheweth other causes more special and ecclesiastical in his fourth book,⁴ and fourth epistle, whose words be these:

“But we,” saith he, “must understand and confess that this turbulent oppression and calamity, which hath wasted, for the most part, all our flock, and

(1) Dionysius here states, that there were (and always had been) persons among the Christians, capable by their presence and aspect, by blowing upon, or by speaking, of dissipating the machinations of the demons.—Ed. (2) Dionys in Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 10, et Niceph. lib. vi. cap. 10.—Ed.

(3) These two names appear to have been borrowed from the times of Commodus, A. D. 184, when these persons filled the office of Prefects of the Prætorian guards: see Basnage (ut supra) ad an. 184. s. 2.—Ed.

(4) Cypr. lib. iv. Epist. 4.

doth still waste it, hath come upon us for our sins; while we walk not in the way of the Lord, nor observe his heavenly precepts, given to guide us to salvation. Our Lord observed the will of his Father in all points, but we observe not the will of the Lord; being wholly set upon lucre and the improvement of our fortunes, given to pride, full of emulation and dissension, void of simplicity and faithful dealing; renouncing this world in word only, and not in deed; every man pleasing himself, and displeasing all others. And therefore are we thus scourged, and worthily: for what stripes and scourges do we not deserve, when the very confessors themselves, who ought to be an example to the rest of well-doing, keep no discipline? Wherefore, because some grew insolent and elated on their confession, and made swelling and unmannerly bragging thereof, these tortures came—tortures which are not soon at an end—tortures not intended to dismiss them easily to their crown, but to keep them on the rack till they prevail against them to betray their profession; except perhaps in the case of a very few, who through the peculiar mercy of God sank under the pressure, and so went straight to glory, not by bearing the full measure of their punishment, but by expiring before its completion. These things do we suffer for our sins and deserts, as holy scripture long since forewarned us, saying: ‘If they shall forsake my law, and will not walk in my judgments; if they shall profane my institutions, and will not observe my precepts, I will visit their iniquities with the rod, and their transgressions with scourges.’¹ This rod and these scourges,” saith he, “we feel, who neither please God by good deeds, nor make penitential satisfaction for our evil deeds.”

*The
Eighth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
257
to
259.

The sins
of the
Chris-
tians,
cause of
persecu-
tion.

Wherefore the said Cyprian addeth this exhortation withal:

“Let us, therefore, from the bottom of our hearts and with our whole soul entreat the mercy of God, who hath subjoined to the former commination this comfortable promise—‘Nevertheless, my loving-kindness will I not utterly take from him.’ Let us ask and we shall receive: and if, in regard to the grievousness of our offences, it be long ere we receive, yet let us knock, provided our knocking consist in genuine prayer, sighs, and tears, offered with perseverance, and with brotherly unanimity.”

Moreover, what vices were then principally reigning among the Christians, he further specifieth in the said epistle, which chiefly were division and dissension among the brethren.

Discord
and
division
among
the bre-
thren.

“What hath moved me more particularly to write in this manner to you is, an admonition which I received in a vision from the Lord, saying unto me, ‘Ask and ye shall have.’² Next, my people were in the same vision directed to pray for certain persons there described to them: but they could not agree in asking; which exceedingly displeased him who had said, ‘Ask and ye shall have;’ seeing it is written, that ‘God maketh men to be of one mind in a house;’ and we read in the Acts of the Apostles, that ‘the multitude of them that believed were of one heart;’ and the Lord with his own mouth hath told us saying, ‘This is my commandment, that ye love one another.’”

And so, by the occasion hereof, he writeth unto them in the afore-said epistle, and moveth them to prayer and mutual agreement.

“It is promised,” saith he, “in the gospel—‘If two of you shall agree on earth touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven.’—Now if the agreement of two be so prevailing, what would not the agreement of all accomplish? Certainly, we should have obtained long ago what we had asked; and our faith and salvation would not have been in the danger they now are, of shipwreck. Nay, and—I may add—these calamities would not have befallen the brethren, if they had continued like-minded.”³

After the causes thus declared of this and other persecutions, the said St. Cyprian moreover, in the aforementioned epistle (worthy to be

A vision
foreshow-
ing perse-
cution.

(1) Psalm lxxxix. 30—32.

(2) “Petite et impetrabitis.”

(3) Nec venissent fratribus hæc mala, si in unum fraternitas fuisset animata.

*The
Eighth
Persecu-
tion.*

read of all men), describeth likewise a certain vision, wherein was showed unto him by the Lord before the persecution came, what should happen. The vision was this :

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to
259.

"There seemed to be a certain aged father sitting, at whose right hand sat a young man sad and pensive, with indignation in his looks, resting his cheek upon his hand, his countenance heavy and uncheerful. On the left hand sat another person, having in his hand a net, with which he seemed to threaten to catch the people that stood round about. And as he was marvelling that saw all this, it was said unto him : 'The young man, whom thou seest sitting on the right hand, is sad and sorry that his orders were not observed. But he on the left hand is exulting, for that opportunity is given him by the aged father to vent his fury without control.' And this vision was vouchsafed long before this tempest of persecution arose. But we have since seen fulfilled what was therein revealed ; viz. that whilst we keep not the Lord's commandments, but despise his precepts, the enemy should have power to hurt us, to cast his net over us (as it were), while we were naked and defenceless, and unprepared for such a sudden onset. And all, because we foreslack our praying, or be not so vigilant therein as we should be. Wherefore, the Lord, because he loveth, chasteneth ; chasteneth, to amend ; amendeth, to save us."

Our sins
give
Satan
power
against
us.

Another
revela-
tion
showed to
St. Cy-
prian.

Furthermore, the same Cyprian, and in the same epistle, writing of his own revelation or message sent to him, thus saith :

"Finally, to the least of his servants, both sinful and unworthy" [meaning himself,] "God, of his tender goodness, hath vouchsafed to direct this word : 'Tell him,' saith he, 'that he be easy and of good comfort, for that peace is coming ; albeit a little delay there is for a while longer, because some yet remain to be proved and tried.'"

Spare diet
and sober
drink
conve-
nient in
christian
bishops.
The peace
of the
church
fore-
showed
by the
Lord.

And he sheweth also in the same place of another revelation, wherein he was admonished to be spare in his feeding, and sober in his drink, lest his mind, now given to heavenly meditation, should be carried away with worldly allurements ; or, oppressed with too much surfeit of meats and drinks, should be less apt or able for prayer and spiritual exercise. Finally, in the latter end of the afore-said epistle mention also followeth of other revelations or showings :

"Wherein the Lord," saith Cyprian, "doth vouchsafe to foreshow to his servants the restoration of his church ; the security of our salvation ; fair weather to succeed the present rain ; light after darkness ; peaceable calm after stormy tempest ; the helps of his fatherly love ; the wonted displays of his divine majesty, whereby both the blasphemy of the persecutor shall be repressed, and such as have fallen be renewed to repentance, and the strong and stable confidence of them that stand shall rejoice and glory."

Thus much hath St. Cyprian written of these things to the clergy.¹

Crimes
and
causes
falsely
laid to
the Chris-
tians.

The apo-
logy of
Cyprian.

As touching now the crimes and accusations in this persecution laid to the charge of the Christians, these were the principal : first, for that they refused to do worship to the idols and to the emperors ; then, for that they professed the name of Christ. Besides, all the calamities and evils that happened in the world, as wars, famine and pestilence, were imputed only to the Christians. Against all which quarrelling accusations Cyprian doth eloquently defend the Christians in his book "Ad Demetrianum," like as Tertullian had done before, writing "Ad Scapulam." And first touching the objection, for not worshipping idols, he clearth the Christians both in his book "Ad Demetrianum," and also "De Vanitate Idolorum," proving—

[1] Cypr. lib. iv. Epist. 4.

Those idols to be no true Gods, but images of certain dead kings, which neither could save themselves from death, nor such as worship them. The true God to be but one, and that, by the testimony of Hostanes,¹ Plato, and Hermes Trismegistus; the which God the Christians do truly worship. And as concerning that the Christians were thought to be the cause of public calamities, because they worshipped not the Gentiles' idols, he purgeth the Christians thereof; proving, that if there be any defect in increase of things, it is not to be ascribed to them, but rather to the decrease of nature, languishing now towards her age and latter end. Again, for that it hath been so foresaid and prophesied, that towards the end of the world should come wars, famine, and pestilence. Moreover, if there be any cause thereof more proper than another, it is most reasonably to be imputed to their vain idolatry, and to their contempt of the true God. Also that such evils be increased by the wickedness of the people, so that (to speak in his own words) "Famine cometh more by avarice of men monopolizing the corn, than by drought of the air."² But, especially, the cause thereof proceeded of the cruel shedding of the innocent blood of the Christians.³

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Eighth
Persecu-
tion.*

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to
259.

Thus, with many other more probations, doth Cyprian defend the Christians against the barbarous accusations of the heathen Gentiles. Of which Cyprian, forsomuch as he suffered in the time of this persecution, I mind (Christ willing) to recapitulate here, in ample discourse, the full sum, first of his life and bringing up, then of his death and martyrdom, as the worthiness of that man deserveth to be remembered.⁴

Of this Cyprian therefore, otherwise named Thascius, thus writeth Nicephorus, Nazianzen, Jerome, and others; that he, being an African, and born in Carthage, first was an idolater and Gentile, altogether given to the study and practice of the magical arts;⁵ of whose parentage and education in letters during his youth no mention is made, but that he was a worthy rhetorician in Africa: of whose conversion and baptism he himself, in his second book and second epistle, writeth a flourishing and eloquent history. Which his conversion unto the christian faith, as Jerome affirmeth in his "Catalogus" and his commentary upon Jonas, was through the grace of God, and the means of Cæcilius a priest (whose name afterward he bare), and through the occasion of hearing the history of the prophet Jonas.⁶ The same Jerome moreover testifieth, that he, immediately upon his conversion, distributed among the poor all his substance, and, after that, being ordained a priest, was not long after constituted bishop of the church of Carthage. But whether he succeeded Agrippinus (of whom he often maketh mention, who also was the first author of re-baptization), or some other bishop of Carthage, it remaineth uncertain. But this is most true, he himself shined in his office and dignity with such good gifts and virtues, that, as Nazianzen writeth, he had the government of all the churches throughout the East and in Spain; and was called in the edict for his banishment "the bishop of the Christians."

*The
country
and edu-
cation of
Cyprian.*

*His con-
version.*

*First
priest,
then
bishop of
Carthage.*

And, to the further setting forth (to the praise of God) of his godly virtues wherewith he was endued, appearing as well in his own works to them that list to peruse the same, as also described by other worthy writers, he was courteous and gentle, loving and full

*Virtues
of Cypri-
an's life.*

(1) Hostanes, a philosopher belonging to the Eastern Magi, contemporary with Xerxes. Plin. lib. xxx. cap. 1. See also Minutius Felix, § 26.—Ed.

(2) "Famem majorem facit rapacitas quam siccitas."

(3) Cyprian. "De Vanitate Idolorum," § 1, 4. "Ad Demetrianum," § 2, 3, 5.—Ed.

(4) Nearly the whole of the following account of Cyprian is from the Centuriators, Cent. iii. cap. 10, whence several corrections are made in the text.—Ed.

(5) Our author qualifies this last assertion respecting Cyprian, *infra*, p. 205.—Ed.

(6) Hieronymi Comment. in Ionam, cap. iii.—Ed.

*The
Eighth
Persecu-
tion.*

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to
259.

Care of
Cyprian
towards
the
afflicted
brethren.
His mo-
desty in
con-
ferring
with his
fellows.

Visions
concern-
ing the
troubles
and peace
of the
church,
recited
and ex-
pounded
by Cy-
prian.

Cyprian
meek and
patient.

A great
reader of
Tertul-
lian.

of patience, and therewithal sharp and severe, according as the cause required, and always in his office; as appeareth in his first book and third epistle. Furthermore, he was most loving and kind toward his brethren, and took much pains in helping and relieving the martyrs, as appeareth by his letters to the elders and deacons of his bishopric, charging them that, with all study and endeavour, they should gently entertain and show pleasure unto the martyrs in his absence, as partly is touched before.

The third epistle of his first book doth declare of what stomach and godly courage he was in executing his office, and handling his matters. Neither was he void of prudence and circumspection, but was adorned with marvellous modesty, whereby he attempted nothing upon his own head and judgment, but with the consent of his fellow-bishops and other inferior ministers; and that chiefly (among others) doth the tenth epistle of his third book witness. He was of a marvellous liberal disposition towards the poor brethren of other countries; for so often as he had cause of absence, he committed the care of those poor men to his fellow-officers, and wrote to them, that of their own proper goods they should help their banished brethren to that which was necessary for them, as witnesseth the twenty-fourth epistle of his third book. He reciteth among other gifts wherewith he was endued, the visions and heavenly admonitions concerning the persecutions that should follow, and concerning other matters touching the government of the church, in his first book and third epistle, and fourth book and fourth epistle, where he reciteth and expoundeth the form or manner of a certain vision, which we have before sufficiently expressed.

He had, moreover, great skill in the foreknowledge of things that should chance, as may be gathered in the sixth epistle of his fourth book. Also Augustine doth attribute unto him many worthy virtues, who writeth much in setting forth his gifts of humility in the second book of his "*De Baptismo contra Donatistas*," the fourth chapter; and in his seventh book and eleventh chapter, of his long sufferance and patience; also, of his candour and meekness, by which virtues he concealed nothing that he thought, but [yet] uttered the same meekly and patiently. Also, that he kept the ecclesiastical peace and concord with those that were of another opinion than he was of. Lastly, that he neither dictated nor overbore any man, but allowed him to follow that thing which seemed good in his judgment, it is manifest in the fifth book of St. Augustine's "*De Baptismo contra Donatistas*." Neither is this to be passed over, which Jerome writeth, that he was very diligent in reading, especially the works of Tertullian: for he saith, that he once saw at Concordia in Italy a certain old man whose name was Paul, who told him he had seen at Rome the notary of blessed Cyprian, the said notary being then an old man, when he himself was but a springal;¹ who told him that it was Cyprian's wont, never to let one day pass without reading some of Tertullian, and that he was accustomed oftentimes to say unto him, "Give me my master;" meaning thereby Tertullian.²

Now a few words touching his exile and martyrdom. Of his epistles which he wrote back to his congregation, leading his life in

(1) "Springal," a young man, or stripling.—Ed. (2) Hieron. "*Catal. Script. Eccl.*" de Tertull.—Ed.

exile, mention is made above ; wherein he showeth the virtue be-
 seeming a faithful pastor, in that he took no less care when absent,
 as well of his own church, as of those of other bishops, than he did
 being present : wherein also he himself doth signify that voluntarily
 he absented himself, lest he should do more hurt than good to
 the church by reason of his presence ; as is likewise declared
 before. Thus from the desolate places of his banishment, wherein
 he was oftentimes sought for, he writeth unto his brethren, as in his
 third book and tenth epistle is manifest ; which thing seemeth to be
 done in the reign of Decius or Gallus. But after that he returned
 again out of exile in the reign of this Valerian ; he was also, after
 that, the second time banished by Paternus, the proconsul of Africa,
 into the city of Curubis,¹ as the oration of Augustine touching
 Cyprian showeth ; or else, as Pontius the deacon saith, into a city
 named Furabilitana, or Curubitana. But when Paternus, the pro-
 consul, was dead, Galerius Maximus succeeded in his room and office ;
 who, finding Cyprian in a garden, caused him to be apprehended by
 his serjeants, and to be brought before the idols to offer sacrifice.
 Which when he would not do, then the proconsul, breaking forth in
 these words, said, "Long hast thou lived in a sacrilegious mind, and
 hast gathered together [very many] men of a wicked conspiracy, and
 hast showed thyself an enemy to the gods of the Romans, and to
 their holy laws : neither could the sacred emperors Valerian and
 Gallien recall thee to the profession of their ceremonies." At length
 the wicked tyrant condemning him to have his head cut off, he
 patiently and willingly submitted his neck to the stroke of the sword,
 as Jerome affirmeth.² And so this blessed martyr ended this present
 life in the Lord, Sixtus then being bishop of Rome (as Eusebius
 noteth), in the year of our Lord 258. Sabellicus saith that he was
 martyred in the reign of Gallus and Volusian, Lucius being bishop
 of Rome : but that seemeth not likely.

*The
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Persecu-
tion.*

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to
259.

His
second
banish-
ment.

His ap-
prehen-
sion.

The mar-
tyrdom of
Cyprian.

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Now remaineth to speak something likewise of his works and
 books left behind him, although all, peradventure, that he wrote do
 not remain ; whereof some are missing, some again, in the lively of
 his name and title, are not his : but such as be certainly his, by the
 style and sense may soon be discerned ; such is the eloquence of his
 phrase, and gravity of his sentence, vigour of wit, power in persua-
 sion, so much differing from many others, as he can lightly be imi-
 tated but of few. Of the which his books with us extant, as the
 flourishing eloquence is worthily commended, proceeding out of the
 school of rhetoricians, so is the authority thereof of no less reputation,
 not only among us of this age of the church, but also among the
 ancient fathers. Whereof St. Augustine, speaking in his commenda-
 tion, saith, "Ego literas Cypriani non ut canonicas habeo, sed eas ex
 canonicis considero : et quod in eis divinarum scripturarum autori-
 tati congruit cum laude ejus accipio ; quod autem non congruit, cum
 pace ejus respuo, etc."³ By which words it may appear, that Augus-

The books
of Cy-
prian.

Judgment
of Augus-
tine upon
them.

(1) *Curubis* :—a city, about ten or twelve leagues from Carthage. Dupin. "Locus exilio desti-
 natus erat *Curubis*, ut testantur Pontius, Acta passionis, et S. Augustinus : erat autem *Curubis* in
 Zeugitana provincia sub jurisdictione proconsulis posita." Pagius in Baron. "Annal. Eccles." an.
 260, § 33 ; also Tillemont, "Mem. Eccles." tom. iv. pt. i. p. 279. edit. 12mo. 1706. Dupin
 states this second banishment to have been August 30th, 257, and his martyrdom to have hap-
 pened September 14th, 258.—Ed.

(3) Aug. contra Crescon. lib. ii. cap. 32.—Ed.

(2) Hieron. in Catal. Script. Eccles.—Ed.

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Sentences
of Cyprian
collected.

time, although he did not repute the books and writings of Cyprian to be equivalent with the holy Scripture, yet notwithstanding, next after the holy Scriptures he had the same in exceeding great admiration.

Vincentius and Laziardus Celestinus,¹ reciting the names of divers books bearing the title of Cyprian (more, perchance, than be truly his), do collect out of them a certain extract of his most pithy sentences, all which here to repeat were too tedious. To give a taste of the special, I thought it not impertinent: as where he, speaking of the treasures of a rich man, exhorteth, saying:²

Let not that sleep in thy treasures, which may profit the poor.³

Two things never wax old in man; the heart, ever imagining new cogitations, the tongue, ever uttering the vain conceptions of the heart.⁴

That which a man must of necessity lose, it is wisdom for him voluntarily to distribute, so that God may everlastingly reward him.⁵

Discipline is an orderly amendment of manners present, and a regular observation of evils past.⁶

There can be no integrity, where they are ever wanting, who should condemn the wicked; and they only are ever present, who are to be condemned.⁷

A covetous man possesseth his goods only for this:—that another should not possess them.⁸

Women that pride themselves in putting on silks and purple, cannot put on Christ.⁹

Women who dye their locks with red and yellow, begin betime to give unlucky presage of the fiery locks which they will wear in hell.¹⁰

They who love to paint themselves in this world of a different colour from what God created them of, have reason to fear, lest, when the day of resurrection cometh, the Creator should not know his own creatures.¹¹

He that giveth an alms to the poor, offereth a sacrifice to God of sweet-smelling savour.¹²

All the injury of evils present is to be disregarded, in faith of good things to come.¹³

It is useless to set out virtue in words, and to destroy the same in deeds.¹⁴

The more children thou hast at home, the more cause hast thou not to hoard up, but to disperse abroad; for that there are so many who have sins to be redeemed, so many who have consciences to be purged.¹⁵

A place of
Scripture
expound-
ed.

Moreover, lest the papists here should take an occasion by this text, grounded upon the text of Tobit, cap. iv., "Alms delivereth from all sin and death," to build up the works of satisfaction, the

(1) John Laziardus Cœlestinus lived at the beginning of the 16th century, and wrote "Hist. Univ. Epitome" (Paris, 1521), of no great value. (Vossius.) Upon the "divers books bearing the title of Cyprian," see Rivet's "Critic. Sac." lib. ii. cap. 15; and "Tillemont's Memoires," tom. iv. pt. 1, p. 318.—Ed. (2) Ex Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 63.

(3) Ne dormiat in thesauris tuis, quod pauperi prodesset potest.

(4) Duo nunquam veterascunt in homine: cor semper novas cogitationes machinando: lingua cordis vanas conceptiones profendo.

(5) Quod aliquando de necessitate amittendum est, sponte pro divină remuneratione distribuendum est.

(6) Disciplina est morum præsentium ordinata correctio, et malorum præteritorum regularis observatio.

(7) Integritas ibi nulla esse potest, ubi, qui improbos damnant, desunt: et soli, qui damnantur, occurrunt.

(8) Avari ad hoc tantum possident quæ habent;—ut ne alteri possidere liceat.

(9) Sericum et purpuram indutæ Christum inducere non possunt.

(10) Fœminæ crines suos inficiunt malo præsigio: capillos enim sibi flammeos auspicari non metuunt.

(11) Qui se pingunt in hoc seculo, aliter quam creavit Deus; metuunt, ne cum resurrectionis venerit dies, artifex creaturam suam non recognoscat.

(12) Qui pauperi elemosynam dat, Deo suavitatis odorem sacrificat.

(13) Contemnenda est omnis injuria præsentium malorum, fiducia futurorum bonorum.

(14) Nihil prodest verbis proferre virtutem, et factis destruere.

(15) Quo plures domi sunt tibi liberi, hoc plus tibi non recondendum, sed erogandum est, quia multorum jam delicta redimenda sunt, multorum purgandæ conscientiæ. [Many of these sentences are not verbatim.—Ed.]

said Cyprian more plainly expoundeth both himself and that place of Scripture, writing in these words :

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“ ‘Alms do deliver from all sin and from death.’ (Tob. iv.) Not from that death which the blood of Christ hath once for all extinguished, and from which the saving grace of our baptism and of our Redeemer hath delivered us; but from that death which afterwards creepeth in by our failings.”¹

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By which words it is apparent, that Cyprian meaneth this death, from which deliverance cometh by alms-giving, not to be expounded nor to be taken for death everlasting, from which only the blood of Christ doth save us; but for temporal or transitory punishment, which is wont to be inflicted in this body of sin. For so it is nothing repugnant, but that temporal virtues may have their temporal rewards in this life, and likewise sins committed may have temporal punishments both in us and in our families; our eternal salvation standing evermore firm in Christ, yet notwithstanding.

The aforesaid Vincentius, moreover, speaking of another book of Cyprian (although the said book be not numbered in the catalogue of his works), maketh mention of twelve abuses or absurdities in the life of man, which in order be these :

Twelve
abuses in
the life of
man
noted out
of Cy-
prian.

1. A wise man without good works.—2. An old man without religion.
3. A young man without obedience.—4. A rich man without alms-giving.
5. A woman without modesty.—6. A guide without virtue.—7. A christian man contentious.—8. A poor man proud.—9. A king unrighteous.—10. A bishop negligent.—11. A multitude without discipline.—12. A people without law.²

As we have hitherto set forth the commendation of Cyprian, this blessed martyr, so must we now take heed again that we do not here incur the old and common danger which the papists are commonly accustomed to run into; whose fault is, always almost to be immoderate and excessive in their proceedings, making too much almost of every thing. So, in speaking of the holy sacraments, they make more of them than doth the nature of sacraments require; not using them, but abusing them; not referring or applying them, but adoring them; not taking them in their kind for things godly, as they are, but taking them for God himself; turning religion into superstition, and the creature into the Creator; the things signifying into the things themselves signified. To the church, likewise, and ceremonies of the church, to general councils, to the blessed Virgin Mary mother of Christ, to the bishop of Rome, and to all others in like case—not contented to attribute [to them] that which is sufficient, they exceed, moreover, the bounds of judgment and verity; judging so of the church, and general councils, as though they could never, or did never, err in any jot. That the blessed mother of Christ amongst all women was blessed, and a virgin full of grace, the Scripture and truth do give: but, to say that she was born without all original sin, or to make of her an advocate, or mother of mercy, there they run further than truth will bear. The ceremonies were first ordained to serve but

The
learning
of Cyprian
joined
with his
blemish-
es.

The fault
of papists
to make
too much
of every
thing.

(1) Ex Cypr. lib. iv. epist. 2. ‘Quia scriptum est, ‘Eleemosyna ab [omni peccato et] morte liberat,’ Tob. iv., non utique ab illa morte, quam semel Christi sanguis extinxit, et a qua nos salutaris baptismi et Redemptoris nostri gratia liberavit, sed ab ea quæ per delicta postmodum serpit.” etc.

(2) 1. Sapiens sine operibus.—2. Senex sine religione.—3. Adolescens sine obedientiâ.—4. Dives sine eleemosynâ.—5. Fœmina sine pudicitia.—6. Dominus sine virtute.—7. Christianus contenti osus.—8. Pauper superbus.—9. Rex iniquus.—10. Episcopus negligens.—11. Plebs sine disciplina 12. Populus sine lege.

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How far
the au-
thority of
the doc-
tors ought
to extend.

Blemish-
es and
errors of
doctors.

only for order' sake ; unto the which they have attributed so much at length, that they have set in them a great part of our religion, yea, and also of salvation. And what thing is there else almost, wherein

the papists have not exceeded ?

Wherefore, to avoid this common error of the papists, we must beware, in commending the doctors and writers of the church ; and so commend them, that truth and consideration go with our commendation. For though this cannot be denied, but that holy Cyprian and other blessed martyrs were holy men, yet notwithstanding, they were *men* ; that is, such as might have, and had, their falls and faults ; men, I say, and not angels, nor gods ; saved by God, not saviours of men, nor patrons of grace. And though they were also men of excellent learning, and worthy doctors, yet with their learning they had their errors also annexed. And though their books be (as they ought to be) of great authority, yet ought they not to be equal with the Scriptures. And albeit they said well in most things, yet it does not therefore hold, that what they said, it must stand for a truth. That pre-eminence of authority only belongeth to the word of God, and not to the pen of man : for of men and doctors, be they never so famous, there is none that is void of reprehension. In Origen, although in his time the admiration of his learning was singular, yet how many things be there, which the church now holdeth not ? But, examining him by Scripture, where he said well, they admit him ; where otherwise, they leave him. In Polycarp, the church hath corrected and altered that which he did hold in celebrating the Easter-day after the Jews. Neither can holy and blessed Ignatius be defended in all his sayings ; as where he maketh the fasting upon Sundays or Saturdays (except the Saturday before Easter-day) as great an offence, as to kill Christ himself ;⁽¹⁾ contrary to this saying of St. Paul, " Let no man judge you in meat and drink." Also where the said Ignatius speaketh " De Virginitate," and of other things more. Irenæus did hold, that man was not made perfect in the beginning. He seemeth also to defend free-will in man, in those things also that be spiritual. He saith that Christ suffered after he was fifty years old, abusing this place of the gospel, " Quinquaginta annos nondum habes." Tertullian (whom St. Cyprian never laid out of his hands almost) is noted to be a Chiliast :⁽²⁾ also to have been of Montanus's sect. The same did hold also, with Justin, Cyprian, and others, that the angels fell first for the concupiscence of women.⁽³⁾ He defendeth free-will of man after the corruption of nature, inclining also to the error of them which defend the possibility of keeping God's law. Concerning marriage ; " We know," saith he, " one marriage as we know one God ;"⁽⁴⁾ condemning the second marriage. Divers other things of like absurdity in him be noted. Justin also seemeth to have inclined unto the error of the Chiliasts ; of the fall of certain angels by women ; of free-will of man ; of possibility of keeping the law ; and such other things. Neither was this our Cyprian, the great scholar of Tertullian, utterly exempt from the blot of them, who, contrary to the doctrine of the church, did hold with re-baptizing of such as were before baptized of heretics ; whereof speaketh St. Augus-

(1) Ignat. Epist. ad Philippenses.—Ed.

(2) A Millenarian ; from χιλιάς.—Ed.

(3) Lib. De Habitu Mulierum.

(4) " Unum matrimonium novimus, sicut unum Deum." Lib. De Monogam.

tine, misliking the same error of Cyprian, in these words contained in his second book "contra Cresconium."

"Cypriani laudem assequi non valeo, cujus multis literis mea scripta non comparo, cujus ingenium diligo, cujus ore delector, cujus charitatem miror, cujus martyrium veneror:—non accipio quod de baptizandis hæreticis et schismaticis sensit."

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Upon the which matter there was a great contention between the said Cyprian and Stephen bishop of Rome, as partly afore is noted. Of Augustine himself likewise, of Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, the same may be said, that none of them all so clearly passed away, but their peculiar faults and errors went with them, whereof it were too long, and out of our purpose, at this present to treat. And thus much concerning the story of Cyprian, the holy learned martyr of Christ.

Contention between Cyprian and Stephen, bishop of Rome.

Albeit, here is to be noted by the way, touching the life and story of Cyprian, that, whereas the narration of Nazianzen (as is above mentioned) declareth that he, from art magic, was converted to be a Christian, this is rather to be understood of another Cyprian; which Cyprian was a citizen of Antioch, and afterward bishop of the same city, and was martyred under Dioclesian, at Nicomedia:¹ whereas this Cyprian was bishop of Carthage, and died under Valerian, as is said. By the decrees of Gratian² it appeareth, moreover, that there was also a third Cyprian, in the time of the emperor Julian the Apostate, long after both these afore-named: for so giveth the title prefixed before the said distinction, "Cyprianus Juliano Imperatori:" the distinction beginning, "Quoniam idem Mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus, sic actibus propriis et dignitatibus distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discrevit." Upon the which distinction the gloss cometh in with these words, saying, "that the popedom and the seat imperial have both one beginning of one, that is Christ, who was both Bishop, and King of kings;" and "that the said dignities be distinct:" albeit the pope, notwithstanding, hath both the swords in his hand, and may exercise them both sometimes.

Cyprian, divers of that name.

A blind gloss challenging both the swords to the pope's hand.

"And therefore, although they be distinct, yet in exercise the one standeth lineally under the other, so that the imperial dignity is subject under the papal dignity, as the inferior is subject under the superior: that as there is one ruler over the whole world, which is God; so in the church there is one monarch, that is, the pope, to whom the Lord hath committed the power and lawful right both of the heavenly and terrene dominion."³

Thus much I thought here to note by the way, because this distinction is fathered upon Cyprian, which is false: for this Cyprian was not in the time of Julian, not by two hundred years; and so likewise the other Cyprian, who died martyr under Dioclesian. Of

A distinction of Gratian disproved.

(1) See Gregorii Nazianz. Orationem xviii. The history of Cyprian of Antioch is given by Vincentius, Antoninus, Jacobus de Viragine, Henry of Herford, and Volateran: see Centuriators. It does not appear, however, that he was bishop of Antioch (as Foxe asserts), either from the historians above-named, or from the catalogue of bishops of Antioch given in "L'Art de Vérifier des Dates;" the Centuriators, however, assert it in one place, and Foxe probably derived it thence. Joseph Asseman thinks he was bishop of Damascus. Foxe twice mentions him again as "bishop of Antioch" under the tenth persecution. See *supra*, p. 199, note (5), and *infra*, p. 268, note (1), p. 275, note (3).

(2) Dist. 10, "Quoniam." [This name, and the compilation cited, occur so often, particularly in the earlier pages of this volume, that a short notice of both may not be unsuitable. "Gratianus de Clusio, Tuscia civitate, monachus S. Felicis Bononiensis, ord. S. Benedicti. A c. 1151, tempore Eugenii III. pape, in illo monasterio absolvit opus jam ab anno 1127 ceptum, quod Innocentius III. 'corpus Decretorum' vocat, auctor ipse 'Concordantiam discordantium Canonum' inscripsit. Dividitur illud in *Distinctiones* 101 (quarum singule suis iterum distinguuntur capitulis) et *Causes* 36 (quæ suis iterum *Questionibus*, questiones capitulis subdividuntur) et tractationem 'de Consecratione,' quinque distinctionibus absolutam." See "Fabricii Biblioth. medice Latinat." lib. vii. vol. iii. p. 82, edit. Patavii, 1754.—Ed.]

(3) Hæc Glossa

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Sixtus II.
bishop of
Rome,
martyred,
with six
deacons.

any Cyprian besides these two we read not; neither is it credible, that, if there were any such Cyprian, he would ever have written of any such matter, as the difference and yet mutual need of christian emperors and christian popes; when that emperor, being an apostate,¹ neither regarded Christ, nor cared for any pope.

About this time, and under the same emperor Valerian, suffered also Xistus, or Sixtus, the second of that name, bishop of Rome, who, being accused of his adversaries to be a Christian, was brought with his six deacons to the place of execution, where he, Nemesus, and other his deacons, were beheaded and suffered martyrdom. Laurence in the same time, being also deacon, followed after, complaining to Sixtus (as one being aggrieved) that he might not also suffer with him, but was secluded as the son from the father. To whom the bishop, answering again, declared that within three days he should follow after. In the mean time he willed him to go home, and to distribute his treasures, if he had any, unto the poor. The judge, belike hearing mention to be made of treasures to be given to the poor, and thinking that Laurence had great store of treasure in his custody, commanded him to bring the same unto him, according as in the discourse of the story hereunder written more fully may appear. Which history, because it is set forth more at large in Prudentius, Ambrose, and other writers, and containeth in it more things worthy to be noted of the reader, we have therefore with the more diligence here inserted the more ample description of the same, to the further admiration of his patience, and God's glory showed in him.

The story
and mar-
tyrdom of
Laurence.

Now then, as order requireth, let us enter the story of that most constant and courageous martyr of Christ, St. Laurence, whose words and works deserve to be as fresh and green in christian hearts, as is the flourishing laurel-tree.² This thirsty hart, longing after the water of life, desirous to pass unto it through the strait door of bitter death, when on a time he saw his vigilant shepherd Sixtus, led as a harmless lamb, of harmful tyrants, to his death, cried out with open mouth and heart invincible, saying,

"O dear father! whither goest thou, without the company of thy dear son? Whither hastenest thou, O reverend priest, without thy deacon? Never wast thou wont to offer sacrifice without thy minister. What crime is there in me, that offendeth thy fatherhood? Hast thou proved me unnatural? Now try, sweet father, whether thou hast chosen a faithful minister or not? Deniest thou unto him the fellowship of thy blood, to whom thou hast committed the distribution of the Lord's blood? See that thy judgment be not mistaken, whilst thy fortitude is liked and lauded. The abasing of the scholar is the disgracing of the master. What! have we not learned that worthy masters have obtained most worthy fame by the worthy acts of their disciples and scholars? Finally, Abraham sacrificed his only-begotten Isaac; stoned Stephen prepared the way for preaching Peter: even so, father, declare thy manifold virtues by me thy son. Offer thou him that proffereth himself; grant that the body of thy scholar may be sacrificed, whose mind with good letters thou hast beautified."

The
words of
Laurence
to Sixtus.

These words with tears Saint Laurence uttered, not because his master should suffer, but because he might not be suffered to taste

(1) "In MSS. omnibus, excepto undecimo Vaticano, abest dictio *Imperatori*, quemadmodum et apud Ivonem. Nonnum autem habet *Juliano episcopo*: aliad pervertustum *Juliano*." See "Corr. Rom." in loc. p. 9, edit. Paris, 1687.—Ed.

(2) Ex Ambros. lib. i. offic. cap. 41; et ex Prudentio. lib. "De Coronis."

of death's cup which he thirsted after. Then Sixtus to his son shaped this answer :

"I forsake thee not, O my son; I give thee to wit, that a sharper conflict remaineth for thee. A feeble and weak old man am I, and therefore run the race of a lighter and easier death: but lusty and young art thou, and more lustily, yea more gloriously, shalt thou triumph over this tyrant. Thy time approacheth; cease to weep and lament; three days after thou shalt follow me. Decent it is that this space of time come between the priest and the levite. It may not beseem thee, O sweet pupil! to triumph under thy master, lest it be said, he wanted a helper. Why cravest thou to be partaker with me in my passion? I bequeath unto thee the whole inheritance. Why requirest thou to enjoy my presence? Let weak scholars go before, and the stronger come after, that those without master may get the victory, which have no need by master to be governed. So Elias left behind him his beloved Eliseus. I yield up into thy hands the succession of my virtues."

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*The an-
swer of
Sixtus.*

Such was their contention, not unmeet for so godly a priest, and so zealous a minister; striving with themselves who should first suffer for the name of Christ Jesus.

In tragical histories we have it mentioned, that through joy and admiration people clapped their hands, when Pylades named himself Orestes, and Orestes (as truth it was) affirmed himself to be Orestes: Pylades wishing to die for Orestes, but Orestes not suffering Pylades to lose his life for his sake. But neither of them might escape death; for both these lovers were guilty of blood, the one committing the fact, the other consenting. But this our Laurence, the martyr most constant, was by no means enforced to make this proffer, saving only by his ardent zeal and fervent spirit; who, thirsting after the cup of martyrdom, had it shortly after filled to the hard brim.

Now let us draw near to the fire of martyred Laurence, that our cold hearts may be warmed thereby. The merciless tyrant,¹ understanding this virtuous levite not only to be a minister of the sacraments, but a distributer also of the church riches (whereof mention is made before in the words of Sixtus), promised to himself a double prey, by the apprehension of one silly-soul. First, with the rake of avarice to scrape to himself the treasure of poor Christians; then with the fiery fork of tyranny, so to toss and turmoil them, that they should wax weary of their profession. With furious face and cruel countenance, the greedy wolf demanded where this deacon Laurence had bestowed the substance of the church: who, craving three days' respite, promised to declare where the treasure might be had. In the mean time, he caused a good number of poor Christians to be congregated. So, when the day of his answer was come, the persecutor strictly charged him to stand to his promise. Then valiant Laurence, stretching out his arms over the poor, said:

"These are the precious treasure of the church; these are the treasure indeed, in whom the faith of Christ reigneth, in whom Jesus Christ hath his mansion-place. What more precious jewels can Christ have, than those in whom he hath promised to dwell? For so it is written, 'I was hungry and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me to drink; I was harbourless, and ye lodged me.' And again; 'Look, what ye have done to the least of these, the same have ye done to me.' What greater riches can Christ our Master possess, than the poor people, in whom he loveth to be seen?"

*The true
treasure
of Christ's
church.*

(1) Some say that this tyrant was Decius the emperor, but that cannot be, except Gallien or some other judge was now called by the name of Decius. "Turpiter errat Ado in Martyrologio, qui et Sixtum et Laurentium passos esse tradit, sub Decio Imper. Valeriano Prefecto." See Basnage "Annales Politico-Eccles." ad an. 258, § 9.—ED.

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O, what tongue is able to express the fury and madness of the tyrant's heart! Now he stamped, he stared, he ramped, he fared as one out of his wits: his eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a boar foamed, his teeth like a hellhound grinned. Now, not a reasonable man, but a roaring lion, he might be called.

"Kindle the fire (he cried)—of wood make no spare. Hath this villain deluded the emperor? Away with him, away with him: whip him with scourges, jerk him with rods, buffet him with fists, brain him with clubs. Jesteth the traitor with the emperor? Pinch him with fiery tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring out the strongest chains, and the fire-forks, and the grated bed of iron: on the fire with it; bind the rebel hand and foot; and when the bed is fire-hot, on with him: roast him, broil him, toss him, turn him: on pain of our high displeasure do every man his office, O ye tormentors."

Laurence
torment-
ed on the
fiery grid-
iron.

The word was no sooner spoken, but all was done. After many cruel handlings, this meek lamb was laid, I will not say on his fiery bed of iron, but on his soft bed of down. So mightily God wrought with his martyr Laurence, so miraculously God tempered his element the fire; not a bed of consuming pain, but a pallet of nourishing rest was it unto Laurence. Not Laurence, but the emperor, might seem to be tormented; the one broiling in the flesh, the other burning in the heart. When this triumphant martyr had been pressed down with fire-picks for a great space, in the mighty Spirit of God he spake to the vanquished tyrant:

His sin-
gular
patience
in his
pains.

This side is now roasted enough; turn up, O tyrant great!
Essay whether roasted or raw, thou thinkest the better meat."

His mar-
tyrdom
and bless-
ed end.

O rare and unaccustomed patience! O faith invincible! that not only dost not burn, but by means unspeakable dost recreate, refresh, stablish, and strengthen those that are burned, afflicted, and troubled. And why so mightily comfortest thou the persecuted? Because through thee they believe in God's promises infallible. By thee this glorious martyr overcometh his torments, vanquisheth this tyrant, confoundeth his enemies, confirmeth the Christians, sleepeth in peace, and reigneth in glory. The God of might and mercy grant us grace, by the life of Laurence to learn in Christ to live, and by his death to learn for Christ to die, Amen.

A Roman
soldier
converted
by Lau-
rence, and
martyred.

Such is the wisdom and providence of God, that the blood of his dear saints, like good seed, never falleth in vain to the ground, but it bringeth some increase: so it pleased the Lord to work at the martyrdom of this holy Laurence, that, by the constant confession of this worthy and valiant deacon, a certain soldier of Rome being therewith compuncted, and converted to the same faith, desired forthwith to be baptized of him: for the which he, being called for of the judge, was scourged, and afterward beheaded.¹

Dionysius
bishop of
Alexan-
dria, with
his fel-
lows, ba-
nished.

Under the same Valerian, suffered also Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, much affliction and banishment, with certain other brethren: of the which he writeth himself in his letter to Germanus, a bishop of those times; which is alleged in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius,² the words whereof tend to this effect: Dionysius with Maximus, one of his priests, and three of his deacons, to wit, Faustus, Eusebius, and Charemon, also with a certain brother of Rome, came

(1) *Henr. de Erfordia.*

(2) *Lib. vii. cap. 11. — Ed.*

before Æmilian, the prefect of Alexandria; who declared unto them in circumstance of words, how he had signified unto them the clemency of his lords the emperors, who had granted them pardon of life, so that they would return to them, and worship the gods who were the protectors (as he called them) of their empire; asking them what answer they would give him to these proposals, and trusting, as he said, that they would not show themselves ungrateful towards the clemency of those who so gently did exhort them. To this Dionysius answering, said, "All men worship not all gods, but divers men divers gods; so as every one hath in himself a mind or fantasy to worship. But we worship only that one God, who is the Creator of all things, and hath committed to our lords, Valerian and Gallien, the government of their empire; making to him our prayers incessantly for the permanency and stability of their empire." Then the prefect said, "And what hinders but that you may both worship your God (what God soever he be), and these our gods also? For you are commanded to worship such gods, as all men own to be gods." Dionysius answered, "We worship none other but as we have said." Æmilian the prefect said, "I see you are ungrateful men, and consider not the benignity of the emperors; wherefore you shall remain no longer in this city, but shall be sent out to the parts of Libya, unto a place called Cephro; for that place by the commandment of the emperors I have chosen for you. Neither shall it be lawful for you to convent your assemblies, or to resort as ye are wont to your burial places. And if any of you shall be found out of your places whereunto you are appointed, at your peril be it. And think not contrary, but ye shall be watched well enough. Depart therefore to the place, as is commanded you." And it followeth more in the said Dionysius, speaking of himself: "And as for me, although I was sick, yet he urged me so strictly to depart, that he would not give me one day's respite. And how then could I have leisure to congregate, or not congregate, any assemblies?"¹ And after a few lines it followeth,

*The
Eighth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
257
to
259.

The ex-
amina-
tion of
Dionysius
before the
prefect of
Alexan-
dria.

His con-
stant con-
fession.

Dionysius
banished
to Cephro.

"And yet neither was I altogether absent from the corporal society of the Lord's flock; but I collected them together which were in the city, being absent, as though I had been present; 'absent in body, yet present in spirit.' And in the same Cephro, a great congregation assembled with me, as well of those brethren who followed me out of the city, as also of those who resorted to us from the rest of Egypt. And there the Lord opened to me a door [to preach] his word. Although at the first entrance I was persecuted and stoned among them, yet afterward a great number of them fell from their idols, and were converted unto the Lord. And so by us the word was preached to those who before were infidels; which ministry after that we had accomplished there, the Lord removed us to another place. For Æmilian resolved to translate us thence to more uncomfortable places, wretched even for Lybia, and commanded us to repair all together to Marcotis, thinking there to separate us severally into sundry villages, and ordering us to reside near the high road, that we might be the more easily apprehended at any time. After we were come thither, it was assigned to me (saith Dionysius) to go to the parts of Colluthio; which was a great grief to me; yet some solace it was to me, that (as the brethren suggested to me) it was rather near to the city; for as my being at Cephro brought us many new brethren out of Egypt, so my hope was, that the vicinity of that place (where I should be) to the city, might procure the familiarity and concourse of certain loving brethren, who would resort and assemble with us; and so it came to pass, etc."²

Infidels
converted
by Diony-
sius in his
banish-
ment.

(1) This is said in reference to a charge of Germanus against Dionysius.—Ed.

(2) Ex Dionysii Epistol. ad Germanum, apud Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 11.—Ed.

*The
Eighth
Persecu-
tion.*

Moreover, the said Dionysius in his epistle "Ad Domitium et Didymum," making mention of them which were afflicted in this persecution of Valerian, recordeth in these words, saying :

A.D.
257
to
259.

Martyrs
of all sorts
and ages.

" It were superfluous here to recite the particular names of all our brethren slain in this persecution, who were many, but to you unknown. But this is certain, that there were men and women, young men and old, maidens and old wives, soldiers, simple innocents, and persons of all sorts and ages : of whom some with scourgings and fire, some with sword, obtained victory, and got the crown [of martyrdom]. Some continued a great time, and yet have been reserved ; in the which number am I reserved hitherto, to some other opportune time known unto the Lord, who saith : ' In the time accepted I have heard thee, and in the day of salvation I have helped thee.' Now as concerning ourselves, in what state we are, if thou desirest to know—how I and Gaius, and Faustus, Peter, and Paul, being apprehended by the centurion and the magistrates of Alexandria and their officers, were forcibly taken away by certain of Mareotis, you have fully heard.¹ At present, I and Gaius, and Peter, are here alone, shut up in a desert and most uncomfortable place of Lybia, distant the space of three days' journey from Parætonium, etc."

And in process further he addeth :

Com-
men-
da-
tion
of
Eusebius
the
deacon.

" In the city (saith he) are certain which privily visit the brethren : of priests, Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius. For they who are more eminent in the world, Faustinus and Aquila, do travel up and down Egypt. Of the deacons, besides them which died in the plague,² Faustus, Eusebius, and Chæremon are yet alive. Eusebius hath God raised up and furnished with great vigour to minister to the confessors lying in bonds, and to bury the bodies of the blessed martyrs, not without great peril. Neither doth the prefect cease yet to this day, cruelly murdering such as be brought before him, tearing some with tortures, imprisoning and wasting some in prisons, commanding that no man should come to them, inquiring also who resorted unto them. Yet notwithstanding, God through the cheerfulness and daily resort of the brethren doth comfort the afflicted."³

Eusebius,
bishop of
Laodicea.
Maximus
of Alex-
andria.
Faustus.

Concerning these deacons above recited, here is to be noted, that Eusebius afterward was made bishop of Laodicea in Syria. Maximus, the priest aforesaid, had the government of the church of Alexandria after Dionysius. Faustus long after continued in great age, unto the later persecution ; wherein he, being a very old man, at length was beheaded, and died a martyr.

Death of
Diony-
sius.

As touching Dionysius himself, the stories report, that he, surviving all these troubles and persecutions, by the providence of God, continued after the death of Valerian, unto the twelfth year of the reign of Gallien, which was about the year of our Lord 265 ; and so departed in peace in great age, after he had governed the church of Alexandria the space of seventeen years, before which he had taught the school of the said city of Alexandria the term of sixteen years ; after whom succeeded Maximus, as is above specified. And thus much touching the full story of Dionysius Alexandrinus, and of other martyrs and confessors of Alexandria.

At Cæsarea in Palestine suffered also, about the same time, Priscus, Malchus, and Alexander ; the which three good men, dwelling in the country, seeing the valiant courage of the Christians, so boldly to venture and constantly to stand and patiently to suffer in this persecution, as men being grieved with themselves, began to repent and

(1) The events here referred to are stated *suprà*, p. 180.—Ed.

(2) Probably the plague mentioned *suprà*, p. 190, 191, 196.—Ed.

(3) Ex Dionysii Epist. ad Domitium et Didymum, apud Euseb. *ibid.* Valesius and Dupin consider this epistle as relating wholly to the Decian persecution.—Ed.

accuse their own so great sluggishness and cowardly negligence, to see others so zealous and valiant, and themselves so cold and faint-hearted, in labouring for the crown of christian martyrdom. And first consulting and agreeing with themselves, they came to Cæsarea; and there, stepping up before the judge, declared themselves what they were, and obtained the end they came for, being given to the wild beasts. After which manner also, and in the same city of Cæsarea, a certain woman, whose name Eusebius expresses not, who had been before of the sect of Marcion, was brought before the prefect, and likewise obtained the same martyrdom.¹

The Eighth Persecution.

A.D. 257 to 259.

Martyrs.

Neither was the city of Carthage all this while free from the stroke of this persecution, if credit should be given to the "Speculative Glass"² of Vincentius, who recordeth of three hundred martyrs, of which three hundred martyrs the story saith thus; that the president setting before them coals and incense to do sacrifice by a lime-kiln, which was there near at hand, offered unto them this condition; either to set incense to the coals for sacrifice to Jupiter, or else to go into the furnace of lime: whereupon they all together, with a general motion, suddenly rushed into the kiln, and there with the dusty smoke of the lime were smothered.³

Three hundred martyrs in Carthage.

In Africa also, in the city of Tuburba, the said Vincentius out of the Martyrology inferreth mention of three constant virgins, Maxima, Donatilla, and Secunda; who, in the persecution of this Valerian and Gallien, first had given them for their drink vinegar and gall; then with scourges were tried; after that upon the rack were tormented, and rubbed with lime; then were scorched upon the fiery gridiron; at last were cast to the wild beasts; who, being not touched of them, finally with the sword were beheaded.⁴

Martyrs at Tuburba in Africa.

In Cimele, a city in France,⁵ under the Alps, one Pontius being there apprehended, by the commandment of Claudius the prefect, was first hanged upon the rack, then cast to the wild beasts, of whom being nothing hurt, he was after committed to the fire; and finally not touched therewith (if the story of Vincentius be true), he was beheaded by the river's side, and his body thrown into the flood; where immediately, the same hour, the aforesaid Claudius and his assessor Anabius were taken with wicked spirits, by whom they were so miserably vexed that Claudius bit his own tongue in pieces, and Anabius's eyes started from their sockets through the pain he was in; and so they died.⁶

Pontius, martyr at Cimele.

Zeno, bishop of Verona, is said also in the same persecution to have sustained martyrdom.⁷

Zeno, martyr.

Moreover, Bergomensis, in his eighth book,⁸ writing of the story of Valerian the emperor, maketh mention of Philip, bishop of the see of Alexandria aforesaid; who (as he saith) was under the said Valerian beheaded. But that is not to be found in any approved story, nor standeth it with the truth of time that any such Philip was then bishop of Alexandria, or any other, except only Dionysius.

Bergomensis reproved.

(1) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 12.—Ed.

(2) Rather, "Historical Mirror." Speculum Historiale Vincentii, lib. xi. cap. 83.—Ed.

(3) Vincent. (Ibid.—Ed.) Erford.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Foxe, missing Vincentius's meaning, says "Italy." This town, now in ruins, was near Nice. See Tillemont's "Mém. Eccles." tom. iv. pt. 1, p. 26. It is perhaps the modern Cimici, which has formed the scene of one of Mrs. Sherwood's instructive narratives.—Ed.

(6) Vincent. lib. xi. cap. 78, 79. See also *infra*, pp. 215, 216.—Ed.

(7) Ibid. cap. 83.

(8) Bergomen. lib. viii. Erford, lib. vi. cap. 17.—Ed.

*The
Eighth
Persecu-
tion.*

A.D

257

to

259.

The story
of Philip
and Eu-
genia.

Eugenia,
leaving
her
parents,
changeth
herself
into
man's ap-
parel.

Helenus,
bishop of
Heliop-
olis.

Eugenia
accused
of Melan-
cia.

After whom next succeeded Maximus, who remained eighteen years, and after him Theonas, etc. : so that, by the ancient records of old writers, it appeareth not that Philip, or any other of that name,¹ was bishop of Alexandria, during this time signified by Bergomensis.

Although in some other later writers, as Equilinus, Antoninus, and Bergomensis, I find a certain history of one Philip, prefect of Alexandria about the same time of Valerian and Gallien, elected by the emperor and senate of Rome, to govern those quarters, where he was at length converted to the christian faith, and after made priest or bishop (as they say) of Alexandria ; but that not to be so, the testimony of ancient writers doth manifest. The history of this Philip, witnessed in our later chronicles, is this : Philip, being promoted to the prefecture of Alexandria, came down with his wife Claudia, and his two sons, Avitus and Sergius, and with his daughter, named Eugenia ; of the which Eugenia a long history, full of strange and prodigious miracles, is written by Antoninus and others, whereof many things I will cut off, and briefly touch the effect of the story ; leaving to the judgment of the reader the credit of mine authors, as he shall see cause.²

This Eugenia, daughter of Philip, being of singular beauty, and diligently brought up by her parents in the study of science and learning, was by occasion of hearing Christians reduced and brought up to Christianity, with two others, eunuchs, her school-fellows, called Protus and Hyacinthus, with whom she taking counsel, upon occasion (whether to avoid the danger of persecution, or refusing to marry with a pagan), unknown to her parents and friends did fly away ; and because the more boldly she might resort to hear the readings of Helenus, then an aged bishop, and of others, she changed herself into man's apparel, and named herself Eugenius, under the which name she was at length admitted unto a certain monastery, or a society of Christians, in the suburbs of Alexandria (although I hardly believe that any monastery of Christians was then in the suburbs of Alexandria permitted) ; where also, at the last, for her excellency of learning and virtue, she was made head of the place.

Here, by the way I omit the miracles of the aforesaid Helenus, bishop (as the story saith) of Heliopolis,³ how he carried burning coals in his lap, and how he adventured himself to go in the burning fire, to refel wicked Zereas, a pagan, remaining in the same unburnt. Here also I omit the careful search of her parents for her, and of the answer of the Pythoness again unto them, that she was taken up to heaven among the goddesses. I omit, moreover, the miracles done by the said Eugenia, in healing the diseases and sicknesses of such as came to her, etc. The story proceedeth thus : Among others which were by this Eugenius cured and restored, there was a certain matron of Alexandria, named Melancia, who, after she had used the help and acquaintance of Eugenius, supposing her to be a man, fell into an inordinate love of her, seeking by all means how to accomplish the lust of her concupiscence ; insomuch that in her daily visiting of her, at length she began secretly to break her mind, and to entice

(1) Baronius agrees with Foxe in the succession, excluding only Philip. Vid. "Annal. Eccles." ad an. 266, § 12 ; and an. 285, § 15.—Ed.

(2) Ex Antonin. tit. vii. cap. 6. § 12.—Ed.

(3) Foxe by mistake says "Hierapolis," but Antoninus, and Baron. Annal. Eccles. ad an. 188, § 2, say "Heliopolis." he was really bishop of Tarsus, see p. 214.—Ed.

her to her lewdness. Eugenius, contrarily, exhorted her to virtue and honesty, showing her the miseries of this life, and the peril of that folly. Melancia, seeing that by no means she would be allured, nor by force drawn to her desire, and fearing moreover, that she, in detecting of her, would bring her to shame, beginning first to make an outcry of Eugenius, declared how that she went about corruptly to deflower her; and so presented her accusation before Philip the prefect as well against Eugenius, as also against the rest of that company. This matter being heard, and the woman well known, the crime began to seem suspicious; and so much the more, because it was objected against the Christians. By reason whereof Eugenius, with her fellow-christians, was now not only in great hatred, but also in danger of present death and destruction. Then Eugenius, although purging herself and her honesty with sufficient probation, yet notwithstanding, perceiving that whatsoever she said could take no place, and seeing no time now to dissemble any longer, for the danger as well of her own self, as specially of her brethren (which troubled her more), she desired of the judge place and time to make manifest to him the truth; and so showed herself what she was, and how she was his daughter, the others to be Protus and Hyacinthus, the two eunuchs, her school-fellows; uttering moreover to him and to her brothers the cause of her departing from them. At the narration whereof, Philip her father, Claudia her mother, and her two brothers, coming to the knowledge of her, conceived no little joy in receiving their Eugenia again, whom they thought to have been lost. No less gladness was among the people, to see the evidence of the matter so plainly to try out the truth of the one, and the falseness of the other; whereat the malignant accuser was with double shame confounded, first, for her dishonesty falsely cloaked; secondly, for the untruth of her accusation openly detected. Bergomensis addeth, moreover, that the said accuser was stricken presently with lightning. Thus Eugenia, trying her honesty to her parents and friends, was not only received of them again, but also, by the grace of the Lord working with her, in the space of time did win them to Christ. Whereby Philip, the father of her by nature, now by grace was begotten of his own daughter to a more perfect life; and whom once he thought to have been lost, not only he found again, but also with her found his own soul, and his own life, which before he had lost indeed. This Philip (saith the story) was made afterward bishop of Alexandria, and there suffered martyrdom; concerning whose martyrdom I deny not but it may be true; but that he was bishop of Alexandria, that cannot be admitted, as is before sufficiently proved out of Eusebius and other ancient historians.

Likewise, it is said, that Eugenia, after the martyrdom of her father, returning to Rome with Protus and Hyacinthus, by occasion of converting Basilla (who should have been married to a pagan husband, and was then beheaded) to the christian faith, was assailed with sundry kinds of death; first, being tied to a great stone and cast into the Tiber, where she was carried up from drowning; then, put in the hot baths, which were extinguished, and she preserved; afterward, by famishment in prison, where they say she was fed at the hand of our Saviour: all which legendary miracles I leave to the

*The
Eighth
Persecution.*

A. D.
257
to
259.

Eugenia
known
of her
parents,
and brothers.

False accusation
convicted.

Philip,
by his
daughter,
converted
unto
Christ.

Philip,
martyr.

Eugenia,
martyr.

*The
Eighth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
257
to
259.

Correc-
tions in
the story
above
touched.
Helenus,
bishop of
Tarsus.

A. D. 262.
Victor,
Victori-
nus, Clau-
dian,
Bassa,
martyrs.

Fructu-
osus,
bishop of
Tarrago-
na in
Spain,
with his
two dea-
cons.

Fructu-
osus and
his dea-
cons
strength-
ened in
the fire.

Favour
of God
toward
his martyrs
de-
clared.

reader to judge of them, as shall seem good unto him. At last, the story saith, she was with the sword beheaded.¹

And because in this present history mention was made of Helenus, whom Antoninus with his fellows noteth to be the bishop of Helio-
polis, here is to be understood and observed, by the way, that as Philip in the aforesaid history is falsely said to be bishop of Alex-
andria; so likewise untrue it is, that Helenus was bishop of Helio-
polis. For by Eusebius it appeareth, alleging the words of Dionysius, that he was bishop of Tarsus, in Cilicia;² and there he had oversight of that church from the time of our Lord God 254, to the year of our redemption 274.³

Under the sixth year of Valerian and Gallien, we read in the History of Herfordiensis (who cites Isuardus) of Victor and Victo-
rinus, who, lying in prison the space of three years with Claudian and Bassa his wife, are said to have sustained great torments and martyrdom for the testimony and name of Christ.⁴

Aurelius Prudentius, in his book intituled "*Περὶ Στεφάνων*," inferreth mention of Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragona in Spain, who, with his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, suffered also martyrdom, being burnt after six days' imprisonment under the aforesaid emperors in this persecution. The cause of their punishment was for the profession of Christ's name; their judge and condemner was Æmilian; their imprisonment endured six days; the kind of death ministered unto them was fire; wherein they, being altogether cast with their arms bound behind them, their hands (as Prudentius writeth) were dissolved, their hands untouched with the fire, and their bodies remaining whole. The charge of this judge unto the bishop was this: "That he should worship the gods whom the emperor Gallien worshipped." To whom Fructuosus the bishop answering: "Nay," saith he, "I worship no dumb god of stocks and blocks, whom Gallien doth worship, but I worship the Lord and Master of Gallien, the Father and Creator of all times, and his only Son sent down to us, of whose flock I am here the pastor and shepherd." At this word Æmilian answering again, "Nay," saith he, "say not thou art, but say thou wast." And forthwith commanded them to be committed to the fire, where (as is said) their hands and manacles being loosed by the fire, they lifted up their hands to heaven, praising the living God, to the great admiration of them that stood by, praying also that the element, which seemed to fly from them, might work its full force upon them, and speedily dispatch them; which was after their request obtained. In the mean space, as they were in the fire, there was a certain soldier in the house of Æmilian, who did see the heavens above to open, and these aforesaid martyrs to enter into the same; which soldier likewise showed the sight the same time unto the daughter of Æmilian the prefect, who,

(1) Vincent. lib. xi. cap. 76, 77. Anton. Bergom. Ado. [Foxe has done well in leaving the reader to believe as much as he thinks proper of these narratives. See "Tillemont's Mémoires," tom. iv. pt. 1, pp. 20 and 329, edit. 12mo. 1706.—Ed.]

(2) Ex Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 5.—Ed.

(3) Cent. Magd. cent. iii. cap. 10.—Ed.

(4) Ex Isuardo, [or "Usuardus," a monk of Fulde, of the Benedictine order. Charlemagne instructed him to draw up a Martyrology, which exists, says Vossius (De Hist. Lat. p. 295), "non exiguo sane historiæ Ecclesiasticæ bono." There are editions of Louvain 1568, of Antwerp 1714, and of Paris 1718. "Martyrologium Usuardi, Monachi Paris., prodit Lovanii 1568, item 1573—recusum deinde cum annotat. et addit. Joh. Molani, Antv. 1583. Verum in edit. Ant. 1583, ommissa sunt ea, quæ Pontificiis in priori minus placebant." N. P. Sibbern schediasma de libris Latinorum eccles. Viteb. 1706, p. 101.—Ed.]

beholding the same sight with the soldier, was a present witness of the blessedness of them whom her cruel father had condemned.

As this godly bishop was preparing to his death (saith Prudentius) the brethren approaching to him, brought him drink, desiring him with much weeping to receive and drink with them; but that he refused to do, requiring them moreover to refrain their tears. With like readiness the brethren also were diligent about him to pluck off his shoes and hose, as he was addressing himself to the fire; but neither would he suffer any servant's help in that, wherein he was no less willing than able to help himself. And thus this blessed and fruitful bishop Fructuosus, with his two deacons, Augurius and Eulogius, being brought to the fire, witnessed the constant confession of the name of Christ with the shedding of their blood.¹

*The
Eighth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
257
to
259.

The mo-
desty of
Fructu-
osus.

And thus far continued wicked Valerian in his tyranny against the saints of Christ. But as all the tyrants before, and oppressors of the Christians, had their deserved reward at the just hand of God, who rendereth to every man according to his works; so this cruel Valerian, after he had reigned with his son Gallien the term of six or seven years, and about two years had afflicted the church of Christ, felt the just stroke of his hand, whose indignation before he had provoked, whereof we have to witness Eutropius, Pollio,² Sabellicus, Volateran.³ For, making his expedition against the Persians, whether by the fraud and treason of some about him, or whether by his own rashness, it is doubtful; but this is certain, that he fell into the hands of his enemies, being about the age of fourscore years; where he spent his wretched age in a more wretched captivity: insomuch that Sapor, the king of the Persians, used him (and well worthy) not for his riding-fool, but for his riding-block; for whensoever the king should light upon his horse openly in the sight of the people, Valerian, emperor quondam, was brought forth instead of a block, for the king to tread upon his back in going to his horseback. And so continued this blockish butcherly emperor with shame and sport enough unto his final end, as witness Lætus and Aurelius Victor.⁴

The nota-
ble plague
against
Valerian
the per-
secutor.

God's
punish-
ment to
be noted.

Albeit Eusebius, in a certain sermon "Ad conventum Sanctorum," declareth a more cruel handling of him, affirming that he was slain, writing in these words: "And thou Valerian, forasmuch as thou hast exercised the same cruelty in murdering of the subjects of God, hast proved unto us the righteous judgment of God, in that thyself hast been bound in chains, and carried away for a captive slave with thy gorgeous purple, and thy imperial attire; and at length also, being commanded of Sapor, king of the Persians, to be flayed and powdered with salt, hast set up unto all men a perpetual monument of thy wretchedness."⁵

Valerian,
the perse-
cuting
emperor.

The like severity of God's terrible judgment is also to be noted in Claudius, the prefect, and minister of his persecutions. Of which Claudius Henry of Herford thus writeth, that he was possessed and

The pu-
nishment
upon
Claudius
the pre-
fect.

(1) Aurelius Prudentius, *Ado, Equilinus*.

(2) Pollio, § 5.—Ed.

(3) Also Lactantius, "De Mort. Persecut." cap. 5.—Ed.

(4) Epitome, cap. 32, § 5.—Ed.

(5) "Sed et tu, Valeriane, quoniam eandem homicidiorum sævitiam erga subditos Dei exercuisti, justum Dei judicium declarasti, dum captivus ac vinctus una cum ipsa purpura ac reliquo imperatorio ornatu abductus ac tandem a Sapore Persarum rege exoriari jussus saleque conditus, perpetuum infelicitatis tuæ trophæum exeristi," etc. Ex Euseb. in Sermone ad Conventum sanctorum, cap. 24.—Ed.

*The
Eighth
Persecu-
tion.*

A.D.
257
to
259.

Gallien
plagued
for his
persecu-
tion.

Peace
granted
to the
church.

veyed of the devil, in such sort, that he biting off his own tongue in many small pieces, so ended his life.

Neither did Gallien, the son of Valerian, after the captivity of his father, utterly escape the righteous hand of God: for beside the miserable captivity of his father, whom he could not rescue, such portents strange and out of the course of nature, such earthquakes did happen,¹ also such tumults, commotions, and rebellions did follow, that Trebellio doth reckon up to the number of thirty together, which in sundry places, all at one time, took upon them to be tyrants and emperors over the monarchy of Rome, by the means whereof he was not able to succour his father, though he would. Notwithstanding, the said Gallien, being (as is thought) terrified by the example of his father, did remove, at least did moderate, the persecution stirred up by the edicts of Valerian his father, directing forth his imperial proclamation, the tenor whereof proceedeth after this effect, as is to be seen in Eusebius.²

Emperor and Cæsar, Publius Licinius Gallien, Pius, Felix, Augustus, to Dionysius, Pinna, Demetrius, and the rest of the bishops. I have commanded that the indulgence of my gracious bounty be published through the whole world, viz. that all should depart from³ the places devoted to religious worship. And for this cause I have here sent to you the copy of my rescript for you to peruse and keep, that no man may molest you. And that, which you may now lawfully enjoy, hath been long since by me granted. And therefore, for your more warrant in the same, I have committed the copy hereof to the custody of Aurelius Cyrenius, my high steward.

Another
grant of
Gallien
unto the
christian
bishops,
A.D. 263.

This mandate above prefixed did Gallien send to Dionysius Alexandrinus, and other bishops, as is premised. Another rescript also the said emperor sent to other christian bishops, permitting to them full liberty to receive again their wonted places⁴ where they were wont to associate together, called of them Cemeteria.

Marinus,
martyr.

By this it may appear that some peace was granted then under this Gallien to the church of Christ: albeit not so, but that some there were who suffered, of whom was one Marinus, mentioned in Eusebius.⁵ This Marinus, being a warrior and a nobleman at Cæsarea in Palestine, stood for the dignity of a certain order, which by all order of course was next to fall upon him by right, had not the envious ambition of him, that should follow next after him, supplanted him both of office and life; for he accused him to be a Christian, and therefore said that he was not to be admitted unto their offices, he being against their religion. Whereupon Achæus, then being judge, examined him of his faith; who, finding him to be a Christian indeed, and constantly to stand to his profession, gave him three hours to deliberate and advise with himself. There was about the same time bishop at Cæsarea, one named Theotecnus;⁶ who, perceiving him to stand in doubtful deliberation and perplexity in himself, took him by the hand, and brought him into the church of the Christians, laying before him a sword (which he had under his cloak for the same purpose) and a book of the New Testament; and so willed him to take

Theo-
tecnus,
bishop of
Cæsarea.

(1) Tillemont takes the same view as Foxe, "*Mémoires*," tom. iv. pt. 1, pp. 39—41.—Ed.

(2) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 13.—Ed.

(3) Ἀποχωρήσας, i. e. desist from molesting.—Ed.

(4) i. e. the burial grounds.—Ed.

(5) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 15.—Ed.

(6) Otherwise called "Theoctistus." Ibid. cap. 5.—Ed.

his free choice which of them he would prefer. The soldier immediately, without delay, ran to the book of the gospel, taking that before the sword. And thus he, being animated by the bishop, presented himself boldly before the judge, by whose sentence he was beheaded, and died a martyr.¹ Whose dead body one Astyrius, a noble senator of Rome, a man very wealthy and among the chief of that order (who in the same time was there present at his martyrdom), took up and bare upon his own shoulders, wrapping it in a rich and sumptuous weed, and so honourably committed it to burial.²

*The
Eighth
Persecu-
tion.*
A. D.
257
to
259.

Of which Astyrius the said author writeth moreover this story; how that in the aforesaid city of Cæsarea, the gentiles used there, of an ancient custom, to offer up a certain sacrifice by a fountain side, the which sacrifice, by the working of the devil, was wont suddenly to vanish out of their eyes, to the great admiration of the bystanders. Astyrius seeing this, and pitying the miserable error of the simple people, lifting up his eyes to heaven, made his prayer to Almighty God in the name of Christ, that the people might not be seduced of the devil any longer: by the virtue of whose prayer the sacrifice was seen to swim in the water of the fountain; and so the strange wonder of that sight was taken away, and no such matter could be there wrought any more.

*The work
of Satan
disap-
pointed
by the
prayer of
Astyrius.*

And because mention is made here of Cæsarea, there followeth in the next chapter of the same author a strange miracle, if it be true, which he there reporteth; how that out of the same city was the woman who in the gospel came to our Saviour, and was healed of her bloody issue, her house being in the city of Cæsarea. Before the door thereof was set up a certain pillar of stone, and upon the pillar was an image, made of brass, of a woman meekly kneeling on her knees, and holding up her hands, as one that had some suit. Against the which there was another image of a man, proportioned of the same metal; standing upright, dressed decently in a short vesture, and stretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foot of which pillar grew up a certain herb of a strange kind, but of a more strange operation; which growing up to the hem of his vesture, and once touching the same, is said to have had such virtue, that it was able to cure all manner of diseases. This image of the man (they say) represented our Saviour. The history is written in Eusebius, as is said; the credit whereof I refer to the reader, whether he will think it true or false. If he think it false, yet I have showed him mine author: if he think it true, then must he think withal that this miraculous operation of the herb proceeded neither by the virtue of the one image, nor by the prayer of the other (being both dumb figures, and engraven no doubt at that time by the hand of infidels); but to be wrought by some secret permission of God's wisdom, either to reduce the infidels at that time to the belief of the story, or to admonish the Christians to consider with themselves what strength and health was to be looked for only of Christ and no other advocate; seeing the dumb image, engraven in brass, gave his efficacy to a poor herb, to cure so many diseases. This image (saith Eusebius) remained also to his time, which was under Constantine the Great.⁴

*A miracle
noted in
Eusebius.*

*A miracu-
lous oper-
ation of
an herb,
touching
the hem
of Christ's
image, to
heal dis-
eases.*

*No virtue
to be as-
cribed to
images.*

(1) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 15.—Ed.
(3) Ibid. cap. 17.—Ed.

(2) Ibid. cap. 16.—Ed.
(4) Ibid. cap. 18.—Ed.

*The
Ninth
Persecu-
tion.*

A.D.
275
to
284.

Diony-
sius,
bishop of
Rome,
A.D. 259.
Felix,
Euty-
chian, and
Caius,
bishops of
Rome,
and mar-
tyrs.

As touching the line and order of the Roman bishops hitherto intermitted; after the martyrdom of Sixtus above specified, the government of that church was committed next to one Dionysius, about the year of our Lord 259; who continued in the same the space of nine years, as Eusebius saith: as Damasus recordeth, but only six years and two months. Of his decretal epistles, because sufficient hath been said before concerning that matter, I omit to speak. After whom succeeded Felix, toward the first year of Aurelian the emperor, about the year of our Lord 269, who governed that church five years, and died, as Platina saith, a martyr. After him followed Eutychian, and then Caius, both martyrs, as the histories of some do record.

About the time of these bishops lived Theodore bishop of Neocæsarea [in Pontus], who is otherwise called Gregory the Great, whom also Nicephorus, for his miracles, calleth *θαυματουργον*.

Thus Gallien the aforesaid emperor reigned, as is declared, with his father Valerian seven years, after whose captivity he ruled the monarchy alone about eight years, with some peace and quietness granted to the church.

Claudius
II. empe-
ror,
A.D. 268.

The days of this Gallien being expired, followed Claudius II. a quiet emperor, as most histories do record. Although Vincentius affirmeth that he was a mover of persecution against the Christians, and maketh mention of two hundred sixty and two martyrs, who in his time did suffer; but because no such record remaineth to be found in Eusebius (who would not have omitted some memorial thereof, if it had been true), therefore I refer the same to the free judgment of the reader, to find such credit as it may. This Claudius reigned but two years, after whom came Quintillus his brother, next emperor, and a quiet prince, who continued but only seventeen days, and had to his successor Aurelian; under whom Orosius, in his seventh book, doth number the ninth persecution against the Christians.¹

Quintil-
lus, em-
peror,
A.D. 270.

THE NINTH PERSECUTION.

Aurelian,
emperor,
A.D. 270.
The good
beginning
of Aure-
lian.

Hitherto from the captivity of Valerian, the church of Christ was in some quietness till the death of Quintillus, as hath been declared; after whom Aurelian the next successor possessed the crown; who in the first beginning of his reign (after the common manner of all princes) showed himself a prince moderate and discreet, much worthy of commendation, if his good beginning had continued in a constant course agreeing to the same. Of nature he was severe, and rigorous in correcting, dissolute in manners; insomuch as it was said of him in a vulgar proverb, "That he was a good physician, saving that he gave too bitter medicines." This emperor when sick, never sent for a physician, but cured himself with abstinence. And as his beginning was not unfruitful to the commonwealth, so neither was he any great disturber of the Christians, whom he did not only tolerate in their religion, but also their councils; and they, being the same time assembled at Antioch, he seemed not to be against them. Notwithstanding, in continuance of time, through sinister motion and instigation of certain about him (as commonly such are never absent in all places from the ears of princes), his nature, somewhat

A pro-
verb: a
good phy-
sician, but
he giveth
too bitter
medi-
cines.

The
council of
Antioch.

(1) See Pagi, Crit. in Baron. Ann. Eccl., ad an. 272, § 8.—Ep.

inclenable to severity, was altered to a plain tyranny; which tyranny first he showed, beginning with the death of his own sister's son, as witnesseth Eutropius. After that he proceeded either to move, or at least to purpose, persecution against the Christians; albeit that wicked purpose of the emperor the merciful working of God's hand did soon overthrow. For when the edict or proclamation should have been published for the persecuting of the Christians, and the emperor was now ready to subscribe the edict with his hand, the mighty stroke of the hand of the Lord suddenly from above did stop his purpose, binding (as a man might say) the emperor's hands behind him, declaring (as Eusebius saith) to all men, how there is no power to work any violence against the servants of God, unless his permission do suffer them, and give them leave.¹ Eusebius in his Chronicle and Orosius affirm, that, as the said Aurelian was beginning to raise persecution against us, he was suddenly terrified with lightning; and that not long after, about the fifth or sixth year of his reign, he was slain between Byzantium and Heraclea (as also Eutropius and Vopiscus affirm), in the year of our Lord 275. Thus Aurelian rather intended than moved persecution; neither is there any more than this found concerning this persecution in ancient histories and records of the church: wherefore I marvel the more, that Vincentius, collecting out of the Martyrologies, hath comprehended such a great catalogue of so many martyrs, which in France and in Italy (saith he) suffered death and torments under this emperor Aurelian; whereunto Orosius also seemeth to agree in numbering this, under the said Aurelian, to be the ninth persecution.²

The Ninth Persecution.

A. D. 275 to 284

A notable example of God's hand stopping persecution.

No power against the people of God, except God give leave.

The death of Aurelian, A. D. 275.

Next after Aurelian the succession of the empire fell to Publius Annus Tacitus, who reigned but six months; him succeeded his brother Florian, who reigned but threescore days; and after him followed Marcus Aurelius, surnamed Probus.³ Of whom more hereafter (God willing) shall appear.

Tacitus, emperor. Florian, emperor.

In the mean time, within the compass of these emperors falleth in a story recorded of Eusebius, and not unworthy here to be noted, whereby to understand the faithful diligence of good ministers, what good it may do in a commonwealth.

Mention is made before of Eusebius the deacon of Dionysius, whom God stirred up to visit and comfort the saints that were in prison and bands, and to bury the bodies of the blessed martyrs departed, not without great peril of his own life, who after was made bishop (as is said) of Laodicea. But before he came to Laodicea, to be bishop there, it chanced, while the said Eusebius was remaining as yet at Alexandria, the city was besieged of the Romans, in that part of it called Bruchium.⁴ In which siege part of the city did hold with the Romans, the other part withstood them. In that part which went with the Roman captain was Eusebius, being also in great favour with the captain for his worthy fidelity and service showed. With the other part, that resisted the Romans, was Anatolius,

Eusebius, deacon of Alexandria. Anatolius, rector of the university of Alexandria.

(1) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 30.—Ed.

(3) Ex Eutropio et Victore, cap. 36.—Ed.

(2) Oros. lib. vii. c. 23, 27. See Appendix.—Ed.

(4) 'Εν τῇ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοῦ Πυρουχείου πολιορκίᾳ. Euseb. Foxe had misunderstood Πυρουχείου to be the name of the Roman general. Pyrchium still remains in the text of Eusebius; but Valesius has shown from Ammianus Marcellinus (lib. xxii.) and the chronicle of Eusebius, etc. that *Bruchium* is the correct reading. Ἴσκει δὲ ἐν τῷ Πυρουχίῳ περὶ τὸν δρόμον, ἐν τῷ οὐτῷ καλουμένῳ περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. Apollonii Dyscoli Vita, quoted by Vales. in Euseb. vii. 32.—Ed.

*The
Ninth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
275
to
284.

*The
piety of
Anato-
lius and
Eusebius
to their
country.*

governor or moderator then of the school of Alexandria, who also was bishop, after the said Eusebius, of Laodicea. This Anatolius, perceiving the citizens to be in miserable distress of famine and [peril of] destruction, by reason of penury and lack of sustenance, sendeth to Eusebius being then with the Romans, and certifieth him of the lamentable penury and peril of the city, instructing him moreover what to do in the matter. Eusebius, understanding the case, repaireth to the captain, desiring of him so much favour, that so many as would fly out of the city from their enemies, might be licensed to escape and freely to pass, which was to him eftsoons granted. As Eusebius was thus labouring with the captain, on the other side Anatolius for his part laboured with the citizens, moving them to assemble together, and persuading them to give themselves over, in yielding to the force and might of the Romans. But when the citizens could not abide the hearing thereof, "yet," said Anatholius, "with this I trust you will be contented, if I shall counsel you in this miserable lack of things to void out of your city all such persons as are superfluous and unnecessary incumbrances about you, as old women, young children, aged men, with such others as be feeble and impotent; and not suffer them here to perish with famine, whose presence can do no stead to you if they die, and less if they live, for spending the victuals which otherwise might serve them that be more able to defend the city." The senate hearing this counsel, and understanding moreover the grant of the captain promising them their safety, were well consenting thereunto. Then Anatolius, having a special care to them that belonged to the church of Christ, calleth them together with the rest of the multitude, and persuading them what they should do, and what had been obtained for them, caused them to void the city; and not only them, but also a great number of others more, who persuaded by him, under that pretence, changing themselves in women's apparel, or feigning some impotency, so escaped out of the city. At whose coming out, Eusebius on the other side was ready to receive them, and refreshed their hungry and pined bodies; whereby not only they, but the whole city of Alexandria was preserved from destruction.¹

*The
prelates
of Rome
are clean
contrary
to these
good
prelates.*

*Marcus
Aurelius
Probus,
emperor,
A. D. 276.
Peace in
the
church.*

*The
saying of
Marcus
Aurelius.*

By this little history of Eusebius and Anatolius, described in Eusebius, and briefly here set forth to thee (gentle reader) thou mayst partly understand the practice of the prelates, what it was in those days in the church; which was then only employed in saving of life, and succouring the commonwealths wherein they lived, as by these two godly persons Eusebius and Anatolius may well appear. Unto the which practice if we compare the practice of our later prelates of the church of Rome, I suppose no little difference will appear.

The next emperor to Florian (as is said) was Marcus Aurelius Probus, a prince both wise and virtuous, and no less valiant in martial affairs, than fortunate in the success of the same. During his time we read of no persecution greatly stirring in the church, but much quietness as well in matters of religion as also in the commonwealth. Insomuch that, after his great and many victories, such peace ensued, that his saying was: "There needed no more soldiers, seeing there were no more enemies for the commonwealth to fight

(1) Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 32.—Ed.

against." It was his saying also, "that his soldiers need not to spend corn and victual, except they laboured to serve the commonwealth." And for the same cause he caused his soldiers to be set at work about certain mountains at Sirmium in Pannonia and in Mœsia, to be planted with vines, and not so much as in winter suffered them to be at rest; therefore by them at length he was slain, after he had reigned the space of six years and four months, in the year of our Lord 282.¹

The Ninth Persecution.

A. D.
275
to
284

Marcus Aurelius
slai,
A. D. 282.
Carus,
with his
two sons,
emperors.

Carus, with his two sons Carinus and Numerian, succeeded next after Probus in the empire; the reign of which emperors continued in all but three years. Of the which three, first Carus, warring against the Persians, was slain with lightning. Of Numerian his son, being with his father in his wars against the Persians, we find much commendation in Eutropius, Vopiscus, and other writers, who testify him to be a valiant warrior; and an eloquent orator, as appeareth by his declamations and writings sent to the senate; and thirdly, to be an excellent poet. This Numerian, sorrowing and lamenting for the death of his father, through immoderate weeping fell into a great soreness of his eyes; by reason whereof he, keeping close, was slain not long after of his father-in-law, named Aper; who, traitorously aspiring to the empire, dissembled his death with a false excuse to the people asking for him, saying, "For the pain of his eyes he kept in from the wind and weather;" till at length, by the stench of his body being carried about, his death was uttered.

In the life of this emperor Carus aforesaid, written by Eutropius in the later edition set forth by Frobenius,² I find (which in other editions of Eutropius doth not appear), that Numerian, the son of this Carus, was he that slew Babylas the holy martyr, whose history before we have comprehended. But that seemeth not to be likely, both by the narrative of Chrysostom, and also for that Urspergensis (declaring the same history, and in the same words, as it is in Eutropius) saith that it was Cyril whom Numerian killed; the story whereof is this: "What time Carus the emperor, in his journey going toward the Persians, remained at Antioch, Numerian his son would enter into the church of the Christians, to view and behold their mysteries. But Cyril their bishop would in no wise suffer him to enter into the church, saying, "that it was not lawful for him to see the mysteries of God, who was polluted with sacrifices of idols." Numerian, full of indignation at the hearing of these words, not suffering that repulse at the hands of Cyril, in his fury did slay the godly martyr. And therefore justly (as it seemed) was he himself slain afterward by the hands of Aper.³

Correction of a certain place of Eutropius.

Cyril resisteth the emperor.

Cyril, bishop of Antioch, martyr.

Thus Carus with his son Numerian being slain in the East parts, as is declared, Carinus the other son reigned alone in Italy; where he overcame Sabinus striving for the empire, and reigned there with

(1) Eutrop. [lib. ix. § 11.]—Ed.

(2) Ex editione Frobeniana. It bears the title "Eutropii insigne volumen, quo Rom. historia universa describitur ex divers. auc. &c. collecta, edente Sigis. Gelenio;" Basileæ, 1532; and again in 1569: and Foxe might easily discover in it, what was not supplied by other and more genuine editions, this of Frobenius being the History of Eutropius as interpolated by Paul, deacon of Aquileia (who lived at the end of the eighth century), and is entitled "Historia Miscella; quæ Eutropii historiam (says Tzschucke, his last editor) non solum iisdem verbis, etsi alia multa assuat vel intertextat, reddit, sed et ab initio auget et ad ulteriora tempora prosequitur.—Decuplo major exhibetur Eutropius in edit. Basil, 1532." This will satisfactorily account for Foxe's discovery.—Ed.

(3) Ex Chroni. Urspergen. [Eutrop. lib. ix. § 5.—Ed]

*The
Ninth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
275
to
284.

Carinus,
emperor,
slain,
A. D. 284.
A. D. 303.
The peace
of the
church
from Va-
lerian to
the tenth
persecu-
tion
lasted
four and
forty
years.

Doro-
theus
Gorgo-
nius,
Chris-
tians of
great re-
putation
in the
emperor's
court.

The
peaceable
state of
the
church
describ-
ed.

Corrup-
tion,
through
much
peace and
prosperi-
ty, crept
into the
church.

much wickedness, till the returning home of the army again from the Persians, who then set up Dioclesian to be emperor; by whom the aforesaid Carinus, for the wickedness of his life being forsaken of his host, was overcome, and at length slain with the hand of the tribune, whose wife before he had deflowered. Thus Carus with his two sons, Numerian and Carinus, ended their lives, whose reign continued not above three years.

All this mean space we read of no great persecution stirring in the church of Christ, but it was in mean quiet state and tranquillity, unto the nineteenth year of the reign of Dioclesian; so that in counting the time from the latter end of Valerian unto this aforesaid year of Dioclesian, the peace of the church, which God gave to his people, seemeth to continue about four and forty years; during the which time of peace and tranquillity, the church of the Lord did mightily increase and flourish, so that the more bodies it lost by persecution, the more honour and reverence it won daily among the Gentiles in all quarters, both Greeks and barbarous; insomuch that (as Eusebius in his eighth book describeth)¹ amongst the emperors themselves, divers there were who not only bare singular good-will and favour to them of our profession, but also did commit unto them offices and regiments over countries and nations; and so well were they affected to our doctrine, that they privileged the same with liberty and indemnity. What needeth to speak of those who not only lived under the emperors in liberty, but also were familiar in the court with the princes themselves, entertained with great honour and special favour beyond the other servitors of the court: as was Dorotheus, with his wife, children, and whole family, highly accepted and advanced in the palace of the emperor; also Gorgonius in like manner; with divers others more, who, for their doctrine and learning which they professed, were with their princes in great estimation. In like reverence also were the bishops of cities and dioceses with the prefects and rulers where they lived; who not only suffered them to live in peace, but also had them in great price and regard, so long as they kept themselves upright, and continued in God's favour. Who is able to number at that time the mighty and innumerable multitudes and congregations assembling together in every city, and the notable concourses of such as daily flocked to the common oratories to pray? For the which cause they, being not able to be contained in their old edifices, had large and great churches, new builded from the foundation, for them to frequent together. In such increasement (saith Eusebius) by process of time did the church of Christ grow and shoot up daily more and more, profiting and spreading through all quarters, which neither envy of men could infringe, nor any devil could enchant, neither the crafty policy of man's wit could supplant, so long as the protection of God's heavenly arm went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of christian life.

But as commonly the nature of all men, being of itself unruly and untoward, always seeketh and desireth prosperity, and yet can never well use prosperity; always would have peace, and yet having peace always abuseth the same: so here likewise it happened with these

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 1.—Ed.

men, who through this so great liberty and prosperity of life began to degenerate and languish into idleness and delicacy, and one to work spite and contumely against another, striving and contending amongst themselves, for every occasion, with railing words after most spiteful manner; bishops against bishops, and people against people, moving hatred and sedition one against another; besides also cursed hypocrisy and simulation with all extremity increasing more and more. By reason whereof the judgment of God, after his wonted manner (the multitude of the faithful as yet meeting in their assemblies), began by little and little to visit the people with persecution, falling first upon the brethren who were abroad in warfare. But when that touched the others nothing or very little, neither did they seek to appease God's wrath, and call for his mercy, but wickedly thought with themselves, that God neither regarded nor would visit their transgressions, they heaped iniquities daily more and more one upon another; and they who seemed to be pastors, rejecting the rule of piety, were inflamed with mutual contentions one against another. And thus, whilst they were given only to the study of contentions, threatenings, emulations, envy and mutual hatred, every man seeking for himself the first place in the church of Christ, as if it were a secular principality: then, then, (saith Eusebius) according to the voice of Jeremy, "the Lord covered the daughter of Zion with a cloud in his anger, and cast down from heaven unto the earth the beauty of Israel, and remembered not his footstool in the day of his anger: the Lord hath drowned all the beauty of Israel, and thrown down all his strongholds."¹ And as it is predicted in the Psalms, "He hath made void the covenant of his servant, and profaned his sanctuary in the earth [to wit, by the destruction of the churches]. He hath broken down all his hedges, he hath made his strongholds fear. All the multitudes of the people that pass by the way spoil him, and further, he is a reproach to his neighbours. For he hath exalted the right hand of his enemies, and hath turned away the help of his sword, and hath not assisted him in the war. But he hath put an end to his purification, and hath broken his throne by casting it to the ground. The days of his life hath he shortened, and, lastly, covered him with ignominy."² All these things were fulfilled upon us, when we saw the temples razed from the top to the ground, and the sacred Scriptures to be burnt in the open market-place, and the pastors of the church to hide themselves, some here, some there; others of them ignominiously apprehended, and exposed to the scorn of their enemies; when also, according to the saying of the prophet in another place, "Contempt was poured upon the princes, and he caused them to wander in the wilderness, where there was no way."³

*The
Tenth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
303
to
313.

Hatred,
and dis-
dain
among
the
church-
men.

Chris-
tians per-
secuting,
one
another.

The wrath
of God
toward his
people.

THE TENTH PERSECUTION.

By reason whereof the wrath of God being kindled against his church, ensued the tenth and last persecution against the Christians, so horrible and grievous, that it maketh the pen almost to tremble to write upon it; so tedious that never was any persecution before or

(1) Lament. ii. 1, 2.

(2) Psalm lxxxix. 39, etc. These passages are translated exactly from Eusebius's text.—Ed.

(3) Psalm cvii. 40.

*The Tenth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
303
to
313.

Diocle-
sian, em-
peror.
A. D. 284.

Aper
slain.
A. D. 290.

Maxi-
mian
fellow
emperor
with Dio-
clesian.

Helena,
daughter
of Coel,
married
to Con-
stantius.

Pride in
Diocle-
sian.

Cruelty
followeth
pride.
A. D. 303.

since comparable to it for the time it continued, lasting the space of ten years together. This persecution, although it passed through the hands of divers tyrants and workers more than one or two, yet principally it beareth the name of Dioclesian, who was emperor, as is above noted, next after Carinus and Numerian. This Dioclesian, ever having an ambitious mind, aspired greatly to be emperor.¹ To whom, when serving in Gaul as a common soldier, a Druidess foretold, "that after he had killed a wild boar, he should be emperor." He, taking effect at these words, used much to kill with his hands wild boars; but seeing no success to come thereof, he used this proverb: "Ego apros occido, alius pulpamento fruitur," that is, "I kill the boars, but others eat the flesh." At length the said Dioclesian, being nominated to be emperor, and seeing Aper (who had killed Numerian the emperor) standing thereby, sware to the soldiers that Numerian was wrongfully killed; and forthwith, running upon Aper with his sword, slew him.² After this, he being established in the empire, and seeing on every side divers and sundry commotions rising up against him, which he was not well able himself to sustain, in the first beginning of his reign he chooseth for his colleague Maximian, surnamed Herculus, father of Maxentius. Which two emperors, because of divers wars that rose in many provinces, chose to them two other noblemen, Galerius and Constantius, whom they called Cæsars; of whom Galerius was sent into the east parts against the Persians. Constantius was sent over to Britain, to this our country of England, to recover the tribute, where he took to wife Helena the daughter of king Coel, who was a maiden excelling in beauty, and no less famously brought up in the study of learning,³ of whom was born Constantine the Great.

All this while hitherto no persecution was yet stirred of these four princes against the church of Christ, but quietly and moderately they governed the commonwealth; wherefore accordingly God prospered their doings and affairs, and gave them great victories: Dioclesian in Egypt, Maximian in Africa and in France, Galerius in Persia, Constantine in England, and in France also. By reason of which victories, Dioclesian and Maximian, puffed up in pride, ordained a solemn triumph at Rome: after which triumph Dioclesian gave commandment that he should be worshipped as God, saying, that he was brother to the sun and moon; and adorning his shoes with gold and precious stones, commanded the people to kiss his feet.

And not long after, by the judgment of God for certain enormities used in the church (above touched), began the great and grievous persecution of the Christians, moved by the outrageous cruelty of Dioclesian, which was about the nineteenth year of his reign, who in the month of March, when the feast of Easter was nigh at hand,⁴

(1) Eutrop. lib. ix. § 16; Vopisc. Numer. § 13, 15.—Ed.

(2) Vopiscus, vitâ Numeriani, whence Foxe's text has been a little altered.—Ed.

(3) This is a disputed point. "Helenam mulierem vilissimam, Dacîæ Nayso, ut conjectura est, ortam, vel uxorem habuit, vel concubinam. Qua de re variant auctores." Basnagii Annales Historico-Polit. ad an. 292, § 3; who gives references to Zosimus, lib. ii. cap. 8. Aurelius Victor; Stephanus De Urbibus, etc.—Ed.

(4) Eusebius, in his Chronicle, also says "March," "in diebus Paschæ;" but in the history of the Martyrs of Palestine, he says it was in April. Lactantius states, that the destruction of the churches and the burning of the Scriptures began February 23, being the Roman Terminalia; and that next day the edict was published for depriving Christians of office. ("De Mort. Persec." cap. 13.) Easter day fell in A. D. 303 on April 18.—Ed.

commanded all the churches of the Christians to be spoiled and cast to the earth, and the books of holy Scripture to be burnt.

The most violent edicts and proclamations, as is said, were set forth throughout all the Roman empire, for the overthrowing of the christian temples. Neither did there want in the officers any cruel execution of the same proclamations; for their temples were [already] defaced when they celebrated the feast of Easter. The same proclamations contained orders for the burning of the books of the holy Scripture; which thing was done in the open market-place, as before stated: Item, for the displacing of such as were magistrates, and all others whosoever bare any office, and that with great ignominy: Item, for imprisoning such as were of the common sort, if they would not abjure Christianity, and subscribe to the heathen religion. And this was the first edict given out by Dioclesian. And these were the beginnings of the Christians' evils.¹

It was not long after, but that new edicts were sent forth (nothing for their cruelty inferior to the first), for the casting of the elders and bishops into prison, and then constraining them with sundry kinds of punishments to offer unto their idols. By reason whereof ensued a great persecution against the governors of the church; amongst whom many stood manfully, passing through many exceeding bitter torments, neither were overcome therewith, being tormented and examined divers of them diversely; some were scourged all their bodies over with whips and scourges, some were cruciated with racks and razings of their flesh that were intolerable; some one way, some another way put to death. Some again violently were drawn to the impure sacrifice, and as though they had sacrificed, when indeed they did not, were let go. Others, neither coming at all to their altars, nor touching any piece of their sacrifices, yet were borne in hand of them that stood by, that they had sacrificed, and so suffering that false infamation of their enemies quietly went away. Others, as dead men, were carried and cast away, being but half dead. Some they cast down upon the pavement, and trailing them a great space by the legs, made the people believe that they had sacrificed. Furthermore, others there were who stoutly withstood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had done no such sacrifice; of whom some said they were Christians, and gloried in the profession of that name: some cried, saying, that neither they had nor ever would be partakers of that idolatry. And these, being buffeted on the face and mouth with the hands of the soldiers, were made to hold their peace, and so thrust out with violence. And if the saints did seem never so little to do what the enemies would have them, they were made much of: albeit, all this purpose of the adversary did nothing prevail against the holy and constant servants of Christ. Notwithstanding, of the weak sort innumerable there were, who for fear and infirmity fell and gave over, even at the first brunt.²

On the first publishing of the edict against the churches at Nicomedia, there chanced a deed to be done much worthy of memory, of a Christian, who was no obscure person, but eminently illustrious for

*The Tenth
Persecution.*

A. D.
303
to
313.

Christian temples destroyed.
Books of the Scriptures burnt.
Christian magistrates displaced, and Christian subjects imprisoned.
Bishops and elders constrained with torments to sacrifice.

The noble courage and constancy of a martyr.

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 2, whence several corrections have been made in the text; also Basnagii annales ad an. 303, § 5, and Lactant. de M.P. § 12.—Ed.

(2) Ibid. cap. 2, 3. Nicephorus, lib. vii. cap. 3, 4. Zonaras, tom. ii.—Ed.

*The Tenth
Persecution.*

A. D.
303
to
313.

Persecution first
beginning
in the em-
peror's
camp.

A notable
religion
and faith
in sol-
diers.

Martyrs
of Pales-
tine and
Phœnicia.

secular honour and esteem ; who, moved by a zeal of God, after the proclamation was set up, by and by ran and took down the same, and openly tare and rent it in pieces, not fearing the presence of the two emperors, then being in the city. For which act he was put to a most bitter death, which death he with great faith and constancy endured, even to the last gasp.¹

After this, the furious rage of the malignant emperors, being let loose against the saints of Christ, proceeded more and more, making havoc of God's people throughout all quarters of the world. Dioclesian (who had purposed with himself to subvert the whole christian religion) executed his tyranny in the East, and Maximian in the West. But wily Dioclesian began very subtly ; for he put the matter first in practice in the camp, where his lieutenant² (as Eusebius affirmeth) put the christian soldiers to this choice ; whether they would obey the emperor's commandment in that manner of sacrifice he commanded, and so both to keep their offices, and lead their bands, or else to lay away from them their armour and weapons. Whereunto the christian men courageously answered, that they were not only ready to lay away their armour and weapons, but also to suffer death, if it should with tyranny be enforced upon them, rather than they would obey the wicked decrees and commandments of the emperor. There might a man have seen very many who were desirous to live a simple and poor life, and who regarded no estimation and honour in comparison of true piety and godliness. And this was no more but a subtle and wily flattery in the beginning, to offer them to be at their own liberty, whether they would willingly abjure their profession or not ; as also this was another, that in the beginning of the persecution, there were but a few tormented with punishment, but afterward, by little and little, the enemy began more manifestly to burst out into persecution.³ After the second edict, commanding that all the governors of churches should be committed to prison ; the sight of what was then done, no expressions are sufficient to describe ; when infinite multitudes were every where committed to custody, and the prisons, which had formerly been provided for murderers and robbers of the dead, were then filled with bishops, priests, and deacons, readers and exorcists ; insomuch that there was now no place left therein for those who had been condemned for their crimes. Again, when another edict offered the choice to the imprisoned, of liberty on sacrificing, or a thousand tortures on refusal, it can hardly be expressed with words what number of martyrs, and what blood was shed, throughout all cities and regions for the name of Christ.⁴

Eusebius saith, that he himself knew some worthy martyrs that suffered in Palestine ; and others in Tyre of Phœnicia. He declareth, in the same place, of a marvellous martyrdom made at Tyre, where certain Christians being given to most cruel wild beasts, were preserved without hurt of them, to the great admiration of the beholders ; and those bears, boars, leopards and bulls (kept hungry for that purpose, and stimulated with hot irons), had no desire to

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 5. See *infra*, p. 232.—Ed.

(2) *Στρατομακάριος*, Eusebius ; who in his Chronicle says that this man's name was Veturius. Foxe renders the word " Marshal of the field," but see *infra*, p. 241, note (3).—Ed.

(3) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 4.—Ed.

(4) *Ibid.* cap. 6.—Ed.

devour them; which, notwithstanding, most vehemently raged against those by whom they were brought into the stage, who, standing (as they thought) out of danger of them, were first devoured; but the christian martyrs, because they could not be hurt of the beasts, being slain with the sword, were afterward thrown into the sea.¹ At that time was martyred the bishop of Tyre, whose name was Tyrannio, who was made meat for the fishes at Antioch; and Zenobius, a presbyter of Sidon and a skilful physician, who died under the torments at the same place. Sylvanus, bishop of Emisa, a notable martyr, together with certain others, was thrown to the wild beasts at Emisa. But Sylvanus, the bishop of Gaza, was slain with nine and thirty others at the copper mines of Phæno.² At Cæsarea, Pamphilus a presbyter, who was the glory of that church, died a most worthy martyr;³ whose life Eusebius hath written in a book by itself, and whose commendable martyrdom (as he had promised in his eighth book and thirteenth chapter) he hath declared in another treatise.⁴

Furthermore, he maketh mention in the same book of others at Antioch who were broiled on gridirons set over the fire—yet not to death, but so as to protract their punishment; of some others that were brought to the sacrifices, and commanded to do sacrifice, who would rather thrust their right hand into the fire, than touch the profane or wicked sacrifice; also of some others, that, before they were apprehended, would cast down themselves from steep places, lest that, being taken, they should commit any thing against their profession. Also of two virgins very fair and proper, with their mother also, who had studiously brought them up, even from their infancy, in all godliness, being long sought for, and at the last found, and strictly kept by their keepers; who, whilst they made their excuse to do that which nature required, threw themselves down headlong into a river. Also of two other young maidens, being sisters, and of a worshipful stock, indued with many goodly virtues, who were cast of persecutors into the sea; and these things were done at Antioch, as Eusebius, in his eighth book and twelfth chapter, affirmeth.

Divers and sundry torments were the Christians in Mesopotamia molested with; where they were hanged up by the feet, and their heads downwards, and with the smoke of a small fire strangled; and also in Cappadocia, where the martyrs had their legs broken.⁵

Henry of Herford⁶ maketh mention of the martyrs of Tarsus in Cilicia, as Taracus, Probus, and Andronicus: but yet the martyrs in the region of Pontus suffered far more passing and sharper torments, whereof I will hereafter make mention.⁷ So outrageous was the beginning of the persecution which the emperor made in Nicomedia in Bithynia, as before is said, that he refrained not from the slaughter of the most chief princes and pages of his court, whom a little before he made as much of, as if they had been his own children. Such an one was Peter, who among divers and sundry torments as a victorious martyr ended his life; who, being stripped naked, was lifted up, and his whole body so beaten and torn with whips, that a man might see

*The Tenth
Persecution.*

A. D.
303
to
313.

Tyrannio,
martyr.
Zenobius,
a physi-
cian, mar-
tyr.

Martyrs
of
Antioch.

Two vir-
gins with
their
mother,
martyrs.

Two sis-
ters.

Martyrs
of Meso-
potamia
and Cap-
padocia.

Martyrs
of Tarsus
and Pon-
tus.

Martyrs
of Nico-
media.

Persecu-
tion in
Nicom-
edia ex-
ceeding.
Peter a
most
valiant
and con-
stant
martyr.

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 7.—Ed.

(2) The mines of Phæno were near Petra in Idumea. Hoffman's Lex.—Ed.

(3) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 13.—Ed.

(4) "De Martyr. Palæstin." cap. 11.—Ed.

(5) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 12.—Ed.

(6) The "Acta Proconsularia," first printed by Baronius (an. 290, § 2), respecting these martyrs, are better authority.—Ed.

(7) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 12.—Ed.

*The Tenth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
303
to
313.

Doro-
theus and
Gorgo-
ninus, mar-
tyrs.

Anthi-
mus,
bishop of
Nicom-
edia, with
a great
multitude
beheaded.

Serena,
wife of
Diocle-
sian.

Martyrs.

Some
thou-
sands of
martyrs
burnt
together
in one
church.
Martyrs
of Arabia.
Martyrs
in a cer-
tain city
of Phry-
gia burnt.

the bare bones ; and after they had mingled vinegar and salt together, they poured it upon the most tender parts of his body, and lastly, roasted him at a slow fire, as a man would roast flesh to eat. Dorotheus and Gorgonius, being in a great authority and office under the emperor, after divers torments were strangled with a halber ; both of which being of his privy chamber, when they saw and beheld the grievous punishment of Peter their household companion, "Wherefore," say they, "O emperor, do you punish in Peter that opinion which is in all us ? Why is this accounted in him an offence, that we all confess ? We are of that faith, religion, and judgment that he is of." Therefore he commanded them to be brought forth, and almost with like pains to be tormented as Peter was, and afterwards hanged.¹ After whom Anthimus, the bishop of Nicomedia, after he had made a notable confession, bringing with him a great company of the church of Antioch, who also was martyred after he had made his apology [at Nicomedia] before the emperor. These men being thus dispatched, the emperor vainly thought that he might cause the rest to do whatever him listed.²

Hermannus Gigas³ hath reported Serena, the wife of Dioclesian the emperor, to be martyred for the christian religion :⁴ so much did the rage of persecution utterly forget all natural affection. Other martyrs doth Nicephorus recite, as Eulampius and Eulampia, at Nicomedia ; Agape, Irene, Chionia, [at Thessalonica] ;⁵ and Anastasia, a Roman lady, who, under the prefect of Illyricum, was bound hand and foot to a post and burnt.⁶ He mentions, also, a matter full of horror and grief. There assembled together in their temple many christian men to celebrate the memory of the nativity of Christ ; of every age and sort some. Maximian, thinking to have a very fit occasion given him to execute his tyranny upon the poor Christians, sent thither such as should burn the temple. The doors being shut and closed round about, thither came they with fire ; but first they commanded the crier with a loud voice to cry, that whosoever would have life, should come out of the temple, and do sacrifice upon the next altar of Jupiter they came to ; and unless they would do this, they should all be burnt with the temple. Then one stepping up in the temple answered in the name of all the rest with great courage and boldness of mind, that they were all Christians, and believed that Christ was their only God and King, and that they would do sacrifice to him, with his Father, and the Holy Ghost ; and that they were now all ready to offer unto him. With these words the fire was kindled, and compassed about the temple, and there were burnt of men, women, and children, certain thousands.⁷ There were also in Arabia

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 6.—Ed.

(2) Ibid. cap. 6, 13.—Ed.

(3) Cited by the Magdeburg Centurions (cent. 4. cap. 3); and again (cap. 13), somewhat disparagingly, as author of "De Floribus Temporum." He was named "Gigas," no doubt, to distinguish him from Herman "Contract."—Ed.

(4) A very doubtful story, unless, according to Tillemont (Mémoires, tom. iv. pt. 3, p. 1361), Prisca, the queen, is meant : still she is not considered a martyr. This subject is discussed in Cuper's Notes on "Lactantius, De Morte Persecut." cap. 50. Basnage considers that the work of Lactantius, "De Morte Persecutorum," has, both in this and several other instances, supplied much better than the current information : "Serenam Augustam Cæsarum throno pellit (Lactant.), ut in eo Priscam, veram Diocletiani conjugem, colloceat." "Annales Politico-Eccles." ad an. 303, § 10.—Ed.

(5) The place is supplied from the Martyrologies.—Ed.

(6) Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 14.—Ed.

(7) Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 6. Nicephorus says διαμυρίους, 20,000, which seems enormous.—Ed.

very many martyrs slain with axes.¹ There was in Phrygia a city, unto which the emperor sent his edicts, that they should do sacrifice to the gods, and worship idols; on which all the citizens, including the quæstor and the chief magistrate,² confessed that they were all Christians. The city upon this was besieged and set on fire, and all the people burnt.³ At Sebaste, in lesser Armenia, Eustratius was martyred. This Eustratius, as Nicephorus declareth, was born in Arabrace, a region near adjoining to Armenia,⁴ and very skilful in Greek learning, and executed the office of scribe to Lysias, who was governor of the east and a cruel minister of the persecution there against the Christians. This man, beholding the marvellous constancy of the martyrs, thirsted with the desire of martyrdom, for that he had privily learned the christian religion. Therefore he, not abiding for other accusers, detected himself, and worthily professed that he was a Christian, openly execrating the madness and vanity of the wicked gentiles. He therefore, being carried away, was first tied up, and most bitterly beaten. After that, he was parched with fire being put into his bowels, and then basted with salt and vinegar; and lastly, so scotched and bemangled with the shards of sharp and cutting shells, that his whole body seemed to be all one continual wound: howbeit, by God's great goodness, afterward it was restored to the first integrity. After this he was carried away to Sebaste before Agricolaus, where, with his companion Orestes, he was burnt. Nicephorus saith, that at Nicopolis, in greater Armenia, the martyrs were in most miserable and pitiful wise handled, where Lysias had the execution thereof; at which time suffered Eugene, Auxentius, and Mardarius.⁵ In Chalcedon suffered Euphemia, under Priscus the proconsul.⁶ And in no less wise raged this persecution throughout all Egypt, where Eusebius maketh mention of Peleus and Nilus, martyrs and bishops in Egypt. But at Alexandria especially were declared most notable conflicts of christian and true constant martyrs that suffered; which Phileas the bishop of Thmuis' describeth, as after (God willing) shall be declared. In this persecution at Alexandria, the principal that then suffered was Peter, the bishop of Alexandria, with the elders of the same, most worthy martyrs: as Faustus, Didius, and Ammonius, also Phileas, Hesychius, Pachymius, and Theodorus; who all were bishops of the churches within Egypt, and besides them many other both famous and singular men.⁸ The whole legion of christian soldiers, usually quartered at Thebes in Egypt,⁹ under the christian captain Maurice, when they would not obey the emperor's commandment touching the worshipping of images, were tithed to death once, and then again: and at last, through the exhortation of Maurice, died all together like constant martyrs.¹⁰ Likewise at Antinoë in Egypt divers christian

The Tenth
Persecu-
tion.

A. D.
303
to
313.

Martyrs
in Arme-
nia.

Eustra-
tius, a
martyr

Bishops
and mar-
tyrs in
Egypt.

The
christian
soldiers
and mar-
tyrs of
Thebes
and An-
tinoë.

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 12.—Ed.

(2) Στρατηγός, sheriff. See *infra*, p. 241, note (3).—Ed.

(3) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 11. What Foxe adds about the bishops of Meletina is a misconception of Eusebius's meaning.—Ed.

(4) The district seems to be called Orbaliena. Compare "Martyrol. Rom." by Baronius, p. 544 (Antverpiæ, 1589), and Tillemont, "Mém. Eccles." tom. v. pt. 1, pp. 280, 281.—Ed.

(5) Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 14.—Ed.

(6) Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 77.—Ed.

(7) A city near the Mendesian, or Western, mouth of the Nile.—Ed.

(8) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 13.—Ed.

(9) The following quotation from Basnage's "Annales Politico-Eccles." (ad an. 301, § 4) has corrected several mistakes in the text. "Harum Legionum unam, quæ tota Christianorum erat, in auxilium Maximiano ab Orientis partibus accitam venisse fertur. Eorum natale Sept. xxii. illigatur. Seduni in Gallia in loco Agauno, natalis SS. Mart. Theodororum, Mauritiij," etc. Foxe mentions these martyrs again *infra*, p. 234, more at large.—Ed.

(10) Vincentius in Speculo, lib. xii. cap. 2.—Ed.

The Tenth Persecution.
A.D. 303 to 313.
Seventy-nine martyrs.
The persecution in Europe.
Persecution in France.
Lucian, martyr.
The persecution in Spain.
Eighteen martyrs in Spain.
Rectius Varus, a notable tyrant.
The blood of the Christians made rivers.
Martyrs in Rhætia.

soldiers, notwithstanding they were seriously dissuaded, suffered death together, among whom were Ascla, Philemon, and Apollonius.¹ And also in the other parts of Africa, and Mauritania, was great persecution.² Also [in Lesbos;³ and] in Samos, of which place Chronicon⁴ maketh mention; and Sicily, where were seventy-nine martyrs slain for the profession of Christ.⁵

Now let us come unto Europe. Henry of Herford saith, that at Rome, Johannes and Crispus, being priests, suffered execution as martyrs; and at Bologna,⁶ Agricola and Vitalis;⁷ and at Aquileia the emperor commanded to kill all the Christians.⁸ And among those martyrs he maketh mention of the two Felixes and Fortunatus.⁹ Regino also writeth, that in other places of Italy the persecution became great, as at Florence, Bergamo, Naples; at Benevento in Campania; at Venosa in Apulia; and in Tuscany: Henry of Herford saith, also, at Verona. In France, doubtless, Rectius Varus the prefect played the cruel hellhound, of whose great cruelty against the Christians many histories are full.¹⁰ At Marseilles suffered Victor:¹¹ and at Marseilles, Maximian set forth his decree, that either they should all do sacrifice unto the gods of the Gentiles, or else be all slain with divers kinds of torments. Therefore many martyrs there died for the glory of Christ.¹² In Beauvais suffered Lucian.¹³

Vincentius and Regino¹⁴ write of many places in Spain, where was great persecution, as at Merida, where suffered Eulalia, of whom more followeth hereafter; and Avila, where also suffered Vincentius, Sabina, and Christina.¹⁵ At Toledo suffered Leocadia¹⁶ the virgin; Saragossa were put to death eighteen; besides a great number of other martyrs who suffered under Dacian the governor, who afflicted with persecution all the coasts of Spain, as saith Vincentius.¹⁷ The aforesaid Rectius made such persecution at Treves, near the river of Moselle, that the blood of the christian men that were slain ran like small brooks, and coloured great and main rivers. Neither yet did this suffice him, but from thence he sent certain horsemen with his letters, commanding them to ride into every place, and charge all such as had taken and apprehended any Christians, that they should immediately put them to death.¹⁸

Also Henry of Herford and Regino make mention of great per-

(1) Vincentius in Speculo, lib. xii. cap. 50.—Ed.

(2) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 6.

(3) "Lesbos" is introduced from the Centuriators, who refer to Sabellicus, Ennead, vii. lib. 8. See also Baron. Martyrol. April 5th. This entire sentence is from the Centuriators.—Ed.

(4) So say the Centuriators, without naming the Chronicle: Foxe adds "Martini," but Martin is silent on the subject. Foxe alters Samos into "Sammium." The Chronicles of Regino and Herman Contract both mention "Sirmium," which perhaps misled him. See Bar. Mart. Feb. 23.—Ed.

(5) Henr. de Eriordia. See Baron. Martyrol. Feb. 21st.—Ed.

(6) Tillemont, Mém. tom. v. pt. 2, p. 220.—Ed.

(7) Ibid. cap. 58.—Ed.

(8) Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 49.—Ed.

(9) Basnagii Annales, ad an. 303, § 15.—Ed.

(10) Basnage has produced evidence to the contrary. "Furum commentum esse, quæ Baluzius habet de multis Christianis in Gallia ethnico furore cæsis, indicio est veterum silentium." Ad an. 303, § 17.—Ed.

(11) Antonin. et Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 7. Foxe (copying the Centuriators) says Victor suffered at Milan. Vincent mentions two martyrs of that name, one at Milan, the other at Marseilles (loco citato) the latter of whom should here be mentioned, as our author is speaking of French martyrs.—Ed.

(12) Ibidem. Vincentius (lib. x. cap. 25) places the martyrdom of Lucian of Beauvais under Decius; and he only refers here to his former preaching, as one cause of there being now so many excellent Christians in those parts.—Ed.

(13) Regino, Abbas Prumiensis, floruit circa A.D. 904—chronicon condidit a nativitate Christi ad an. 908, quod primus luci exposuit Seb. de Rotenhan, Moguntiz, 1521. "Hallervord de Hist. Lat. in Suppl. ad Vossium," (Hamb. 1709,) p. 779. It was afterwards reprinted with Lambert of Aschaffenburg at Frankfort, 1566.—Ed.

(14) Baron. Martyrol. Oct. 23th.—Ed.

(15) Baron. Ann. 303, § 139.—Ed.

(16) Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 123, 124, 129, 130, 134.—Ed.

(17) Vincent. lib. xii. cap. 136.—Ed.

secution to be at Cologne; and also at Augsburg in the province of Rhætia, where was martyred Afra with her mother Hilaria.¹

Bede also saith, that this persecution reached even unto the Britons, in his book "De ratione temporum." And the Chronicle of Martinus² and "the Nosegay of Time"³ do declare, that all the Christians in Britain were utterly destroyed: furthermore, that the kinds of death and punishment were so great and horrible, as no man's tongue is able to express. In the beginning, when the emperor by his subtlety and wiliness rather dallied than showed his rigour, he threatened them with bands and imprisonment: but, within a while, when he began to work the matter in good earnest, he devised innumerable sorts of torments and punishments, as whippings and scourgings, rackings, horrible scrapings, sword, fire, and ship-boats, wherein a great number being put, were sunk and drowned in the bottom of the sea.⁴ Also hanging them upon crosses; binding them to the trunks of trees with their heads downwards; hanging them by the middles upon gallows till they died for hunger; throwing them alive to such kind of wild beasts as would devour them, as boars, bears, leopards and wild bulls;⁵ pricking and thrusting them in with bodkins and iron claws, till they were almost dead; lifting them up on high with their heads downward, even as in Thebais they did unto the women, being naked and unclothed, one of their feet tied and lifted on high, and so hanging down with their bodies, which thing to see was very pitiful: with other devised sorts of punishments, most tragical or rather tyrannical, and pitiful to describe; as the binding of them to the boughs and arms of trees, forcibly bent together, then pulling and tearing asunder of their members and joints by letting go the said bent boughs and arms of trees;⁶ the mangling of them with axes; the choking of them with smoke by small and slow fires; the mutilation of their hands and ears, and cutting off their other limbs; which things the holy martyrs of Alexandria suffered: the scorching and broiling of them with coals, not unto death, but every day renewed; with which kind of torment the martyrs at Antioch were afflicted. But in Pontus, other horrible punishments, and fearful to be heard, did the martyrs of Christ suffer; of whom some had their fingers' ends under the nails thrust in with sharp bodkins; some all-to besprinkled with boiling lead, having their most necessary members mutilated; others suffering most filthy and intolerable torments and pains in their bowels and privy members.⁷

To conclude, how great the outrage of the persecution which reigned in Alexandria was, and with how many and sundry kinds of new devised punishments the martyrs were afflicted, Phileas, the bishop of Thmuis, a man singularly well learned, hath described in his Epistle to the Thmuitans, the copy whereof Eusebius hath; out of the which we mean here briefly to recite somewhat:

(1) Chron. Regin.—Ed.

(2) Polonus, col. 66, edit. Basilæ, 159. Martin Strempeus was made grand penitentiary by pope Nicolaus III. in 1277, and soon after archbishop of Gnesen in Poland. "Nihil celebrius ejus chronico" are the words of Fabricius (Biblioth. med. et inf. Lat. tom. v. p. 42, edit. 1754). An accurate edition was published, Coloniae, 1616.—Ed.

(3) "The Nosegay of Time," by which is meant the "Fasciculus Temporum," written by Wernerus Rolwink, and of which the editions in the fifteenth century are numerous; in a copy before us (fol. 47), "in Anglia pene tota fides extincta est hoc tempore a Maximiano."—Ed.

(4) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 3.—6.—Ed.

(5) Ibid. cap. 7, 8.—Ed.

(6) Ibid. cap. 9.—Ed.

(7) Ibid. cap. 12. See the Centurians, whom Foxe copias.—Ed.

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*Persecu-
tion of
England.*

*Diocle-
sian did
but daily
in the be-
ginning
of the per-
secution.*

*Sundry
sorts of
torments.*

*The
women of
Thebais,
to
martyrs.*

*The per-
secution
in An-
tioch.*

*In Pon-
tus.*

*In Alex-
andria.*

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Persecu-
tion.*

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The con-
tents of
the epis-
tle of
Phileas
sent to
his con-
grega-
tion

Strange
kinds of
torments.

A holy
martyr of
Nicome-
dia tor-
mented.

The
swords
blunt,
and the
hangmen
wearied
with
slaugh-
ter.

Free leave being given to all persons, so disposed, to annoy the Christians, some beat them with cudgels, some with rods, others with whips; some again with leathern thongs, and others with ropes. The spectacle of the beating was sometimes interchanged with other torments, exhibiting much wanton cruelty. For some of the martyrs, having their hands tied behind them, were suspended, on the wooden rack, and every limb was stretched out with certain machines: in this position the tormentors, by command of the judge, operated on them all over the body; and not only on the sides (as in the case of murderers), but also on the belly, the legs, and the cheeks they tortured them with scrapers. Others were hung up by one hand at a portico, the consequent straining of their limbs and joints causing them the most dreadful of all pain. Others were bound face to face against pillars, their feet not touching the ground, so that the cords, being strained by the weight of the body, were drawn tighter and tighter. And this they had to endure, not merely while the president was at leisure personally to attend them, but almost the whole day; for when he passed from them to others, he appointed officials to stay by those whom he left, and watch whether any of them, overcome by the tortures, seemed to flinch, charging them to brace with the cords unsparingly, and then when they were about to expire to let them down and haul them along the ground. "No care," said he, "ought to be taken of these Christians; let all treat them as unworthy the name of men." Therefore our adversaries devised this second torture, to follow the beating. There were some, who, after they had been scourged, lay in the stocks, their feet being stretched four holes asunder; insomuch that they were obliged to lie in the stocks with their faces upward, unable to stand because of their fresh wounds, caused by the stripes which they had received all over their bodies. Others threw themselves on the ground, where they lay, by reason of the innumerable wounds made by their tortures exhibiting a spectacle more horrid to behold than the very operation of torture, and bearing on their bodies the varied torments devised against them. Some of the martyrs expired under their tortures, having shamed the adversary by their persevering constancy. Others, being half dead, were shut up in prison, where, in a few days, sinking under their sufferings, they were consummated. The residue having recovered by medical attention, became more stout and confident by time and their abode in prison. Therefore when, afterwards, a new order was issued, and it was put to their choice, whether, by touching the detestable sacrifice, they would free themselves from all molestation, and obtain an acceptable liberty; or whether, refusing to sacrifice, they would abide the sentence of death; without hesitation, they cheerfully proceeded forth to death. For they well knew what was before prescribed to us by the sacred Scriptures: for "he (say they) that sacrificeth to other gods, shall be utterly destroyed:" and again, "Thou shalt have no other gods, but me."¹

Thus much wrote Phileas to the congregation where he was bishop, before he received the sentence of death, being yet in bands; and in the same he exhorteth his brethren constantly to persist after his death in the truth of Christ professed.²

Sabellicus, in his seventh Ennead, and eighth book, saith that that christened man, who tore and pulled down the wicked edict of the emperor in Nicomedia, being flayed alive,³ and afterwards washed in salt and vinegar, was then slain with this cruel kind of torment. Platina writeth, that Dorotheus and Gorgonius exhorted him to die so constantly.⁴

But, as all their torments were for their horribleness marvellous and notable, and therewithal so studiously devised, and no less grievous and sharp; so, notwithstanding, therewith were these martyrs neither dismayed nor overcome, but rather thereby confirmed and strengthened; so merrily and joyfully sustained they whatsoever was put unto them. Eusebius saith, that he himself beheld and saw the huge and

(1) Exodus xxii. 20; xx. 3.—Ed.

(2) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 10.

(3) "Pelle nudatus." Sabel. et Plat.—Ed.

(4) Sabellic. Ennead. vii. lib. 8. See *suprà*, p. 226.—Ed.

great persecution that was done in Thebaid; insomuch that the very swords of the hangmen and persecutors being blunt with the great and often slaughter, they themselves for weariness sat down to rest them, and others were fain to take their places. And yet, all this notwithstanding, the murdered Christians showed their marvellous readiness, willingness, and divine fortitude, which they were indued with; with stout courage, joy, and smiling, receiving the sentence of death pronounced upon them, and sung even unto the last gasp hymns and psalms to God. So did also the martyrs of Alexandria, as witnesseth Phileas above-mentioned. "The holy martyrs," saith he, "keeping Christ in their minds, being led with the love of better rewards, sustained whatsoever affliction and devised punishments they had to lay upon them, and that not only at one time but also the second time, and bore not only all the menaces of the cruel soldiers, wherewith they threatened them in words, but also whatsoever in deed and work they could devise to their destruction; and that with most manly stomachs, excluding all fear by the perfection of their unspeakable love towards Christ; whose great strength and fortitude cannot by words be expressed." And Sulpitius saith, in the second book of his Sacred History, that then the Christians, with more greedy desire, pressed and sought for martyrdom, than now they do desire bishoprics.

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The marvellous constancy of the martyrs of God in persecution, and at the time of death. Martyrdom more desired in the old time than bishoprics be now!

Although some there were also, as I have said, that with fear and threatenings, and by their own infirmities, were overcome and went back,¹ among whom Socrates nameth Meletius,² whom Athanasius, in his second Apology, calleth the bishop of Lycopolis, a city in Little Egypt; whom Peter the bishop of Alexandria excommunicated, for that in this persecution he sacrificed unto the Gentiles' gods. Of the fall of Marcellinus, the bishop of Rome, I will speak afterwards; for he, being persuaded by others, and especially by the emperor Dioclesian himself, did sacrifice; whereupon he was excommunicated. But afterwards he, repenting the same, was again received into the congregation, and made martyr, as Platina and the compiler of the Book of the General Councils affirm. The number of the martyrs increased daily; sometimes ten, sometimes twenty were slain at once; some whiles thirty, and oftentimes threescore; and other whiles a hundred in one day, men, women, and children, by divers kinds of death.³ Also Damasus, Bede, Orosius, Honorius, and others do witness, that there were slain in this persecution by the name of martyrs, within the space of thirty days, seventeen thousand persons, besides another great number and multitude that were condemned to the metal mines and quarries with like cruelty.

Christians that denied in this persecution. Meletius revolteth from the faith. Marcellinus revolteth, cometh again to the faith, and is martyred.

A hundred martyrs in one day. Seventeen thousand martyrs in one month.

Three hundred slain.

Mauritius, with six thousand six hundred and sixty six martyrs.

At Alexandria, with Peter the bishop, of whom I have made mention before, were slain with axes three hundred and above, as Sabellicus declareth; Gereon⁴ was beheaded at Cologne, with three hundred of his fellows, as saith Henry of Herford; Maurice, the captain of

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 3.—Ed.

(2) Socrates, lib. i. cap. 6. Ed.

(3) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 9.—Ed.

(4) "At Cologne the walls of St. Gereon are to be seen full of the bones of the martyred Roman legion." Christian Observer, 1840, p. 29. And yet, notwithstanding the use which is made of cathedrals on the continent, in upholding superstition, and making money thereby, we have writers in protestant publications in England rejoicing that the cathedral at Cologne is being now completed according to the original design, apparently just because it is a cathedral!—a place too where, we presume, the three kings (so called) are still exhibited!—Ed.

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Victor
slain.

The history of
Maurice,
captain of
the Theban soldiers.

Every
tenth
man in
the legion
slain.

the christian legion,¹ with his fellows, six thousand six hundred and sixty-six. Victor, in the city of Troy, now called Xanthus, was slain, with his fellows, three hundred and threescore, as saith Otho of Frisingen.² Regino reciteth the names of many other martyrs, to the number of one hundred and twenty.

And forsomuch as mention here hath been made of Maurice and Victor, the particular description of the same history I thought here to insert, taken out of Ado, and other story-writers, as ensueth.

Maurice came out of Syria into France,³ being captain of the band of the Theban soldiers, to the number of six thousand six hundred and threescore, being sent for of Maximian, to go against the rebellious Bagaudæ; but rather, as it should seem, by the reason of the tyrant, who thought he might better in these quarters use his tyranny upon the Christians, than in the east part. These Thebans, with Maurice the captain,⁴ after they had entered into Rome, were there, of Marcellinus the blessed bishop, confirmed in the faith, promising by oath, that they would rather be slain of their enemies, than forsake that faith which they had received; who followed the emperor's host through the Alps even into France. At that time the Cæsareans were encamped not far from the town called Octodurum,⁵ where Maximian offered sacrifice to his devils, and called all the soldiers, both of the east and west, to the same, strictly charging them by the altars of his gods, that they would fight against those rebels the Bagaudæ, and persecute the christian enemies of the emperor's gods; which his commandment was showed to the Thebans' host, who were also encamped about the river Rhone, and in a place that was named Agaunum:⁶ but to Octodurum they would in no wise come, for that every man did certainly appoint and persuade with themselves, rather in that place to die, than either to sacrifice to the gods, or bear armour against the Christians; which thing indeed very stoutly and valiantly they affirmed, upon their oath before taken to Maximian, when he sent for them.⁷ Wherewith the tyrant, being wrathful and all moved, commanded every tenth man of that whole band to be put to the sword, whereto strivingly and with great rejoicing they committed their necks. To which notable thing and

(1) "Rem quod attinet, Mauritio, Exuperio, Candido, Victori martyrii quidem laudem non invidemus, cum cruentis edictis Diocletiani compluribus de militum grege lucem ereptam fuisse non ignoremus. Quod vero tota legio et Christianis constiterit et Martyribus, ut ex 6666 militibus nullus pusillanimus fuerit, omnesque intrepide sanguinem pro Christo fuderint, vix habet fidem. Multos Maximiani Diocletianique in exercitu Christianos militasse scimus, at variis in legionibus dispersos, non vero in unâ legione collocatos. Neque probabilem adhuc causam invenimus, cur sex mille sexcentique Christiani uni eidemque legioni includerentur. Dubitationem adjuvat, quod de tanto numero ne vel unus quidem a certamine sese segregarit." See "Basnagii, Annales Politico-Eccles." ad an. 301, § 6, who then adduces a variety of other objections from the omission of any mention of this slaughter by former and older historians, the anachronisms of the story, etc.; tom. ii.—Ed.

(2) Lib. iii. cap. 45. A few lines from the Acta quoted by Baronius will explain, and in a measure rectify, this strange statement of Otho's: "Hæc dum agerentur, cohors illa, quæ beatum Victorem comitabatur, ad locum cui destinata est properans, pervenit ad oppidum Francorum, quod ex majorum suorum ædibus Trojam nuncupabant." Baronii "Annales Eccles." an. 297, § 21.—Ed.

(3) As there is no necessity for Foxe (according to the silly notion of some erudite scribblers) to make martyrs, it may be here remarked that this account of the martyrs of the Theban legion has excited much controversy. See "Mosheimii de rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Commentarii" (Helmstadii, 1753), pp. 566—570; or, translated by Vidal (Lond. 1835), vol. iii. pp. 190—195.—Ed.

(4) The supposed body of this captain was made an object of devotion, it appears, at Turin, so late as the beginning of the 18th century. "Dici vix potest quantus cultus fabulosis hisce Sanctis Augustæ Taurinorum hodiernum tribuatur, tum a plebe, tum ab Aula magistratueque, eo imprimis tempore, ex quo Car. Emanuel I. Sabaudæ Dux, cadaver Mauriti, qui legioni Thebæ præfuisse creditur, Augustam Taurinorum perferri curavit. Conf. Act. Erudit. Lips. 1706, p. 308." Deylingii "Observatt. Sacr. pars prima," Lipsiæ, 1735, p. 146.

(5) Martigny in the Valais.—Ed.

(6) S. Mauritz in Switzerland. Hoffman's Lex.—Ed.

(7) See Tillemont, iv. 2. p. 834.—Ed

great force of faith, Maurice himself was a great encourager, who, by and by, with a most grave oration, exhorted and animated his soldiers both to fortitude and constancy; which, being again called of the emperor, answered in this wise, saying :

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The oration of the soldiers to the emperor.

O emperor, we are your soldiers, but yet also, to speak freely, the servants of God. We owe to thee service of war, to him innocency : of thee we receive for our travail, wages ; of him the beginning of life. In this we may in no wise obey thee, O emperor, to deny God who is our author and Lord, and not ours only, but your author and Lord likewise, will ye, nill ye. If we be not enforced to do that whereby we shall offend him, doubtless, as we have hitherto, so we will yet obey you : but otherwise we will rather obey him than you. We offer here our hands against any real enemies : but to defile our hands with the blood of the innocent, that we may not do. These right hands of ours have skill to fight against the wicked and true enemies : but to spoil and murder the godly and our fellow-citizens, they have no skill at all. We have in remembrance that we took arms in hand for the defence of the citizens, and not against them. We have fought always for justice' sake, for piety, and for the welfare of the innocent. These have been always the rewards of our perils and travail. We have fought in the quarrel of faith, which in no wise we can keep to you, if we do not show the same to our God. We first sware allegiance to our God, then afterward to the king : and can you trust us in regard of the second, if we break the first ? By us you would plague the Christians, to do which feat you must henceforth command others. We are here ready to confess God the Father, the author of all things, and we believe in his Son Jesus Christ our Lord. We see before our eyes our fellows, the partakers of our labours and travails, to be put to the sword, and we are sprinkled with their blood : of which our most holy comrades and brethren the end and death we have not bewailed nor mourned, but rather have given thanks, and have rejoiced, for that they have been counted worthy to suffer for the Lord their God. The extreme necessity of death hath not moved us in rebellion against your majesty, neither yet hath desperation, which is wont in danger to be so daring, armed us against you, O emperor. Behold here we have weapons, and yet resist not, for that we had rather to be killed, than kill ; and guiltless die, than guilty live. Whatsoever more ye will command, appoint and enjoin us ; we are here ready to suffer, yea, both fire and sword, and whatsoever other torments. We confess ourselves to be Christians, and Christians we cannot persecute.¹

With which their answer, the king being altogether incensed and moved, commanded the second time the tenth man of them that were left, to be in like case murdered. That cruelty also being accomplished, at length, when the christian soldiers would in no wise condescend unto his mind, he set upon them with his whole host, both footmen and also horsemen, and charged them to kill them all, who with all force set upon them : they, making no resistance, but throwing down their armour, yielded their lives to the persecutors, and offered to them their naked bodies.

Maurice and his company martyred.

Victor at the same time was not of that band, nor yet then any soldier ; but being an old soldier, was dismissed for his age. At which time he, coming suddenly upon them as they were banqueting and making merry with the spoils of the holy martyrs, was bidden to sit down with them ; who, first asking the cause of that their so great rejoicing, and understanding the truth thereof, detested the guests, and refused to eat with them. And then, being demanded of them whether haply he were a Christian or no, openly confessed and denied not but that he was a Christian, and ever would be. And thereupon

The constant boldness of Victor, in refusing to eat with the cruel persecutors.

(1) From Ado's Martyrology, Sep. 22.—Ed

The Tenth Persecution. they, rushing upon him, killed him, and made him partner of the like martyrdom and honour

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The number of the Christians increased. Dioclesian and Maximian, tired with persecution gave up their kingdom.

Bede, in his history, writeth that this persecution, being begun under Dioclesian, endured unto the seventh year of Constantine : and Eusebius saith, that it lasted until its tenth year.¹ It was not yet one year from the day in which Dioclesian and Maximian, joining themselves together, began their persecution, when that they saw the number of the Christians rather to increase than to diminish, notwithstanding all the cruelty that ever they could show, and now were out of all hope for the utter rooting out of them. Which thing was the cause of their first enterprise ; and having now even their fill of blood, and loathing, as it were, the shedding thereof, they ceased at the last, of their own accord, to put any more Christians to death. But yet of a great multitude they thrust out their right eyes, and maimed their left legs at the ham with a searing iron, condemning them to the mines of metals, not so much for the use of their labour, as for the desire of afflicting them. And this was the clemency and release of the cruelty of those princes, who said that it was not meet that the cities should be defiled with the blood of their citizens, and to make the emperor's highness to be distained with the name of cruelty, but to show his princely beneficence and liberality to all men.²

When Dioclesian and Maximian had reigned together emperors one and twenty years (Nicephorus saith, two and twenty years), at length Dioclesian put himself from his imperial dignity at Nicomedia, and lived at Salona ; Maximian at Milan ; and led both of them a private life, in the three hundred and ninth year after Christ.³ This strange and marvellous alteration gave occasion (and so it came to pass) that within short space after, there were in the Roman commonwealth many emperors at one time.

In the beginning of this persecution, you heard how Dioclesian, being made emperor, took to him Maximian. Also how these two, governing as emperors together, chose out two other Cæsars under them, to wit, Galerius Maximian, and Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great. Thus then Dioclesian, reigning with Maximian, in the nineteenth year of his reign began his furious persecution against the Christians, whose reign after the same continued not long. For so it pleased God to put such a snaffle in the tyrant's mouth, that within two years after, he caused both him and Maximian (for what cause he knoweth) to give over their imperial function, and so remain not as emperors any more, but as private persons. So that they being now displaced and dispossessed, the imperial dominion remained with Constantius and Galerius Maximian,⁴ which two divided the whole monarchy between them : so that Galerius should govern the east countries, and Constantius the west parts. But Constantius, as a modest prince, only contented with the imperial title, refused Italy and Africa, contenting himself only with France, Spain, and Britain. Wherefore Galerius Maximian chose to him Maximian and Severus, as Cæsars. Likewise Constantius took Constantine

Dioclesian and Maximian abdicate. Galerius and Constantius, emperors.

Maximian and Severus, and Constantine, Cæsars.

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 16.—Ed.

(2) Ib. cap. 17.—Ed.

(3) This event, according to later chronologers, should be dated 305 ; under which year, however, Marianus Scotus had already placed it. See more in the Appendix.—Ed.

(4) " Errore Græcis auctt. familiari Maximianus loco Maximiani scribitur. See more in Pagi, ad an. 304, p. 379, tom. iii. edit. Lucæ, 1738.—Ed.

his son, Cæsar under him. In the mean time, while Galerius with his two Cæsars were in Asia, the Roman soldiers set up for their emperor Maxentius, the son of Maximian who had before deposed himself. Against whom Galerius the emperor of the East sent his son Severus, which Severus in the same voyage was slain of Maxentius, in whose place then Galerius took Licinius. And these were the emperors and Cæsars, who, succeeding after Dioclesian and Maximian, prosecuted the rest of that persecution, which Dioclesian and Maximian before began, during near the space of seven or eight years, which was to the year of our Lord 313; save only that Constantius, with his son Constantine, was no great doer therein, but rather a maintainer and a supporter of the Christians. Which Constantius, surnamed Chlorus for his paleness, was the son of Eutropius, a Roman of great nobility (he came of the line of Æneas, as Lætus affirmeth), and Claudia, the daughter of Claudius Augustus. This man (as is before said) had not the desire of great and mighty dominions, and therefore parted he the empire with Galerius, and would rule but in France, Britain, and Spain, refusing the other kingdoms for the troublesome and difficult government of the same. Otherwise, he was a prince (as Eutropius maketh description of him) very excellent, civil, meek, gentle, liberal, and desirous to do good unto those that had any private authority under him. And as Cyrus once said, that he got treasure for himself when he made his friends rich, even so it is said that Constantius would oftentimes say, that it were better that his subjects had the public wealth, than he to have it hoarded in his own treasure-house. Also he was by nature sufficed with a little, insomuch that he used to eat and drink in earthen vessels (which thing was counted in Agathocles the Sicilian a great commendation); and if at any time cause required to garnish his table, he would send for plate and other furniture to his friends. In consequence of which virtues ensued great peace and tranquillity in all his provinces. To these virtues he added yet a more worthy ornament,¹ that is, devotion, love, and affection towards the word of God, as Eusebius affirmeth.² By which word being guided, he neither levied any wars contrary to piety and christian religion, neither aided he any others that did the same, neither destroyed he the churches, but commanded that the Christians should be preserved and defended, and kept them safe from all contumelious injuries. And when in the other jurisdictions of the empire the churches were molested with persecution, as Sozomen declareth,³ he only gave license unto the Christians to live after their accustomed manner. This wonderful act of his following, besides others, doth show that he was a sincere follower of the christian religion.⁴ Those which bare the chief offices amongst the Gentiles drove out of the emperors' courts all the godly Christians: whereupon this ensued, that the emperors themselves, at the last, were destitute of help, when those were driven away who, dwelling in their courts and living a godly life, poured out their prayers unto God for the prosperous estate and health both of the empire and the emperors. Constantius, therefore, minding at a cer-

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Maxentius, emperor.
Licinius, Cæsar.
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The commendation of Constantius.

O happy Constantius!

Constantius gracious to the Christians.

(1) Foxe has followed the Magdeburg Centuriators, apparently (Cent. iv. c. 3, col. 23, edit. 1624); but the original is rather vague in its phraseology.—Ed.

(2) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 13.—Ed.

(3) Sozomen, lib. i. cap. 6.—Ed.

(4) Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. i. cap. 15, 16. Sozomen lib. i. cap. 6.—Ed.

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Constantius proveth who were true Christians in his court, and who were not. False Christians discerned from true.

Galerius an enemy to the Christians.

His wickedness described.

A terrible plague sent by God to him.

tain time to try what sincere and good Christians he had yet in his court, called together all his officers and servants in the same, feigning himself to choose out such as would do sacrifice to devils, and that those only should dwell there and keep their offices; and that those who would refuse to do the same, should be thrust out and banished the court. At this appointment, all the courtiers divided themselves into companies: the emperor marked who were the constantest and godliest from the rest. And when some said they would willingly do sacrifice, others openly and boldly refused to do the same; then the emperor sharply rebuked those who were so ready to do sacrifice, and judged them as false traitors unto God, accounting them unworthy to be in his court, who were such traitors to God; and forthwith commanded that they only should be banished the same. But greatly he commended those who refused to do sacrifice, and confessed God; affirming that they only were worthy to be about a prince; forthwith commanding that thenceforth they should be the trusty counsellors and defenders both of his person and kingdom; saying thus much more, that they only were worthy to be in office, whom he might make account of as his assured friends, and that he meant to have them in more estimation than the substance he had in his treasury. Eusebius maketh mention hereof in his first book of the life of Constantine, and also Sozomen in his first book and sixth chapter.

With this Constantius was joined (as hath been afore said) Galerius Maximian, a very civil man, as Eutropius affirmeth, and a passing good soldier; furthermore, a favourer of wise and learned men, of quiet disposition, not rigorous except in his drunkenness, whereof he would soon after repent him, as Victor writeth; but whether he meant Maximian the father, or Maximin his son, it is uncertain. But Eusebius far otherwise describeth the conditions of him, in his eighth book and fourteenth chapter. For he saith he was of a tyrannical disposition, the fearfullest man that might be, and curious in all magical superstition; insomuch that without the divinations and answers of devils, he durst do nothing at all, and therefore he gave great offices and dignities to enchanters. Furthermore, that he was an exactor and extortioner of the citizens, liberal to those that were flatterers, given to surfeiting and riot, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious drunkenness most like a madman, a ribald and adulterer, who came to no city but he ravished virgins and defiled men's wives. To conclude, he was so great an idolater, that he built up temples in every city, and repaired those that were fallen into decay, and appointed priests thereto, and chose out the most worthy of his political magistrates to be the chief-priests, and devised that they should execute that their office with great authority and dignity, and also with warlike pomp.¹ But unto christian piety and religion, he was most hostile, and in the eastern churches exercised cruel persecution, and used as executioners of the same, Peucetius Quintian, Culcian, Theotecnus, and others.²

Notwithstanding, he was at length revoked from his cruelty by the just judgment and punishment of God. For he was suddenly vexed with a fatal disease most filthy and desperate, which disease to describe

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 14.—Ed.

(2) Id. lib. ix. cap. 11. These were ministers of Maximin, not of Maximian.—Ed.

was very strange, taking the first beginning in his flesh outwardly, from thence it proceeded more and more to the inward parts of his body. For about the middle of the privy members of his body there happened unto him a sudden abscess to form, and afterwards in the fundament a spongy ulcer or fistula; both of which consumed and ate into his entrails, out of the which came forth an innumerable multitude of worms, with such a pestiferous stink, that no man could abide him; and so much more, for that all the grossness of his body, by abundance of meat before he fell sick, was turned also into fat; which fat now putrefied and stinking, was so uglisome and horrible, that none that came to him could abide the sight thereof. By reason whereof, the physicians who had him in cure, not able to abide the intolerable stink, some of them were commanded to be slain; others, because they could not heal him, being so swollen and past hope of cure, were also cruelly put to death.¹ At length, being put in remembrance that this disease was sent of God, he began to forethink the wickedness that he had done against the saints of God; and so coming again to himself, first confesseth to God all his offences; then, calling them unto him who were about him, forthwith commanded all men to cease from the persecution of the Christians: requiring moreover that they should set up his imperial proclamations, for the restoring and re-edifying of their temples, and that they should obtain of the Christians in their assemblies (which without all fear and doubt they might be bold to make), that they would devoutly pray to their God for the emperor. Then forthwith was the persecution stayed, and the imperial proclamations in every city were set up, containing the retraction or countermand of those things which against the Christians were before decreed, the copy whereof ensueth:

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Persecu-
tion.*

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to
313.

Galerius
killeth
his phy-
sicians

Amongst the other plans which we had conceived for the public profit and convenience, it was early our wish to reform all things according to the ancient laws and the national principles of the Romans; especially to devise means whereby the Christians, who have relinquished the opinions and usages of their parents, might be brought back to a right mind. For such a degree of arrogance and folly has (by some fancy) possessed them, that they will not follow the sanctions of their ancestors, which 'tis likely they also had before received from their parents; but they make laws for themselves, and observe them, just according to their own individual fancy and arbitrement, assembling large multitudes of people in divers places. Therefore, when we had published such an edict as should oblige them to return to the rites and ordinances of their ancestors; many of them were exposed to imminent dangers, and many, having been actually troubled, finally underwent death in various forms. But when many persisted in this madness, and we perceived they did neither exhibit a due worship to the celestial gods, nor yet to the God of the Christians; having respect to our humanity and that continued usage by which we have been accustomed to exercise pardon towards all sorts of men—we have thought good most readily to extend our indulgence in this matter also; so that the Christians should again be tolerated, and that they should have license to rebuild the houses wherein they used to assemble themselves, and that they may not in future be forced to do any thing contrary to their principles. In another rescript we will signify to our judges what it shall behove them to observe. Wherefore, in gratitude for this our indulgence, they ought to supplicate their God both for our welfare and that of the commonwealth, as well as their own; that so, both public affairs may everywhere be kept in a wholesome state, and they themselves may live securely in their own dwellings.²

His coun-
termand
in behalf
of the
Chris-
tians.

(1) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 16.—Ed.

(2) Ib. cap. 17. The above is a new translation.—Ed.

*The Tenth
Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
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to
313.

Sabinus
publish-
eth the
decree in
favour of
the Chris-
tians.

But one of the Cæsars, whose name was Maximin, was not well pleased, when this countermand was published throughout all Asia, and the provinces where he had to do. Yet he, being qualified by this example, and feeling that it was not becoming for him to repugn the pleasure of those princes who had the chief authority, viz. Constantine and Galerius, set forth of himself no edict touching the same; but commanded his officers by an unwritten order, that they should somewhat stay from the persecution of the Christians: of which commandment of the inferior Maximin, each of them gave intelligence unto their fellows by their letters. But Sabinus, who then amongst them all had the chiefest office and dignity, to the governor of every province wrote by his letter the emperor's pleasure, in this wise:

The majesty of our most sacred lords the emperors, with most earnest and devout care, long since determined to render the minds of all men conformable to a holy and correct way of living; so that they who seemed to have embraced usages different from those of the Romans should exhibit the due worship to the immortal gods. But the obstinate and most intractable perverseness of some persons was arrived at such a pass, that neither could the justice of the imperial edict prevail with them to recede from their own resolutions, nor the punishment annexed strike any terror into them. Since, therefore, it happened on this account, that many precipitated themselves into danger, the sacred majesty of our lords the most puissant emperors, considering (according to their innate generosity and piety) that it was far from the intention of their sacred majesties to involve people in so great a danger for such a cause as this, charged my excellency to write to your wisdom, that if evidence should be brought against any of the Christians of his following that way of worship observed by his sect, you should set him free from all danger and molestation, and that you should deem none worthy to be punished on this pretext; since it has evidently appeared in all this time, that they can by no means be persuaded to desist from their perverse stubbornness. Your prudence therefore is enjoined to write to the curators,¹ to the magistrates, and to the presidents of the villages belonging to every city, that they may understand, that for the future they are not to pay any attention to that edict.²

Perse-
cution
ceaseth
for a time.

The governors therefore of the provinces, supposing this to be the determinate pleasure (and not feigned) of Maximin, did first advertise thereof the rustical and pagan multitude: after that, they released and set at liberty all such prisoners as were condemned to the metal-mines and to perpetual imprisonment for their faith, thinking thereby (wherein indeed they were deceived) that the doing thereof would please Maximin. This, therefore, seemed to them as unlooked for as light to travellers in a dark night. They gather themselves together in every city, they call their synods and councils, and much marvel at the sudden change and alteration. The infidels themselves extol the only and true God of the Christians. The Christians receive again all their former liberties; and such as fell away before in the time of persecution, repent themselves, and after penance done, they returned again to the congregation. Now the Christians rejoiced in every city, praising God with hymns and psalms.³ This was a marvellous-sudden alteration of the church, from a most unhappy state into a better. But scarce suffered Maximin the tyrant the same state of affairs six months unviolated to continue; for whatsoever seemed to make for the subversion of

The
infidels
acknow-
ledge the
God of the
Chris-
tians.

One
alteration
upon
another.

(1) *Λογισται*, receivers-general.—Ed.

(2) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 1. A new translation.—Ed.

(3) *Ibid.*

the same peace (yet scarcely hatched), that only did he meditate. And first of all he took from the Christians all liberty and leave for them to assemble and congregate in churchyards, on some pretext or other. After that he sent certain miscreants unto the Antiochians, to solicit them against the Christians, and to provoke them to ask of him, as a great favour, that he would not suffer any Christian to inhabit in their country: and amongst them was one Theotecnus, a most wicked miscreant, and an enchanter, and a most deadly enemy against the Christians. He first made the way whereby the Christians were put out of credit and accused to the emperor; to which base end, he also erected a certain idol of Jupiter to be worshipped of the enchanters and conjurers, and mingled the same worship with ceremonies, full of deceiveable witchcraft. Lastly, he caused the same idol to give this sound out of his mouth, that is: "Jupiter commandeth the Christians to be banished out of the city and suburbs of the same, as enemies unto him." And the same sentence did the rest of the governors of the provinces publish against the Christians; and thus, at length, persecution began to kindle against them. Maximin also appointed priests in every city to offer sacrifice unto idols, and high-priests over these; and inveigled all those that were in great offices under him, that they should do all in their power against the Christians, and that they should with new-devised stratagems against them (as that would please him) put as many to death as by any means they might.¹ They also did counterfeit certain "Acts" of Pilate and our Saviour Christ, full of blasphemy, and sent the same into all the dominion of Maximin; by their letters commanding, that the same should be published and set up in every city and suburbs of the same, and that they should be delivered to the schoolmasters, to cause their scholars to learn the same by rote.²

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The devilish practice of Theotecnus.

The vain practices of the heathen against Christ and his religion.

After that, one named "præfectus castrorum"³ (whom the Romans call "Dux") at Damascus, in Phœnicia, allured certain light women, taken out of the market-place, by threats of torture, that they should openly say in writing, that they were once Christians, and that they knew what wicked and lascivious acts the Christians were wont to practise amongst themselves upon the Sundays; and what other things they thought good to make more of their own head, to the slander of the Christians. The captain sheweth unto the emperor their words, as though it had been so indeed; and the emperor by and by commanded the same to be published throughout every city. Furthermore, they did hang in the midst of every city (which was never done before) the emperor's edicts against the Christians, graven in tables of brass. And the children in the schools, with great noise and clapping of hands, did all the day resound "Jesus and Pilate," and the contumelious blasphemies contained in those counterfeit "Acts," after a most spiteful manner.⁴ And this is the copy of the edict, which Maximin caused to be fastened to the pillars, fraught with all arrogant and insolent hate against God and Christ:

A devised accusation against the Christians by harlots.

Maximin's countermand made in brass.

(1) See Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 3, 4.—Ed.

(2) Id. lib. i. cap. 9; lib. ix. cap. 4.—Ed.

(3) Στρατοπεδάρχης, Euseb. "the lieutenant." The chief magistrates in the emperor's provinces exercised both the civil and military functions (see Adam's Rom. Ant.), and bore military titles. The "magistrates" at Alexandria, mentioned *supra*, p. 210, also 240, are called Στρατηγοί in the Greek, and answered to our "sheriffs." (See Valesius's notes on that passage.) It is evident, however, that the chief magistrate of the province, or "lieutenant," is here meant. See *infra*, p. 256, note 1.—Ed.

(4) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 5, 7.—Ed.

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Persecu-
tion.*

A. D.
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to
313.

The copy
of the re-
counter-
mand
made
against
the Chris-
tians.

Wicked
blas-
phemy.
The
works of
the living
God
falsely
imputed
to dead
stocks and
idols.

Horrible
blas-
phemy.

The human mind, weak and yet presumptuous as it is,—having shaken off and dispersed every cloud and mist of error which heretofore invested the senses of men (not so much wicked as wretched) involved in the fatal night of ignorance—has now at length discerned, that all things are undoubtedly ordered and settled by the gracious providence of the immortal gods. You cannot conceive how grateful, delightful, and acceptable a thing it was to us, when you gave such a proof of your pious disposition towards the gods; though before this, no person was ignorant what reverence and religious worship you showed towards the immortal gods; to whom you are well known, not by a faith of bare and empty words, but by a course of astonishing and glorious actions; upon which account your city may deservedly be styled—"The seat and mansion of the immortal gods."¹ For it is evident by many instances that she flourisheth through the presence of the celestial deities in her. For lo! your city—as soon as it perceived that the followers of that accursed vanity began to creep again, and [revive] like a smouldering fire, which, when the embers are stirred up, bursteth out afresh in a very great blaze—neglecting every thing that was for its own particular benefit, and overlooking former supplications made to us in its own behalf—immediately, without the least delay, had recourse to our piety as to the metropolis of all religion, petitioning for some remedy and assistance. 'Tis evident that the gods have instilled into your minds this wholesome resolution, on account of your faithful perseverance in your religion. Yea, the most high and mighty Jupiter (who presides over your most famous city, and preserveth your country gods, your wives and children, your families and houses, from all manner of evil) hath breathed into your minds this salutary resolution; plainly demonstrating thereby what an excellent, noble, and salutary thing it is, with due reverence to adore the immortal gods and to approach their sacred ceremonies. For what man can there be found so foolish and so void of all reason, as not to perceive, that it is through the gracious care of the gods that it cometh to pass—that the earth denies not the seeds committed to it, frustrating the hopes of the husbandmen with vain expectations; and that the aspect of impious war is not immovably fixed on the earth; and that men's bodies are not perpetually pining to death through a corrupt and disordered state of the air; and that the sea, tossed with the blowing of furious winds, doth not swell and overflow; and that sudden blasts, breaking forth unexpectedly, do not raise a destructive hurricane: and lastly, that the earth (the nurse and mother of all things), shaken by a horrid trembling, doth not heave from its own inmost caverns; or that the mountains which lie upon it are not engulfed in the opening chasms. All these calamities—yea, far more horrible than these—have often occurred, as every one knoweth. And all these evils lay upon us, because of the pernicious error and empty folly of those wicked men, at the precise time when it abounded in their souls, and (as I may say) burdened the whole earth with shame and confusion. [And after the interposition of some words he continues] But now—let men cast their eyes over the corn fields, flourishing in the wide champaign and waving with ears; and upon the meadows blooming with flowers and grass after seasonable showers; let them consider the state of the air how temperate and calm it is again become. In future let all men rejoice, for that by your piety, by your sacrifices, and religious worship, the fury of that most powerful and stern god Mars is appeased; and for this reason let them securely solace themselves in the quiet enjoyment of a most serene peace.² And, as many as have wholly abandoned that blind error, and from their wanderings have returned to a right and sound temper of mind—let them specially rejoice as they would do, had they been delivered from an unforeseen tempest or a dangerous disease; assured, that for the remainder of their lives they will reap sweet enjoyment. But if any shall wilfully persist in their execrable folly, let them be banished and driven far from your city and neighbourhood, according to your request; that by this means your city, being (in consequence of your commendable anxiety in this affair) freed from all pollution and impiety, may (agreeably to

(1) "Crediderunt veteres certis diebus deos in quasdam urbes ipsis acceptas commere, easque ἐπιδημίας θεῶν appellabant. Sic apud Delos et Milesos adventus Apollinis, colebatur, apud Argivos Dianæ, ut scribit Menander Rhetor in cap. de hymnis ἀποεμπικτοῖς." Vales. not. in Euseb. ix. 7, ubi plura. Something of this kind seems to be meant by Callimachus; (*hym. in Apol.* 9) Ὠπάλλων οὐ παντὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὅτις ἐσθλός.—Euseb.

(2) The like argument of weather and corn, and plenty, made the unfaithful Jews, and also makes now our faithless Papists.

its natural inclination) attend with due devotion upon the sacrifices of the immortal gods. And that you may know how acceptable your petition on this subject was to us, and how predisposed our soul is to gracious acts of its own voluntary motion, and without any memorializing or solicitation; we permit your devotion to ask whatever magnificent gift you may desire to have presented to you, in recompense of this your godly disposition. Now, therefore, make it your business to ask and receive some great boon; for you shall obtain it without any delay. And this, once being granted to your city, shall be a testimony throughout all ages of your most fervent piety towards the immortal gods; and shall also be an evidence to your children and descendants, that for this excellent course of life you received due rewards from our gracious goodness.¹

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Persecution.*

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Thus came it to pass that at length the persecution was as great as ever it was, and the magistrates of every province were very disdainful against the Christians, condemning some to death, and some to exile. Among whom they condemned three Christians at Emisa in Phœnicia; among whom was Sylvanus the bishop of Emisa, a very old man, having been forty years in that function. Lucian, a presbyter of Antioch, being brought to Nicomedia, after he had exhibited to the emperor his apology concerning the doctrine of the Christians, was cast into prison, and afterward put to death. At Alexandria, Peter, the most worthy bishop of that church, was beheaded, with whom many other Egyptian bishops also died.² In Amasæa [a city of Cappadocia], Bringas, the lieutenant of Maximin, had at that time the executing of that persecution.³ Quirinus, the bishop of Siscia in Croatia, having a millstone tied about his neck, was thrown headlong from the bridge into the flood, and there a long while floated above the water; and, having spoken to the lookers-on, that they should not be dismayed with that his punishment, prayed fervently that he might be, and was with much ado, drowned.⁴ At Rome died Marcellinus the bishop, as saith Platina; also Timothy the presbyter, with many other bishops and priests were martyred. To conclude, many in sundry places everywhere were martyred, whose names⁵ the book, intituled "Fasciculus temporum," declareth;⁶ as, Victorian, Symphorian, Castorius with his wife, Castulus; Cæsarius; Mennas; Nobilis; Peter, Dorotheus, and Gorgonius; and other innumerable martyrs; Erasmus; Boniface; Juliana; Cosmas and Damian; Basilian, with seven others; Dorothea, Theophilus, Theodosia; Vitalis, and Agricola; Ascla⁷ and Philemon; Irenæus; Januarius, Festus, and Desiderius; Gregory, a presbyter of Spoleto; Agape, Chionia, and Irene; Theodora, and two hundred threescore and ten other martyrs; Florian; Primus and Felician; Vitus, Modestus, and Crescentia; Alban; Rogatian and Donatian; Pancras; Catharina;⁸ Margareta; Lucia the Virgin; Agnes; Christopher;⁹ Simplicius, Faustin, and Beatrix; Pantaleon; George; Justus; Leocadia; Antonia, and other more (to an infinite number), suffered martyrdom in this persecution, whose names God hath written in the book of life; also Felix; Victor with his parents; Lucia the widow, and Geminian;

*The persecution
of Maximin the
younger.*

*Ex Fasci-
culo tem-
porum.*

*Cosmas,
Damian,
Dorothea,
with other
martyrs.*

*Two
hundred
three-
score and
ten mar-
tyrs.*

(1) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 7, whence the above translation is made.—Ed.

(2) Ibid. cap. 6, 7.—Ed.

(4) See Mart. Rom., by Baronius, p. 267, edit. 1589.—Ed.

(3) Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 44.—Ed.

(5) Chron. Euseb.—Ed.

(6) The following list is somewhat corrected. It is taken from various chronicles, "Fasciculus temporum." (Cent. Magd.) See *supra*, p. 183, note 6.—Ed.

(7) See Baron. an. 310, § 24.—Ed.

(8) Spanheim has examined her history, which must rank, apparently, amongst the fabulous: 'Hist. Christ. sæc.' 4, col. 819.—Ed.

(9) See Appendix.—Ed.

*The Tenth
Persecu-
tion.*

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to
313.

Geminian
with
three-
score and
nineteen
martyrs.
Several
kinds of
torments.

with threescore and nineteen others; Sabinus; Anastasia and Chrysogon; Felix and Adauctus; Adrian, Natalia, Eugenia.¹ Agnes also, when she was but thirteen years old, was martyred. Eusebius rehearseth these kinds of torments and punishments; that is to say, fire, wild beasts, the sword, crucifixion, drowning in the depths of the sea, the cutting and burning of the members, the thrusting out of the eyes, maiming of the whole body, hunger, the mines, imprisonment, and whatsoever other cruelty the magistrates could devise. All which notwithstanding, the godly ones, rather than that they would do sacrifice, as they were bid, manfully endured. Neither were the women any thing at all behind; for they, being enticed to the filthy use of their bodies, rather suffered banishment, or willingly killed themselves.² Neither yet could the Christians live safely in the wilderness, but were fetched even from thence to death and torments; insomuch that this latter persecution under Maximin (a tyrant rather than a prince) was more grievous than was the former, cruel as that was.³

The work
of God
against
the afore-
said edict.
The proud
and blas-
phemous
proclama-
tion of the
emperor
proved
false.

And forsomuch as ye have heard the cruel edict of Maximin proclaimed against the Christians, graven in brass, which he thought perpetually should endure to the abolishing of Christ and his religion; now mark again the great handywork of God, which immediately fell upon the same, checking the proud presumption of the tyrant, proving all to be false and contrary, that in the brazen proclamation was contained. For whereas the aforesaid edict boasted so much of the prosperity and plenty of all things in the same time of this persecution of the Christians, suddenly befel such unseasonable drought, with famine and pestilence among the people, besides also the wars with the Armenians, that all was found untrue that he had bragged so much of before. By reason of which famine and pestilence the people were greatly consumed, insomuch that one measure of wheat was sold for two thousand and five hundred pieces of money of Attic drachms; by reason whereof innumerable died in the cities, but many more in the country and villages, so that most part of the husbandmen and countrymen died up with the famine and pestilence. Divers there were which bringing out their best treasure, were glad to give it for any kind of sustenance, were it never so little. Others, selling away their possessions, fell by reason thereof to extreme poverty and beggary. Certain, eating grass, and feeding on other unwholesome herbs, were fain to relieve themselves with such food as did hurt and poison their bodies. Also a number of women of good family in the cities, being brought to extreme misery and penury, were constrained to come forth, and fall to begging in the market-place. Some others, pined and withered like ghosts, without breath, reeling and staggering this way and that, from inability to stand fell down in the middle of the streets, and lying at full length with their faces downward, craved for some little morsel of bread to be given them; and being at the last gasp, ready to give up the ghost, and not able to utter any other words, still dolefully they cried

A terrible
hunger
among
the hea-
then per-
secutors
described.

(1) Tillemont's Mémoires, tom. v. pt. i. p. 253.—Ed.

(2) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 14, and "De Laudibus Const." cap. 7.—Ed.

(3) See Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 6.—Ed.

(4) Eusebius, lib. ix. cap. 8. The medimnus, or measure, contained six modii, or a little more than six pecks. Four Attic drachms were equal to about half-a-crown.—Ed.

out, that they were hungry. Of the richer sort, divers there were who, being weary with the number of beggars and askers, after they had bestowed largely upon them, became hard-hearted, fearing lest they should fall into the same misery themselves, as those who begged. By reason whereof, the market-places, streets, lanes, and alleys, were full of dead and naked bodies, which lay cast out and unburied, to the pitiful and grievous beholding of them that saw them; whereof many were eaten of dogs: for which cause they that survived fell to the killing of dogs, lest they, running mad, should fall upon them and kill them.

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Persecu-
tion.*

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to
313.

In like manner the pestilence, scattering through all houses and ages of men, did no less consume them; especially those who through having plenty of victuals had escaped famine. Wherefore the rich governors of provinces, and presidents, and innumerable magistrates, being the more apt to receive the infection by reason of their plenty, were quickly dispatched and turned up their heels. Thus the miserable multitude being consumed with famine and with pestilence, all places were full of mourning; neither was there any thing else seen but wailing and weeping in every corner. So that death, what for famine and pestilence, in short time brake up and consumed whole households, two or three dead bodies being borne out together from the same house in one funeral. These were the rewards of the vain brags of Maximin and his edicts, which he did publish in all towns and cities against us.

*Pesti-
lence
among
the perse-
cutors.*

At which time it was evident to all men, how diligent and charitable the Christians were to all men in this their miserable extremity. For they only, in all this time of distress, showed compassion upon them, travailing every day, some in tending the sick, and some in burying the dead, who otherwise of their own sort were forsaken. Others of the Christians, calling and gathering the multitude together, which were in jeopardy of famine, distributed bread unto them;¹ whereby they ministered occasion to all men to glorify the God of the Christians, and to confess them to be the true worshippers of God, as appeared by their works. By the means and reason hereof, the great God and defender of the Christians, who before had showed his anger and indignation against all men for their wrongful afflicting of us, opened again unto us the comfortable light of his providence; so that by means thereof peace fell unto us, as light unto them that sit in darkness, to the great admiration of all men, who easily perceived God himself to be a perpetual Director of our affairs; who many times chasteneth his people with calamities for a time to exercise them, but after sufficient correction again sheweth himself merciful and favourable to those who with trust call upon him.²

*The cha-
rity of the
Chris-
tians
to their
enemies.*

By the narration of these things heretofore premised, taken out of the History of Eusebius, like as it is manifest to see, so it is wonderful to mark and note, how those counsels and rages of the Gentiles achieved against Christ and his Christians, when they seemed most sure against them, were most against themselves; and whereby they thought most to confound the church and religion of Christ, the same turned most, to their own confusion, and to the profit and praise of the

*The wis-
dom and
policy of
man over-
thrown in
his own
turn.
"Qui
compre-
hendit
sapientes
in astu-
tia."*

(1) "Let your light so shine among men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."

(2) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 8; whence a few expressions in the text have been changed — Ed.

*The Tenth
Persecu-
tion.*

A.D.
303
to
313.

The pro-
mise of
Christ
verified.
The gates
of hell
shall not
prevail
against
the
church
builded
upon the
faith of
Christ.

Christians; God, of his marvellous wisdom, so ordering and disposing the end of things. For whereas the brazen edict of the emperor promised temperate weather, God sent drought; whereas it promised plenty, God immediately sent upon them famine and penury; whereas it promised health, God struck them even upon the same with grievous pestilence, and with other more calamities, in such sort that the most relief they had was chiefly by the Christians; to the great praise of them, and to the honour of our God.

Thus most plainly and evidently was then verified the true promise of Christ to his church, affirming and assuring us, that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his church builded upon his faith:¹ as sufficiently may appear by these ten persecutions above specified and described; wherein as no man can deny but that Satan and his malignant world have essayed the uttermost of their power and might to overthrow the church of Jesus, so must all men needs grant, who read these stories, that when Satan and the gates of hell have done their worst, yet have they not prevailed against this mount of Sion, nor ever shall. For else what was here to be thought,—where so many emperors and tyrants together, Dioclesian, Maximian, Galerius, Maximin, Severus, Maxentius, Licinius, with their captains and officers, were let loose, like so many lions, upon a scattered and unarmed flock of sheep, intending nothing else but the utter subversion of Christianity; and especially also when laws were set up in brass against the Christians, as a thing perpetually to stand;—what was here to be looked for, but a final desolation of the name and religion of Christians? But what followed, partly ye have heard, partly more is to be marked, as in the story followeth.

I showed before² how Maxentius, the son of Maximian, was set up at Rome by the prætorian soldiers to be emperor. Whereunto the senate, although they were not consenting, yet for fear they were not resisting. Maximian his father, who had before deprived himself with Dioclesian, hearing of this, took heart again to him, to resume his dignity, and so laboured to persuade Dioclesian also to do the same: but when he could not move him thereunto, he repairth to Rome, thinking to wrest the empire out of his son's hands. But when the soldiers would not suffer that, of a crafty purpose he flieth to Constantine in France, under pretence to complain of Maxentius his son, but in very deed to kill Constantine. Notwithstanding, that conspiracy being detected by Fausta the daughter of Maximian, whom Constantine had married, so was Constantine through the grace of God preserved, and Maximian retired back: in the which his flight, by the way he was apprehended, and so put to death. And this is the end of Maximian.

The death
and end
of Maxi-
mian.

Wicked-
ness of
Maxen-
tius de-
scribed.

Now let us return to Maxentius again, who all this while reigned at Rome with tyranny and wickedness intolerable, much like to another Pharaoh or Nero; for he slew the most part of his noblemen, and took from them their goods. And sometimes in his rage he would destroy great multitudes of the people of Rome by his soldiers, as Eusebius declareth.³ Also he left no mischievous nor lascivious act unattempted, but was the utter enemy of all womanly chastity; who

(1) Matt. xvi. 18.

(2) Suprà, p. 237.—Eo.

(3) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 14. "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. cap. 33—36.—Eo.

used to send the honest wives, whom he had adulterated, with shame and dishonesty unto their husbands (being worthy senators), after that he had ravished them. He abstained from no adulterous act, but was inflamed with the unquenchable lust of deflowering of women. Lætus declareth that he being that time far in love with a noble and chaste gentlewoman of Rome, sent unto her such courtiers of his as were meet for that purpose, whom also he had in greater estimation than any others, and with such was wont to consult about matters for the common weal. These first fell upon her husband and murdered him within his own house: then when they could by no means, neither with fear of the tyrant, or with threatening of death, pull her away from him, at length she, being a Christian, desired leave of them to go into her chamber, and after her prayers she would accomplish that which they requested. And when she had gotten into her chamber under this pretence, she killed herself. But the courtiers, when they saw that the woman tarried so long, they, being displeased therewith, brake open the doors, and found her there lying dead. Then returned they, and declared this matter to the emperor; who was so far past shame, that, instead of repentance, he was the more set on fire in attempting the like.

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A shameful act of incontinency.

He was also much addicted to the art magical, which to execute he was more fit than for the imperial dignity. Also sometimes he would rip women with child; sometimes he would search the bowels of newborn infants. Often he would invoke devils in a secret manner, and by the answers of them he sought to repel the wars which he knew Constantine and Licinius prepared against him. And to the end he might the better perpetrate his mischievous and wicked attempts, which in his ungracious mind he had conceived, according to his purpose, in the beginning of his reign he feigned himself to be a favourer of the Christians; in which thing doing, thinking to make the people of Rome his friends, he commanded that they should cease from persecuting the Christians. And he himself in the mean season abstained from no contumelious vexation of them, till that he began at the last to show himself an open persecutor of them: at which time, as Zonaras writeth, he most cruelly raged against the Christians thereabouts, vexing them with all manner of injuries. Which things he in no less wise did, than Maximin, as Eusebius' seemeth to affirm. And Platina declareth, in the life of Marcellinus the bishop [of Rome], that he banished a certain noble woman of Rome, because she gave her goods to the church.

A monster in the likelihood of an emperor.

A lively pattern of an hypocrite.

Thus, by the grievous tyranny and unspeakable wickedness of this Maxentius the citizens and senators of Rome being much grieved and oppressed, sent their complaints with letters unto Constantine, with much suit and most hearty petitions, desiring him to help and release their country and city of Rome; who, hearing and understanding their miserable and pitiful state, and grieved therewith not a little, first sendeth by letters to Maxentius, desiring and exhorting him to restrain his corrupt doings and great cruelty. But when no letters nor exhortations would prevail, at length pitying the woful case of

The Romans send to Constantine for succour.

(1) Lætus expressly states, that the husband, for fear of being put to death, consented that his wife should be carried off. Eusebius makes the same statement, and also that he was prefect of Rome at the time. (Hist. lib. viii. cap. 14. Vit. Const. lib. i. cap. 34.) Rufinus says her name was Sophronia.—Ed.

(2) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 14.—Ed.

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Maxen-
tius
feared for
his magic
and sor-
cery.

A miracle
of a cross
appearing
to Con-
stantine
in heaven.
This vi-
sion re-
ported
and testi-
fied by
Constant-
ine him-
self to be
true.

An admon-
ition
concern-
ing the
material
cross

the Romans, he gathered together his power and army in Britain and France, therewith to repress the violent rage of that tyrant: thus Constantine, sufficiently appointed with strength of men, but especially with strength of God, entered his journey coming towards Italy, which was about the last year of the persecution. Maxentius, understanding of the coming of Constantine, and trusting more to his devilish art of magic than to the good-will of his subjects, which he little deserved, durst not show himself out of the city, nor encounter with him in the open field, but with privy garrisons laid wait for him by the way in sundry straits, as he should come; with whom Constantine had divers skirmishes, and by the power of the Lord did ever vanquish them and put them to flight.¹ Notwithstanding, Constantine yet was in no great comfort, but in great care and dread in his mind (approaching now near unto Rome) for the magical charms and sorceries of Maxentius, wherewith he had vanquished before Severus, sent by Galerius against him, as hath been declared, which made also Constantine the more afraid. Wherefore, being in great doubt and perplexity in himself, and revolving many things in his mind, what help he might have against the operations of his charming (who used to rip open women great with child, and to take his devilish charms by the entrails of the new-born infants, with such other like feats of devilishness which he practised), these things (I say) Constantine doubting and revolving in his mind, in his journey drawing toward the city, and casting up his eyes many times to heaven, in the south part, about the going down of the sun,² he saw a great brightness in heaven, appearing in the similitude of a cross, with certain stars of equal bigness, giving this inscription like Latin letters, "In hoc vince," that is, "In this overcome."³ This miraculous vision to be true, for the more credit, Eusebius Pamphilus in the first book of his "De Vitâ Constantini" doth witness moreover, that he had heard the said Constantine himself oftentimes report, and also to swear this to be true and certain, which he did see with his own eyes in heaven, and also his soldiers about him. At the sight whereof when he was greatly astonished, and consulting with his men upon the meaning thereof, behold, in the night season in his sleep, Christ appeared to him with the sign of the same cross which he had seen before, bidding him to make the figuration thereof, and to carry it in his wars before him, and so should he have the victory.⁴

Wherein is to be noted, good reader, that this sign of the cross, and these letters added withal "In hoc vince," was given to him of God, not to induce any superstitious worship or opinion of the cross, as though the cross itself had any such power or strength in it, to obtain victory; but only to bear the meaning of another thing, that is, to be an admonition to him to seek and aspire to the knowledge and faith of Him who was crucified upon the cross, for the salvation of him and of all the world, and so to set forth the glory of his name,

(1) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 9. "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. cap. 26, 37.—Ed.

(2) Ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινῆς ἡλίου ὥρας ἥδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινόμενης (Euseb. "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. cap. 28): literally, "About the meridian hours of the sun, when the day was now declining." Valerius supposes the event to have happened about three o'clock in the afternoon; and Lactantius ("De Morte Persec." cap. 44) states it to have been October 27th, the anniversary of Maxentius's accession, which took place six years before, October 27th, A.D. 306. See Pagii Crit. in Baron. Ann. ad A.D. 306 et A.D. 312.—Ed.

(3) Euseb. "de Vitâ Constant." lib. i. cap. 28; Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 29; Eutrop. lib. xi.; Sozom. lib. i. cap. 3; Socrat. lib. i. cap. 2; Urspergensis Chronicle; Paul. Diacon. lib. 11.—Ed.

(4) Euseb. "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. cap. 28, 29.—Ed.

as afterward it came to pass. This by the way. Now to the *The Tenth Persecution.* matter.

The next day following after this night's vision, Constantine caused a cross after the same figuration to be made of gold and precious stone, and to be borne before him instead of his standard; and so with much hope of victory, and great confidence, as one armed from heaven, hespeedeth himself toward his enemy.¹ Against whom Maxentius, being constrained perforce to issue out of the city, sendeth all his power to join with him in the field beyond the river Tiber; where Maxentius, craftily breaking down the bridge called "Pons Milvius," caused another deceitful bridge to be made of boats and wherries, being joined together and covered over with boards and planks, in manner of a bridge, thinking therewith to take Constantine as in a trap. But herein came to pass, that which in the seventh Psalm is written, "He made a pit and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made; his mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violent dealing shall come down upon his own pate:" which here in this Maxentius was rightly verified; for after the two hosts did meet, he, being not able to sustain the force of Constantine fighting under the cross of Christ against him, was put to such a flight, and driven to such an exigence, that, in retiring back upon the same bridge which he did lay for Constantine (for haste, thinking to get the city), he was overturned by the fall of his horse into the bottom of the flood; and there with the weight of his armour he, and a great part of his beaten men, was drowned: representing unto us the like example of Pharaoh and his host drowned in the Red Sea, who not unaptly seemeth to bear a prophetic figuration of this Maxentius. For as the children of Israel were in long thralldom and persecution in Egypt under tyrants there, till the drowning of this Pharaoh their last persecutor; so was this Maxentius the last persecutor in the Roman monarchy of the Christians; whom this Constantine, fighting under the cross of Christ, did vanquish, and set the Christians at liberty; who before had been persecuted now three hundred years in Rome, as hath been hitherto in this history declared. Wherefore as the Israelites with their Moses, at the drowning of their Pharaoh, sang gloriously unto the Lord, who miraculously had cast down the horse and horsemen into the sea,² so no less rejoicing and exceeding gladness was here, to see the glorious hand of the Lord Christ fighting with his people, and vanquishing his enemies and persecutors.³

In histories we read of many victories and great conquests gotten, yet we never read, nor ever shall, of any victory so wholesome, so commodious, so opportune to mankind as this was; which made an end of so much bloodshed, and obtained so much liberty and life to the posterity of so many generations. For albeit that some persecution was yet stirring in the East countries by Maximin and Licinius, as shall be declared; yet in Rome, and in all the West parts, no martyr died after this heavenly victory gotten. And also in the East parts, the said Constantine, with the said cross borne before him, consequently upon the same, so vanquished the tyrants, and so established the peace of the church, that for the space of a just thousand

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Constantine with his army approacheth Rome. Maxentius taken in his own trap.

Beaten in the field.

Drowned by his own bridge.

Pharaoh a figure of Maxentius, the last persecutor in Rome.

Pharaoh and Maxentius compared.

The figure of the Old Testament verified in the New. The glorious and victorious host of Christ.

(1) Euseb. "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. cap. 30.—Ed.

(3) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 9. "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. 38.—Ed.

(2) Exod: xv.

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years after that, we read of no set persecution against the Christians, unto the time of John Wickliff; when the bishops of Rome began with fire to persecute the true members of Christ, as in further process of this history (Christ granting) shall appear. So happy, so glorious (as I said), was this victory of Constantine, surnamed the Great. For the joy and gladness whereof, the citizens who had sent for him before, with exceeding triumph brought him into the city of Rome, where he with the cross was most honourably received, and celebrated the space of seven days together; having, moreover, in the market-place, his image set up, holding in his right hand the sign of the cross, with this inscription: "With this wholesome sign, the true token of fortitude, I have rescued and delivered our city from the yoke of the tyrant."¹

By this heavenly victory of Constantine, and by the death of Maxentius, no little tranquillity came unto the church of Christ: although, notwithstanding, in the East churches the storm of this tenth persecution was not yet altogether quieted, but that some tail thereof in those parts remained for the space of two or three years. But of this we mind to speak (Christ willing) hereafter. In the mean season, to return again to the West parts here in Europe, where Constantine then had most to do, great tranquillity followed, and long continued in the church without any open slaughter for a thousand years together² (to the time of John Wickliff and the Waldenses, as is before touched), by the means of the godly beginning of good Constantine; who, with his fellow Licinius, being now established in their dominion, eftsoons set forth their general proclamation or edict, not constraining therein any man to any religion, but giving liberty to all men, both for the Christians to persist in their profession without any danger, and for other men freely to adjoin with them, whosoever pleased. Which thing was very well taken, and highly allowed, of the Romans and all wise men. The copy of the edict or constitution here ensueth.

The Copy of the Imperial Constitution³ of Constantine and Licinius, for the Establishing of the Free Worshipping of God after the Christian Religion.⁴

The copy
of the
imperial
constitu-
tion of
Constantine
and
Licinius.

Having long since perceived, that liberty in religion ought not to be withheld, but that every one who hath a mind and will of his own on the subject should have the privilege of acting therein according to his own predilection, we had given orders, that all men, the Christians in particular, should be permitted to retain the creed of their respective religious persuasions. But soon after the decree, granting the said permission, was published (with the names of many different sects clearly specified therein, it so happened (accidentally perhaps) that some of the parties alluded to drew back from their previous profession. When, therefore, by good fortune, we, Constantine and Licinius, emperors, had come to Milan, and had taken into consideration all matters which bore on the prosperity and comfort of the community; among other matters which promised to be in many ways important to all, or rather first and

(1) "Hoc salutari signo, veraci fortitudinis indicio, civitatem nostram jugo tyranni ereptam liberavi." Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 9. "De Vita Const." lib. i. cap. 39, 40.—Ed.

(2) Note well these thousand years, and then read the twentieth chapter of the Apocalypse, "Satan was bound up for a thousand years," etc.

(3) This constitution, with the exception of the opening clause, is found in the original Latin, in Lactantius, "De Mort. Persecut." cap. 48, which was first published by Baluze, in his "Miscellanea," tom. ii. Paris, 1679. Its publication is there stated to have taken place "die Idum Juniarum Const. atque Licin. ter consulibus," i. e. June 13, A.D. 313.

(4) Euseb. lib. x. cap. 5. The following is a new translation.—Ed.

(5) Toward the close of A.D. 312. Euseb. lib. x. cap. 2.—Ed.

foremost of all, we resolved to settle those which involved the reverence and worship of the Deity; that is, that we would grant both to the Christians and all others a free choice to follow whatever religion they please; that so, the Deity, or Heavenly Being (whatever it is), may be propitious both to ourselves and all our subjects. This, then, on sound and conscientious deliberation, we decided to be our will and pleasure—that no individual whatever should be denied the privilege of choosing and following the religious profession of the Christians; and that every one should have a right of devoting his mind to that religion which he thinks most agreeable to himself; that so God may in all things manifest his wonted care and kindness towards us. It was expedient that we should signify to you this our will and pleasure, in order that those names of sects which were inserted in our former rescript to your excellency concerning the Christians, might be taken clean out, and every thing cancelled which appeared ungracious and at variance with our accustomed mildness; and also that every one of those disposed to adhere to the religion of the Christians may now freely and constantly profess the same without any molestation. These things, I repeat, we resolved fully to intimate to your prudence, in order that you may be aware that we have thus granted to the Christians a free and absolute liberty of exercising their religion. And this liberty (as your excellency observes) is absolutely granted by us not only to *them*, but *all others* also who wish for it have the privilege allowed them of following their own religious profession. And it is evidently conducive to the quietness of this our time, that every one should have this privilege of choosing and exercising whatever religion he pleases; and we have ordered it so, that we might not seem in the least to disparage any mode of religious worship whatever. We also further decree in favour of the Christians, that those places of theirs wherein they used formerly to convene, and concerning which, in the former rescript sent to your excellency, a different plan was laid down, that in case it should appear that any persons have purchased any of them, either from our exchequer or from any one else, they shall restore the same to the said Christians without fee or demand of the price paid for them, and without impediment or evasion: and that, if any persons have received any of them by way of donation, they should forthwith restore them to the Christians in like manner. And if either those who have bought such places, or those who have received them by donation, desire any compensation from our goodness, let them go to the chief justice of the province, and they shall be provided for by our bounty. And it shall be your duty to take care that all such places be restored to the society of Christians without delay. And whereas the said Christians are known to have possessed not only those places wherein they used to convene, but others also, not belonging to any individual among them, but the property of the society—all these places (in conformity with the law just announced) you shall order to be restored without any demur whatever to the said Christians, that is, to each society and assembly of them respectively; the rule made in the other case being here also observed, viz. that those who shall restore the said places without demanding the price which they had paid for them (as aforesaid), may expect to be indemnified by our gracious liberality. Now, in relation to all these matters, you are to exert yourself vigorously, for the sake of the society of Christians aforesaid, that our mandate be executed as promptly as possible, by which means you will at the same time be providing for the general peace of the community. And thus (as we said before) the divine favour, which we have already in many cases experienced, will be secured to continue with us for ever. Finally, to the end that the definitive determination of these our gracious enactments may come to all men's knowledge, it is expedient that this rescript of ours be put up to public view, and made known to all persons; so that nobody may be ignorant of these our gracious enactments.

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By these histories I doubt not, good reader, but thou dost right well consider and behold with thyself the marvellous working of God's mighty power; to see so many emperors at one time conspired and confederate together against the Lord and Christ his anointed, whose names before we have recited, as Dioclesian, Maximian, Galerius, Maxentius, Maximin, Severus, Licinius; who, having the subjection

The consideration of God's work in defending his Christians.

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tion.*

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Kings
and
princes
have
risen
against
the Lord,
and
against
his Christ.
No
counsel
standeth
against
God.
The de-
struction
of the
cruel em-
perors.

The effect
of the
decree
which
Maximin
made
against
his will,
for fear of
Constan-
tine and
Licinius,
in the be-
half of
the Chris-
tians.

The sur-
recounter-
mand of
Maximin
dissem-
bled.

of the whole world under their dominion, did bend and extend their whole might and devices to extirpate the name of Christ, and of all Christians. Wherein, if the power of man could have prevailed, what could they not do? or what could they do more than they did? If policy or devices could have served, what policy was there lacking? If torments or pains of death could have helped, what cruelty of torment by man could be invented which was not attempted? If laws, edicts, proclamations, written not only in tables, but engraven in brass, could have stood, all this was practised against the weak Christians. And yet, notwithstanding, to see how no counsel can stand against the Lord,¹ note here how all these be gone, and yet Christ and his church doth stand. First, of the taking away of Maximian you have heard; also of the death of Severus; of the drowning, moreover, of Maxentius, enough hath been said. What a terrible plague was upon Galerius, consuming his privy members with worms, hath been also described. How Dioclesian the quondam emperor, being at Salona,² hearing of the proceedings of Constantine and of this edict, either for sorrow died, or, as some say, did poison himself. Only Maximin now in the East parts remained alive, who bare a deadly hatred against the Christians, and no less expressed the same with mortal persecution; to whom Constantine and Licinius caused this constitution of theirs to be delivered. At the sight whereof, although he was somewhat appalled and defeated of his purpose, yet forso much as he saw himself too weak to resist the authority of Constantine and Licinius the superior princes, he dissembled his counterfeit piety, as though he himself had tendered the quiet of the Christians, directing down a certain decree in the behalf of the Christians, wherein he pretendeth to write to Sabinus aforementioned, first repeating unto him the former decree of Dioclesian and Maximian in few words, with the commandment therein contained, touching the persecution against the Christians. After that, he reciteth the decree which he himself made against them, when he came first to the imperial dignity in the East part joined with Constantine.³ Then the countermand of another decree of his again, for the rescuing of the Christians, with such feigned and pretended causes, as are in the same to be seen.⁴ After that, he declareth how he, coming to Nicomedia, at the suit and supplication of the citizens of Antioch (which he also feigned, as may appear before), he applying to their suit, revoked that his former edict, and granted them that no Christian should dwell within their city or territories.⁵ Upon which Sabinus also had given forth his letters, rehearsing withal the general recountermand sent forth by him, for the persecution again of the Christians. Last of all now he sendeth down again another surrecountermand, with the causes therein contained, touching the safety of the Christians, and tranquillity of them, commanding Sabinus to publish the same; which edict of his is at large set forth of Eusebius.⁶ But in this surrecountermand he then dissembled, as he had done in the other before. Howbeit shortly after, he, making wars, and fighting a battle with Licinius, wherein he lost the victory, coming home again, took great indignation against the priests and prophets of his gods, whom before that

(1) Psalm ii. (2) A town in Dalmatia, Dioclesian's birth-place, near the modern Spalatro.—Ed.

(3) Suprà, pp. 236, 237.—Ed.

(4) Suprà, p. 240.—Ed.

(5) Suprà, p. 241.—Ed.

(6) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 9.—Ed.

time he had great regard unto, and honoured : upon whose answers he trusting, and depending upon their enchantments, began his war against Licinius. But after that he perceived himself to be deceived by them, as by wicked enchanter and deceivers, and such as had betrayed his safety and person, he killed and put them to death. And he shortly after, oppressed with a certain disease, glorified the God of the Christians, and made a most absolute law for the safety and preservation of them, with franchise and liberty ; the copy whereof ensueth :¹

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The un-
feigned
repent-
ance and
final de-
cree of
Maximin
for the
Chris-
tians.

Imperator Cæsar, Caius Valerius Maximinus, Germanicus, Sarmaticus, Pius, Felix, Invictus, Augustus : We take for granted that no man is ignorant, but that every one, adverting to what is continually passing, knows and is satisfied, that we constantly consult the welfare of our provincial subjects, and that we desire to pursue that line of policy towards them, which may best secure the interests of each, and contribute to their common good and profit—such as may at once suit the public interest, and be agreeable to the taste of every one in particular. Accordingly, when it came to our knowledge some time back, that upon occasion of the edict issued by their most sacred majesties, Diocletian and Maximian, our parents, prohibiting the assemblies of the Christians, many persons were troubled and spoiled by the officials, and that among our own subjects (for whose benefit it is our study to provide in the best way possible) the matter was proceeding to a serious length, their substance being in a fair way to be utterly wasted ; we issued letters to the governors of each province last year, enacting—that if any person were desirous of following that sect, or adhering to the prescripts of that religion, he might without impediment persist in his resolution, and should not be hindered or prohibited by any man ; and that they should be free to do just what pleased every one best, without any fear or mistrust. But it could not escape our knowledge, that, even now, some of the judges have misapprehended our orders, and have caused our subjects to stand in doubt respecting our decrees, and to be less ready in attaching themselves to that mode of worship which they prefer. To the intent, therefore, that all suspicion, ambiguity, and fear, may be for the future removed, we determined on publishing this present edict ; whereby it must be plain to all men, that they who desire to follow *that* sect and religion, are allowed by this our gracious indulgence to apply themselves to that religion which they have usually followed, in such a manner as seems agreeable and proper to each. We also permit them to rebuild their oratories. Moreover, that this our indulgence may appear the larger and more comprehensive, we have thought proper further to enact, that, if any houses or estates, formerly belonging to the Christians, in consequence of the edict of our parents aforesaid, devolved to the right of the exchequer, or were seized by any city, or were sold, or were presented to any one as a gratuity, we have ordered that they be all restored to their original owners the Christians ; so that in this particular, also, our piety and providence may be felt and acknowledged by all men.²

A large
grant of
Maximin
to the
Chris-
tians.

Maximin, then, being conquered of Licinius, and also plagued with an incurable disease in the guts, sent by the hand of God, was compelled by torments and adversity to confess the true God whom before he regarded not, and to write this edict in the favour of those Christians whom before he did persecute. Thus the Lord doth make many times his enemies, be they never so stern and stout, at length to stoop, and maugre their hearts to confess him, as this Maximin here did ; who, not long after, by the vehemency of his disease ended his life ; whereby no more tyrants now were left alive, to trouble the church, but only Licinius. Of which Licinius, and of his persecutions stirred up in the East parts against the saints of God, now remaineth in order of story to prosecute.

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God
maketh
his ene-
mies to
confess
him.

The end
and death
of Maxi-
min.

(1) The following is a new translation.—Ed.

(2) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 10.—Ed.

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tion.*

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The per-
secution
of the
church
under
Licinius.
Licinius
an ene-
my to
learning.

Licinius
an apos-
tate.

The foun-
tain of his
apostasy.

Knights
of the
order de-
prived
for not
doing
sacrifice.

A strict
charge
against
the re-
lieving
of the im-
prisoned
Chris-
tians.

This Licinius, being a Dacian born, and first made Cæsar by Galerius (as is above specified), was afterwards joined with Constantine in government of the empire, and in setting forth the edicts which before we have described : although it seemeth all this to be done of him with a dissembling mind. For so is he in all histories described, to be a man passing all others in desire of insatiable riches, given to lechery, hasty, stubborn, and furious. To learning he was such an enemy, that he named the same a poison, and a common pestilence, and especially the knowledge of the laws. He thought no vice worse became a prince than learning, because he himself was unlearned.¹

There was between him and Constantine in the beginning great familiarity, and such agreement, that Constantine gave unto him his sister Constantia in matrimony, as Aurelius Victor writeth. Neither would any man have thought him to have been of any other religion than Constantine was of, he seemed in all things so well to agree with him. Whereupon he made a decree with Constantine, in the behalf of the Christians, as we have showed.² And such was Licinius in the beginning ; but after arming himself with tyranny, [he] began to conspire against the person of Constantine, of whom he had received so great benefits ; neither favourable to the law of nature, nor mindful of his oaths, his blood, nor promises. But, when he considered that in his conspiracies he nothing prevailed, for that he saw Constantine was preserved and safely defended of God, and partly being puffed up with the victory against Maximin, he began vehemently to hate him, and not only to reject the christian religion, but also deadly to hate the same. He said, he would become an enemy to the Christians, for that in their assemblies and meetings they prayed not for him, but for Constantine. Therefore first by little and little, and that secretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the Christians, and banished them his court, which never were by any means prejudicial to his kingdom. Then he commanded that all those should be deprived who were knights of the honourable order,³ unless they would do sacrifice to devils. The same persecution afterward stretched he from his court, into all his provinces, and withal most wicked laws he devised and set forth : First, that for no cause the bishops should in any matter communicate together ; neither that any one of them should go into the church of his neighbour ; or to call any assemblies, and consult for the necessary matters and utility of the church : After, that the men and women should not come in company together to pray ; nor that the women should come into those places where they used to preach and read the word of God ; neither that they should be after that instructed any more of the bishops, but should choose out such women amongst them as should instruct them : The third (most cruel and wickedest of all) was, that none should help and succour those that were cast into prison, nor should bestow any alms or charity upon them, though they should die for hunger ; and they who showed any compassion upon those that were condemned to death, should be as greatly punished as they

(1) Eutropius, Lætus, Egnatius ; Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 13.

(2) Euseb. lib. ix. cap. 9.—Ed.

(3) Τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν στρατιώτας ἐκκρινέσθαι καὶ ἀποβαλλέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς τιμῆς ἀξιώματος, Euseb. "yeomen of the guard." Euseb. lib. x. cap. 8, and "De Vit. Const." lib. i. cap. 51.—Ed.

to whom they showed the same should be.¹ These were the constitutions of Licinius, most horrible, and which went beyond and passed the bounds of nature.

After this he used violence against the bishops, but yet not openly, for fear of Constantine, but privily and by conspiracy; by which means he slew those that were the worthiest men amongst the doctors and prelates. And about Amasæa and other cities of Pontus, he rased the churches even with the ground: others he shut up, that no man should come after their accustomed manner to pray and worship God; and therefore, as we said before, his conscience accusing him, all this he did, for that he suspected they prayed for Constantine, and not at all for him. And from this place in the east parts to the Lybians, which bordered upon the Egyptians, the Christians durst not assemble and come together, for the displeasure of Licinius, which he had conceived against them.²

Furthermore, the flattering officers that were under him, thinking by this means to please him, slew and made out of the way many bishops, and without any cause put them to death, as though they had been homicides and heinous offenders; and such rigorousness used they towards some of them, that they cut their bodies into gobbets and small pieces in manner of a butcher, and after that threw them into the sea to feed the fishes.³ What shall we speak of the exiles and confiscations of good and virtuous men? for he took by violence every man's substance, and cared not by what means he came by the same; but threatened them with death, unless they would forego the same. He banished those who had committed no evil at all. He commanded that both gentlemen and men of honour should be made out of the way; neither yet herewith content, he gave their daughters that were unmarried, to varlets and wicked ones to be deflowered. And Licinius himself, although that by reason of his years his body was spent, yet shamefully did he try to vitiate many women, men's wives and maids.⁴ Which cruel outrages of his caused many godly men of their own accord to forsake their houses; and it was also seen, that the woods, fields, desert places, and mountains, were fain to be the habitations and resting-places of the poor and miserable Christians.⁵ Of those worthy men and famous martyrs who in this persecution found the way to heaven, Nicephorus first speaketh of Theodore, a captain [dwelling at Heraclæa in Pontus], who first being hanged upon the cross, had bodkins thrust into his secret parts, and, after that, his head stricken off; also of another Theodore, martyred at Amasæa, surnamed "Tyro,"⁶ being a young soldier; also of a third, who was crucified at Perga; Basileus also, the bishop of Amasæa; Nicholas, the bishop of Myra; Gregory, of Armenia the greater;⁷ after that, Paul of Neocæsarea, who, by the impious commandment of Licinius, had both his hands disabled with a searing iron. Besides these, in the city of Sebaste [in Armenia the less] forty worthy men, christian soldiers, in the vehement cold time of winter were sowed and

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Secret
persecu-
tion for
fear of
Constantine.

The
violent
wrongs of
Licinius.
The
Chris-
tians flee
into the
wilderness.
Hot per-
secution
renewed.

Forty
men and
their
wives
martyrs.

(1) Euseb. *ibidem*, and "De Vitâ Const." lib. i. [cap. 51, 53, 54.—Ed.]

(2) Euseb. lib. x. cap. 8. "De Vitâ Const." lib. ii. cap. 1, 2. Sozomen. lib. i. cap. 7.—Ed.

(3) *Ibidem*.—Ed.

(4) Euseb. "De Vitâ Constantini," lib. i. cap. 55.

(5) Euseb. lib. x. cap. 8.

(6) See Baron. on the Mart. Rom. Nov. 9.—Ed.

(7) He was called "the Apostle of Armenia," and "the Enlightener."—Ed.

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The
wicked
purpose
of Lici-
nius, had
he not
been pre-
vented by
God.

Licinius
overcome
in battle
by Con-
stantine.

The end
and death
of the
tyrants
which
were the
authors
of this
tenth
persecu-
tion.

drowned in a horse-pond, when Lysias and Agricolaus, lieutenants under Licinius¹ in the East parts (of whom we spoke before), were yet alive, and were in great estimation for inventing of new and strange torments against the Christians. The wives of those forty good men were carried to Heraclea, a city in Thrace, and there, with a certain deacon whose name was Amon, were (after innumerable torments by them most constantly endured) slain with the sword. These things writeth Nicephorus.² Also Sozomen³ alludeth to some of the same martyrs. And Basil, in a certain oration, seemeth to intreat of their history, saving that in the circumstances he somewhat varieth. And surely Licinius was determined, for that the first face of this persecution fell out according to his desire, to have overrun all the Christians; to which thing neither counsel, nor good will, nor yet opportunity perchance wanted, unless God had brought Constantine into those parts where he governed; where, in the wars which he himself began (knowing right well that Constantine had intelligence of his conspiracy and treason), joining battle with him, he was overcome.

Divers battles between them were fought, the first fought in Hungary, where Licinius was overthrown; then he fled into Macedonia, and, repairing his army, was again discomfited. Finally, being vanquished both by sea and land, he lastly, at Nicomedia yielded himself to Constantine, and was commanded to live a private life at Thessalonica, where at length he was slain by the soldiers.

Thus have ye heard the end and conclusion of all the seven tyrants which were the authors and workers of this tenth and last persecution against the true people of God; the chief captain and incitor or which persecution was first Dioclesian,⁴ who died at Salona, as some say, by his own poison, in the year of our Lord 313. The next was Maximian, who (as is said) was hanged of Constantine at Marseilles, about the year of our Lord 310.⁵ Then died Galerius, plagued with a horrible disease sent of God. Severus was slain by Maximian, father of Maxentius the wicked tyrant, who was overcome and vanquished of Constantine, in the year of our Lord 312. Maximin the sixth tyrant not long after, being overcome by Licinius, died about the year of our Lord 313. Lastly, how this Licinius was overcome by Constantine and slain, in the year of our Lord 324, is before declared. Only Constantius, the father of Constantine, being a good and a godly emperor, died in the third year of the persecution, in the year of our Lord 306, and was buried at York. After whom succeeded (after his godly father) Constantine, as a second Moses sent and set up of God, to deliver his people out of this so miserable captivity into liberty most joyful.

(1) *Τῶν ἐκείνου ὑπασιιστῶν*, Niceph. Foxe renders the word "sheriff;" but Nicephorus calls Lysias (supra, p. 229) *ὁ τῆς ἐκείνου ἡγεμῶν*, "governor or lieutenant in the East;" and represents Agricolaus as executing the same functions as Lysias in a different city; and here he designates them by the same term. See supra, p. 241, note (3) and infra, p. 265, note (1).—Ed.

(2) Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 44; lib. viii. cap. 14.—Ed. 1579 (3) Lib. ix. cap. 2.—Ed.

(4) See Appendix.

(5) "Eliso et fracto superbissimo gutture, vitam detestabilem turpi et ignominiosa morte finivit; (Lact. de morte Persecut. cap. 30) idque Massiliæ, ut Eusebius in Chronico, Victor in Epitome, et Orosius in Historia docent." Pagii crit. in Baron. an. 307. § 10.—Ed.

A BRIEF STORY OF THE MOST NOTABLE MARTYRS THAT SUFFERED IN THIS TENTH PERSECUTION.

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Now remaineth after the end of these persecutors thus described, to gather up the names and stories of certain particular martyrs, which now are to be set forth, worthy of special memory for their singular constancy and fortitude, showed in their sufferings and cruel torments. The names of all those that suffered in this aforesaid tenth persecution, being in number infinite, in virtue most excellent, it is impossible here to comprehend: but the most notable, and in most approved authors expressed, we thought here to insert, for the more edification of other Christians, who may and ought to look upon their examples, first beginning with Alban, the first martyr that ever in England suffered death for the name of Christ.

At what time Dioclesian and Maximian the pagan emperors had directed out their letters with all severity for the persecuting of the Christians; Alban, being then an infidel, received into his house a certain clerk, flying from the persecutors' hands, whom when Alban beheld continually, both day and night, to persevere in watching and prayer, suddenly by the great mercy of God, he began to imitate the example of his faith and virtuous life; whereupon, by little and little, he being instructed by his wholesome exhortation, and leaving the blindness of his idolatry, became at length a perfect Christian.

Alban
martyr.

And when the aforesaid clerk had lodged with him a certain time, it was informed the wicked prince, that this good man and confessor of Christ (not yet condemned to death) was harboured in Alban's house, or very near unto him. Whereupon immediately he gave in charge to the soldiers to make more diligent inquisition of the matter; who, as soon as they came to the house of Alban the martyr, he by and by putting on the apparel wherewith his guest and master was apparelled (that is, a garment at that time used, named Caracalla), offered himself in the stead of the other to the soldiers; who, binding him, brought him forthwith to the judge. It fortuned that at that instant when blessed Alban was brought unto the judge, they found the same judge at the altars offering sacrifice unto devils, who, as soon as he saw Alban, was straightways in a great rage, for that he would presume of his own voluntary will to offer himself to peril, and give himself a prisoner to the soldiers, for safeguard of his guest whom he harboured; and commanded him to be brought before the images of the devils whom he worshipped, saying: "For that thou hadst rather hide and convey away a rebel, than deliver him to the officers, that (as a contemner of our gods) he might suffer punishment and merit of his blasphemy; look, what punishment he should have had, thou for him shalt suffer the same, if I perceive thee any whit to revolt from our manner of worshipping." But blessed Alban, who of his own accord had bewrayed to the persecutors that he was a Christian, feared not at all the menaces of the prince; but being armed with the spiritual armour, openly pronounced that he would not obey his commandment. Then said the judge, "Of what stock or kindred art thou come?" Alban answered, "What is that to you, of what stock I came? If you desire to hear the verity of my religion, I do ye to wit, that I am a Christian, and

Fruit of
hospitality to be
noted.
Alban
first converted,
and by
what occasion.

Alban
offereth
himself
to death
for another.

The
words of
the judge
to Alban

Constancy
and zeal
of Alban.

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*His con-
fession.*

*His
suffering
and mar-
tyrdom.*

*Super-
fluous
miracles
in his
story
written
by Bede
omitted.*

*The
legend of
St. Alban
dis-
proved.*

apply myself altogether to that calling." Then said the judge, "I would know thy name, and see thou tell me the same without delay."

Then said he, "My parents named me Alban, and I worship the true and living God, who created all the world." Then said the judge, fraught with fury, "If thou wilt enjoy the felicity of prolonged life, do sacrifice (and that out of hand) to the mighty gods." Alban replieth, "These sacrifices which ye offer unto devils, can neither help them that offer the same, neither yet can they accomplish the desires and prayers of their suppliants; but rather shall they, who-soever they be, that offer sacrifice to these idols, receive for their meed everlasting pains of hell-fire." The judge, when he heard these words, was passing angry, and commanded the tormentors to whip this holy confessor of God, endeavouring to overcome the constancy of his heart with stripes, against which he had prevailed nothing with words. And when he was cruelly beaten, yet suffered he the same patiently, nay rather joyfully, for the Lord's sake. Then when the judge saw that he would not with torments be overcome, nor be seduced from the worship of christian religion, he commanded him to be beheaded.

The rest that followeth of this story in the narration of Bede, as of drying up the river, as Alban went to the place of his execution; then, of making a well-spring in the top of the hill; and of the falling out of the eyes of him that did behead him; with such other prodigious miracles mentioned in his story, because they seem more legend-like than truth-like, also because I see no great profit nor necessity in the relation thereof, I leave them to the free judgment of the reader, to think of them as cause shall move him.

The like estimation I have of the long story, wherein is written a large a fabulous discourse of all the doings and miracles of St. Alban, taken out of the library of St. Alban's, compiled (as therein is said) by a certain pagan, who, as he saith, afterward went to Rome, there to be baptized. But, because in the beginning or prologue of the said book, containing the story of Alban and of his bitter punishments, the writer maketh mention of the ruinous walls of the town of Verolamium (which walls were then falling down for age, at the writing of the said book, as he saith), thereby it seemeth this story to be written a great while after the martyrdom of Alban, either by a Briton, or by an Englishman. If he were a Briton, how then did the Latin translator take it out of the English tongue, as in the prologue he himself doth testify? If he were an Englishman, how then did he go up to Rome for baptism, being a pagan, when he might have been baptized among the christian Britons more near at home?

But among all other evidences and declarations sufficient to disprove this legendary story of St. Alban, nothing maketh more against it, than the very story itself: as where he bringeth in the head of the holy martyr to speak unto the people after it was smitten off from the body; also where he bringeth in the angels going up and coming down in a pillar of fire, and singing all the night long; item, in the river which he saith St. Alban made dry, such as were drowned in the same before in the bottom were found alive; with other such-like monkish miracles and gross fables, wherewith these abbey-monks

were wont in times past to deceive the church of God, and to beguile the whole world for their own advantage. Notwithstanding, this I write not to any derogation of the blessed and faithful martyr of God, who was the first that I did ever find, in this realm, to suffer martyrdom for the testimony of Christ, and is worthy, no doubt, of condign commendation, especially of us here in this land; whose christian faith in the Lord, and charity towards his neighbour, I pray God all we may follow. As also I wish, moreover, that the stories both of him, and of all other christian martyrs, might have been delivered to us simple as they were, without the admixture of all these abbey-like additions of monkish-miracles, wherewith they were wont to paint out the glory of such saints to the most, by whose offerings they were accustomed to receive most advantage.

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St. Alban the first martyr in this realm of England. The stories of the saints corrupted with lies.

As touching the name of the clerk¹ mentioned in this story, whom Alban received into his house, I find it in the English stories to be Amphibalus, although the Latin authors name him not; who, the same time flying into Wales, was also fetched from thence again to the same town of Verolanium, otherwise called Verlancaester, where he was martyred; having his belly opened, and made to run about a stake, while all his bowels were drawn out; then, thrust in with swords and daggers; and at last, was stoned to death, as the aforesaid legend declareth.

Amphibalus martyred.

The martyrdom of Amphibalus.

Moreover, the same time with Alban suffered also two citizens of the aforesaid city of Verlancaester, whose names were Aaron and Julius; beside others, whereof a great number the same time, no doubt, did suffer, although our chronicles of their names do make no rehearsal.

Aaron, Julius, martyrs.

The time of martyrdom of this blessed Alban and the other, seemeth to be about the second or third year of this tenth persecution, under the tyranny of Dioclesian, and Maximian Herculus, bearing then the rule in England, about the year of our Lord 301, before the coming of Constantius to his government. Where, by the way, is to be noted, that this realm of Britain being so christened before, yet never was touched with any other of the nine persecutions, before this tenth persecution of Dioclesian and Maximian: in which persecution our stories and Polychronicon do record, that all Christianity almost in the whole island was destroyed, the churches subverted, all books of the Scripture burnt, many of the faithful, both men and women, were slain; among whom the first and chief ringleader (as hath been said) was Alban. And thus much touching the martyrs of Britain.

Persecution in this realm of Britain.

Now from England to return again unto other countries, where this persecution did more vehemently rage; we will add hereunto (the Lord willing) the stories of others, although not of all that

(1) Foxe had good ground for doubting this portion of St. Alban's history. "Hieronymus (epist. 128, ad Fab.) et Eucherius (Instruct. lib. 2. c. 10) *Ephod* indumentum Sacerdotale ita describentes, ut in modum *caracallæ* fuisse dicant, sed sine *cucullo*, caracallas fuisse pampulas cucullatas satis indicant: indeque diminutivum *Καρακάλλιον* in Glossario Græco-latino, Cyrillo ascripto, *Cucullo* exponitur. Sed *amphibali* vocabulum (quod huc ipsi vestimento magis quam illius possessori convenire, suo loco sumus ostensuri) ex Britannicâ Galfridi Monemuthensis historiâ (lib. v. c. 5) acceptum esse, ne ipsi quidem monachi dissimulant." (Usher, *Britt. Eccles. Antiq.* p. 78, edit. Lond. 1687) "*Amphibalus* vestis externæ genus esse quoddam, qua clerici et monachi olim utebantur, ex Sulpicio Severo in vita Martini et Remigio Remensi episcopo in Testamento suo et Adamnано in vita Columbæ manifeste deprehenditur. Ut ex minus intellecto Gildæ loco, et *Amphibali* martyris nomen a Galfrido primum effictum, et Wintoniensi ecclesiæ deinde affictum fuisse, aliqua fortasse hinc commoveri possit suspicio." Id. ib. p. 281. See also Fuller's Church History, century 4, § 6.—ED.

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suffered in this persecution (which were impossible), but of certain most principal, whose singular constancy in their strong torments are chiefly renowned in later histories; beginning first with Romanus, the notable and admirable soldier and true servant of Christ, whose history set forth in Prudentius, doth thus proceed; so lamentably by him described, that it will be hard for any man almost with dry cheeks to hear it.

The la-
mentable
story of
Romanus
martyr.

The ex-
hortation
of Ro-
manus
to the
Chris-
tians.

The
christian
boldness
of Roma-
nus.

The noble
patience
of Roma-
nus in his
suffering.

The
preaching
of Roma-
nus to the
prefect.

Pitiless Galerius with his grand prefect Asclepiades violently invaded the city of Antioch, intending by force of arms to drive all Christians to renounce utterly their pure religion. The Christians, as God would, were at that time congregated together, to whom Romanus hastily ran,¹ declaring that the wolves were at hand which would devour the christian flock; "But fear not," said he, "neither let this imminent peril disturb you, my brethren." Brought was it to pass, by the great grace of God working in Romanus, that old men and matrons, fathers and mothers, young men and maidens, were all of one will and mind, most ready to shed their blood in defence of their christian profession. Word was brought unto the prefect, that the band of armed soldiers was not able to wrest the staff of faith out of the hand of the armed congregation, and all by reason that one Romanus so mightily did encourage them, that they stuck not to offer their naked throats, wishing gloriously to die for the name of their Christ. "Seek out that rebel," quoth the prefect, "and bring him to me, that he may answer for the whole sect." Apprehended he was, and, bound as a sheep appointed to the slaughter-house, was presented to the emperor, who, with wrathful countenance beholding him, said: "What! art thou the author of this sedition? Art thou the cause why so many shall lose their lives? By the gods I swear thou shalt smart for it, and first in thy flesh shalt thou suffer the pains whereunto thou hast encouraged the hearts of thy fellows." Romanus answered, "Thy sentence, O prefect, I joyfully embrace; I refuse not to be sacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruel means as thou mayest invent: and whereas thy soldiers were repelled from the christian congregation, that so happened, because it lay not in idolaters and worshippers of devils, to enter into the holy house of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer." Then Asclepiades, wholly inflamed with this stout answer, commanded him to be trussed up, and his bowels drawn out. The executioners themselves more pitiful in heart than the prefect, said, "Not so, sir, this man is of noble parentage; unlawful it is to put a nobleman to so un noble a death." "Scourge him then with whips," quoth the prefect, "with knaps of lead at the ends." Instead of tears, sighs and groans, Romanus sung psalms all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to favour him for nobility's sake. "Not the blood of my progenitors," said he, "but christian profession maketh me noble." Then, with great power of spirit, he inveighed against the prefect, laughing to scorn the false gods of the heathen, with the idolatrous worshipping of them, affirming the God of the Christians to be the true God that created heaven and earth, before whose judicial seat all nations shall appear. But the wholesome words of the martyr were as oil to the fire of the prefect's fury. The more the martyr spake, the madder was he, insomuch that he commanded the martyr's sides to be lanced with knives, until the bones appeared white again. "Sorry am I, O prefect," quoth the martyr, "not for that my flesh shall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cause am I sorrowful, who being corrupted with damnable errors, seducest others."²

The second time he preached at large the living God, and the Lord Jesus Christ his well-beloved Son, eternal life through faith in his blood, expressing therewith the abomination of idolatry, with a vehement exhortation to worship and adore the living God. At these words Asclepiades commanded the tormentors to strike Romanus on the mouth, that his teeth being stricken out, his pronunciation at leastwise might be impaired. The commandment was obeyed, his face buffeted, his eyelids torn with their nails, his cheeks scotched with knives; the skin of his beard was plucked by little and little from the flesh;

(1) In the portions quoted from Prudentius in this narrative, Foxe has often altered the descriptive form into the direct. It is also much abridged.—Ed.

(2) Prudentius, v. 460.—Ed.

finally, his seemly face was wholly defaced. The meek martyr said, "I thank thee, O prefect, that thou hast opened unto me many mouths, whereby I may preach my Lord and Saviour Christ. Look; how many wounds I have, so many mouths I have lauding and praising God."¹ The prefect astonished with this singular constancy, commanded them to cease from the tortures. He threateneth cruel fire, he revileth the noble martyr, he blasphemeth God, saying, "Thy crucified Christ is but a yesterday's God; the gods of the Gentiles are of most antiquity."

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Here again Romanus, taking good occasion, made a long oration of the eternity of Christ, of his human nature, of the death and satisfaction of Christ for all mankind. Which done, he said, "Give me a child, O prefect, but seven years of age, which age is free from malice and other vices wherewith riper age is commonly infected, and thou shalt hear what he will say." His request was granted. A little boy² was called out of the multitude, and set before him. "Tell me, my babe," quoth the martyr, "whether thou think it reason that we should worship one Christ, and in Christ one Father, or else that we worship many gods?" Unto whom the babe answered, "That certainly (whatsoever it be) which men affirm to be God, must needs be one; and that which pertains to that one, is unique: and inasmuch as Christ is unique, of necessity Christ must be the true God; for that there be many gods, we children cannot believe." The prefect hereat clean amazed, said, "Thou young villain and traitor, where, and of whom learnedst thou this lesson?" "Of my mother," quoth the child, "with whose milk I sucked in this lesson, that I must believe in Christ." The mother was called, and she gladly appeared. The prefect commanded the child to be hoisted up and scourged. The pitiful beholders of this pitiless act, could not temper themselves from tears: the joyful and glad mother alone stood by with dry cheeks. Yea she rebuked her sweet babe for craving a draught of cold water: she charged him to thirst after the cup that the infants of Bethlehem once drank of, forgetting their mothers' milk and paps; she willed him to remember little Isaac, who, beholding the sword wherewith, and the altar whereon, he should be sacrificed, willingly proffered his tender neck to the dint of his father's sword. Whilst this counsel was in giving, the butcherly tormentor plucked the skin from the crown of his head, hair and all. The mother cried, "Suffer, my child! anon thou shalt pass to Him that will adorn thy naked head with a crown of eternal glory." The mother counselleth, the child is counselled; the mother encourageth, the babe is encouraged, and received the stripes with smiling countenance. The prefect perceiving the child invincible, and himself vanquished, committeth the silly soul, the blessed babe, the child uncherished, to the stinking prison, commanding the torments of Romanus to be renewed and increased, as chief author of this evil.

The con-
fession of
a child
against
idolatry.

A child
martyred
for the tes-
timony of
Christ.

A godly
mother of
a godly
child.

An exam-
ple of vir-
tuous edu-
cation.

Thus was Romanus brought forth again to new stripes, the punishments to be renewed and received again upon his old sores; when the lofty conqueror thus addressed the tormentors, taunting them as sluggards:

Where is (quoth the martyr), where is your might?

What! are ye not able one body to spill?

Scant may it, so weak is it, stand upright:

And yet in spite of you shall it live still?

The vulture with talon, the dog with his tooth,

Could sooner, ye dastards, this corpse rend and tear;

Like them though ye hunger, and raven in sooth,

Yet idly my life to dispatch ye forbear.³

Then, no longer could the tyrant forbear, but needs he must draw nearer to the sentence of death. "Is it painful to thee," saith he, "to tarry so long alive? A flaming fire, doubt thou not, shall be prepared for thee by and by, wherein thou and that boy, thy fellow in rebellion, shall be consumed into ashes." Romanus and the babe were led to the place of execution. As they laid hands on Romanus, he looked back, saying, "I appeal from this thy tyranny, O judge unjust! unto the righteous throne of Christ, that upright Judge; not because I fear thy cruel torments and merciless handlings, but that thy judgments may be known to be cruel and bloody." Now, when they were

The cruel
words of
the ty-
rant.

The chris-
tian child
beheaded
for con-
fessing of
Christ.

(1) Prudentius, v. 562.—ED.

(2) Ib. v. 663.—ED.

(3) See Prudentius, v. 810.

The Tenth Persecution. come to the place, the tormentors required the child of the mother, for she had taken it up in her arms; and she, only kissing it, delivered the babe. "Farewell," she said, "my sweet child; and when thou hast entered the kingdom of Christ, there in thy blest estate remember thy mother, and from being her son become her patron."¹ And as the hangman applied his sword to the babe's neck, she sang on this manner:

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Nature
overcome
of re-
ligion.

All laud and praise with heart and voice,
O Lord, we yield to thee:
To whom the death of this thy saint,
We know most dear to be.²

The fire
quenched
with rain.

Romanus
speaketh
after his
tongue
was out.

Roman-
us, after
long tor-
ments,
strangled
in prison.

The innocent's head being cut off, the mother wrapped it up in her garment, and laid it on her breast. On the other side a mighty fire was made, whereinto Romanus was cast, who said, that he should not burn: wherewith a great storm arose (if it be true) and quenched the fire. The prefect gave in commandment that his tongue should be cut out. Out was it plucked by the hard roots, and cut off: nevertheless he spake, saying, "He that speaketh of Christ, never wanted a tongue: think not that the voice that uttereth Christ, hath need of the tongue to be the minister." The prefect at this, half out of his wits, bare in hand that the hangman deceived the sight of the people by some subtle sleight and crafty conveyance. "Not so," quoth the hangman; "if you suspect my deed, open his mouth, and diligently search the roots of his tongue." The prefect at length being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the martyr, straitly commanded him to be brought back into the prison, and there to be strangled; where his sorrowful life and pains being ended, he now enjoyeth quiet rest in the Lord, with perpetual hope of his miserable body to be restored again, with his soul, into a better life, where no tyrant shall have any power.³

The Story of Gordius, a Centurion.

Gordius was a citizen of Cæsarea, a worthy soldier, and captain of a hundred men: He, in the time of extreme persecution, refusing any longer to execute his charge, did choose of his own accord willing exile, and lived in the desert some time a religious and a solitary life. But upon a certain day, when a solemn feast of Mars was celebrated in the city of Cæsarea, and much people were assembled in the theatre to behold the games, he left the desert, and got him up into the chief place of the theatre, and with a loud voice uttered this saying of the apostle: "Behold I am found of them which sought me not, and to those which asked not for me, have I openly appeared." By which words he let it to be understood, that of his own accord he came unto those games to surrender himself. At this noise, the multitude, little regarding the sights, looked about to see who it was that made such exclamation. As soon as it was known to be Gordius, and the crier had commanded silence, he was brought unto the sheriff, who sat thereabout, and ordered the games. When he was asked the question who he was, from whence, and for what occasion he came thither, he telleth the truth of every thing as it was: "I am come," saith he, "to publish, that I set nothing by your decrees against the christian religion, but that I profess Jesus Christ to be my hope and salvation; and when I understood how ye surpassed other men in cruelty, I took this as a fit time to accomplish my desire." The sheriff with these words was greatly moved, and revengeth all his displeasure upon poor Gordius, commanding the executioners to be brought out with scourges, wheel, gibbet, and whatsoever torments else might be devised. Whereunto Gordius answered, saying, "that it should be to him a hindrance and damage, if he could not suffer and endure divers torments and punishments for Christ's cause." The sheriff, being more offended with his boldness, commanded him to feel as many kind of torments as there

Gordius,
of his own
accord,
uttereth
himself to
be a
Christian.
Is brought
to exa-
mination.
His con-
fession.

(1) Prudentius, v. 833. See *infra*, p. 270, note 1.—Ed.

(2) These verses are rather an inadequate representation of vv. 839, 840; which are themselves a version of Psalm cxvi. 14—16.

"Pretiosa sancti mors sub aspectu Dei,
Tuus ille servus, proles ancillæ tuæ."

(3) Prudentius, in Hymnis [10] de Coronis Martyrum. [Euseb. de Mart. Pal. cap. 2.—Ed.]

were. With all which, Gordius, notwithstanding, could not be mastered or overcome; but lifting up his eyes unto heaven, singeth this saying out of the Psalms: "The Lord is my helper, I will not fear the thing that man can do to me:" and also this saying, "I will fear no evil, because thou, Lord, art with me."

After this, he against himself provoketh the extremity of the tormentors, and blameth them if they favour him any thing at all. When the sheriff saw that hereby he could win but little, he goeth about by gentleness and enticing words, to turn the stout and valiant mind of Gordius. He promiseth to him great and large offers if he will deny Christ; as to make him a captain of as many men as any other is, to give him riches, treasure, and what other thing soever he should desire. But in vain (as the proverb is) pipeth the minstrel to him that hath no ears to hear, for he, deriding the foolish madness of the magistrate in supposing that it lay in him to confer any earthly good, which was worthy to compare with having a place in heaven. The magistrate, with these words thoroughly angered and vexed, prepared himself to his condemnation; whom after that he had condemned, he caused to be had out of the city to be burnt. There run out of the city great multitudes by heaps to see him put to execution; some take him in their arms, and lovingly kiss him, persuading him to take a better way, and save himself, and that with weeping tears. To whom Gordius answered, "Weep not, I pray you, for me, but rather for the enemies of God, who always make war against the Christians; weep, I say, for them who prepare for us a fire, purchasing hell-fire for themselves in the day of vengeance; and cease off further, I pray you, to molest and disquiet my settled mind. Truly," saith he, "I am ready for the name of Christ to suffer and endure a thousand deaths, if need were." Some others came unto him, who persuaded him to deny Christ with his mouth, and to keep his conscience to himself. "My tongue," saith he, which by the goodness of God I have, cannot be brought to deny the author and giver of the same; for with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the tongue we confess unto salvation." Many more such-like words he spake; but especially uttering to them such matter, whereby he might persuade the beholders to death, and to the desire of martyrdom. After all which, with a merry and glad countenance, never changing so much as his colour, he willingly gave himself to be burnt.¹

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His bold constancy and courageous spirit.

Gordius tempted with fair promises and good gifts.

Condemned to be burnt.

His answer to his friends.

A subtle kind of dissuaders.

None ought to deny Christ with his mouth, and confess him with his heart.

Not much unlike to the story of Gordius, is the story also of Mennas, an Egyptian, who, being likewise a soldier by his profession, in this persecution of Dioclesian forsook all, and went into the desert, where a long time he gave himself to abstinence, watching, and meditation of the Scriptures.

Mennas, martyr.

At length returning again to the city of Cotyæum, there, in the open theatre, as the people were occupied upon their spectacles or pastimes, he with a loud voice openly proclaimed himself to be a Christian, and upon the same was brought to Pyrrhus the president; of whom he, being demanded of his faith, made this answer: "Convenient it is that I should," saith he, "confess God, in whom is light and no darkness, forasmuch as Paul doth teach that with heart we believe to righteousness, with mouth confession is given to salvation." After this the innocent martyr was most painfully pinched and cruciate with sundry punishments. In all which notwithstanding he declared a constant heart, and faith invincible, having these words in his mouth, being in the midst of his torments: "There is nothing in my mind that can be compared to the kingdom of heaven; neither is all the world, if it were weighed in balance, able to be conferred with the price of one soul:" and said, "Who is able to separate us from the love of Jesus Christ our Lord? shall affliction or anguish?" And moreover," saith he, "I have thus learned of my Lord and my King, not to fear them which kill the body, and have no power to kill the soul; but to fear him rather, who hath power to destroy both body and soul in hell-fire." To make the story short, after manifold torments borne of him, and suffered, when the last sentence of death was upon him pronounced (which was to be beheaded), Mennas being then had to the place of execution, said, "I give thee thanks, my

Confession of Mennas.

His words in his torments.

All the world is not to be weighed with one soul saved.

His prayer at his death.

(1) Ex Basil. in Sermone in Gordium militem Cæsariensem, [whence a few expressions are corrected.—Ed.]

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Lord God, who hast so accepted me to be found a partaker of thy precious death, and hast not given me to be devoured of my fierce enemies, but hast made me to remain constant in thy pure faith unto this my latter end." And so this blessed soldier, fighting valiantly under the banner of Christ, lost his head, and won his soul.¹

In the which author there followeth a long narration of the miracles of this holy man, which here for prolixity I do omit.

*The story
of forty
martyrs.*

Basil, in a certain sermon about the forty martyrs, rehearseth this story, not unworthy to be noted :

*Torments
brought
out to ter-
rify the
Chris-
tians.*

*Courage-
ous bold-
ness and
christian
confession
of these
martyrs.*

*Martyr-
dom and
death for
Christ,
preferred
before life
and riches
of this
world.
The mar-
tyrs in a
pond all a
winter's
night.*

*Taken out
of the
pond and
cast into
the fire.
A good
mother
caring
more for
the soul
than for
the body
of her son.*

There came [saith he], into a certain place [of which place he maketh no mention], the emperor's marshal or officer, with the edict which the emperor had set out against the Christians, that whosoever confessed Christ, should after many torments suffer death. And first they did privily suborn certain who should detect and accuse the Christians whom they had found out, or had laid wait for. Upon this the sword, the gibbet, the wheel, and the whips were brought forth ; at the terrible sight whereof the hearts of all the beholders did shake and tremble. Some for fear did fly ; some did stand in doubt what to do. Certain were so terrified at the beholding of these engines and tormenting instruments, that they denied their faith. Some others began the game, and for a time did abide the conflict and agony of martyrdom ; but, vanquished at length by the intolerable pain of their torments, made shipwreck of their consciences, and lost the glory of their confession. Among others, forty there were at that time, invincible and noble soldiers of Christ, who, after the marshal had showed the emperor's edict, and required of all men obedience to the same, freely and boldly of their own accord confessed themselves to be Christians, and declared to him their names. The marshal, somewhat amazed at this their boldness of speech, standeth in doubt what was best to do. Yet forthwith he goeth about to win them with fair words, advertising them to consider their youth, neither that they should change a sweet and pleasant life, for a cruel and untimely death : after that he promiseth them money and honourable offices in the emperor's name. But they, little esteeming all these things, brake forth into a long and bold oration, affirming that they did neither desire life, dignity, nor money, but only the celestial kingdom of Christ ; saying further, that they were ready for the faith and love they had in God, to endure the affliction of the wheel, the cross, and the fire. The rude marshal being herewith offended, devised a new kind of punishment. He spied out before the walls of the city a certain great pond, which lay full upon the cold northern wind, for it was in the winter-time, wherein he caused them to be put all that night ; but they, being merry, and comforting one another, received this their appointed punishment, and said, as they were putting off their clothes, " We put off," said they, " now not our clothes, but we put off the old man, corrupt with the deceit of concupiscence ; we give thee thanks, O Lord, that with this our apparel we may also put off, by thy grace, the sinful man ; for by means of the serpent, we once put him on, and by the means of Jesus Christ, we now put him off." When they had thus said, they were brought naked into the place, where they felt most vehement cold ; insomuch that all the parts of their bodies were stark and stiff therewith. As soon as it was day, they, yet having breath, were brought unto the fire, wherein they were consumed, and their ashes thrown into the flood. By chance there was one of the company more lively, and not so near dead as the rest, of whom the executioners taking pity, said unto his mother standing by, that they would save his life. But she, with her own hands taking up her son, brought him to the pile of wood, where the residue of his fellows (crooked for cold), did lie ready to be burnt, and admonished him to accomplish the blessed journey he had taken in hand with his companions.²

A like story of forty martyrs, who were married men, we read of in Nicephorus and Sozomen,³ who were killed likewise in a lake or

(1) Simeon Metaphrast. [apud Surium] tom. v. (2) Ex Basil. in *Serm. de 40 Martyribus*.—Ed.
(3) Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 44. Sozom. lib. ix. cap. 2.—Ed.

pond at Sebaste, a town of Armenia, under Licinius, if the story be not the same with this.¹

In this fellowship and company of martyrs cannot be left out and forgot the story of Cyrus.

This Cyrus was a physician born in Alexandria, who, flying into Egypt, in the persecution of Dioclesian and Maximian, led a solitary life in Arabia, being much spoken of for his learning and miracles; unto whose company after a certain time did one John, born in the city of Edessa, beyond the river Euphrates, join himself, leaving the soldier's life which before that time he had exercised. But, whilst as yet the same persecution raged in a city in Egypt, called Canope, there were cast into prison for the confession of their faith, a certain godly christian woman, called Athanasia, and her three daughters, Theoctista, Theodota, and Eudoxia, with whom Cyrus was well acquainted; at whose infirmities he much fearing, accompanied with his brother John, he came and visited them for their better confirmation; at which time Syrianus was chief captain and lieutenant of Egypt,² of whose wickedness and cruelty, especially against women and maidens, Athanasius maketh mention in his Apologies, and in his epistle to those that lead a solitary life. This Cyrus, therefore, and John, being accused and apprehended of the heathen men, as the persons by whose persuasions the maidens and daughters of Athanasia contumeliously despised the gods and the emperor's religion, and could by no means be brought to do sacrifice, were, after the publication of their constant confession, put to death by the sword: Athanasia also, and her three daughters, being condemned to death.³

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Another story of forty martyred in a cold pond at Sebastia. Athanasia, with her three daughters. The loving care of one Christian toward another. Cyrus, to do others good, lost his life.

Sebastian, being born in the part of France called Gallia Narbonensis, was a Christian, and was lieutenant-general of the van-ward of Dioclesian the emperor, who also encouraged many martyrs of Christ by his exhortations unto constancy, and kept them in the faith. He, being therefore accused to the emperor, was commanded to be apprehended, and that he should be brought into the open field, where of his own soldiers he was thrust through the body with innumerable arrows, and after that his body was thrown into a jakes or sink. Ambrose maketh mention of this Sebastian the martyr, in his Commentary upon Psalm cxviii.; and Simeon Metaphrastes, amongst other martyrs that suffered with Sebastian, numbereth also these following: Nicostratus, with Zoe his wife; Tranquillinus, with Martia his wife; Traglinus, Claudius, Castor, Tibertius, Castulus, Marcus, and Marcellianus, with others.

The story of Sebastian, martyr. A worthy example of a captain to be followed.

Basil, in another sermon, also maketh mention of one Barlaam, being a noble and famous martyr, who abode all the torments of the executioners even to the point of death; which thing when the tormentors saw, they brought him, and laid him upon the altar, where they did use to offer sacrifices to their idols, and put fire and frankincense into his right hand, wherein he had yet some strength; thinking that the same his right hand, by the heat and force of the fire, would have scattered the burning incense upon the altar, and so have sacrificed. But of that their hope the pestiferous tormentors were disappointed; for the flame eat round about his hand, and the same endured as though it had been red-hot embers, when Barlaam recited out of the Psalms this saying: "Blessed is the Lord my God, which teacheth my hands to fight."

What desire the heathen had by some means to allure the Christians to offer sacrifice.

(1) See *suprà*, p. 255.—Ed.

(2) Tillemont, tom. v. part 3, p. 158.—Ed.

(3) This history writeth Simeon Metaphrastes.

(4) "Præmæ cohortis," by which seems meant the "Prætorian cohort," or life-guards.—Ed.

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To this narration of Basil, touching the martyrdom of Barlaam, we will annex consequently another story of Ambrose.¹

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Agricola,
with his
servant
Vitalis,
martyr-
ed.

Vitalis
first mar-
tyred.

Agricola,
desirous
of mar-
tyrdom,
died on
the cross.

He, making a certain exhortation to certain virgins, in the same oration commendeth the martyrdoms of Agricola and Vitalis, who suffered also in the same persecution under Dioclesian and Maximian (as they affirm) at Bologna. This Vitalis was servant to Agricola, who both together, between themselves, had made a compact to give their lives with other martyrs for the name of Christ. Whereupon Vitalis, being sent before his master to offer himself to martyrdom, fell first into the hands of persecutors, who laboured about him by all means, to cause him to deny Christ: which when he would in no case do, but stoutly persisted in the confession of his faith, they began to exercise him with all kind of torments, so unmercifully, that there was no whole skin left on all his body. So Vitalis, in the midst of the agony and painful torments, after he had in a short prayer commended himself to God, gave up his life. After him, the tormentors set upon Agricola his master, whose virtuous manners and gentle conditions, because they were singularly well liked, and known to the enemies, his suffering therefore was the longer deferred. But Agricola, not abiding the long delay and driving off, and provoking, moreover, the adversaries to quicker speed, at length was fastened unto the cross, and so finished his martyrdom which he so long desired.

The cruel
martyr-
dom of
Vincen-
tius.

No less worthy of commemoration is the lamentable martyrdom of Vincentius, whose history here followeth. This Vincentius was a Spaniard, of Saragossa, and a Levite² most godly and virtuous, who at this time suffered martyrdom at Valentia,³ under Dacian the president, as we may gather by Prudentius in his fourth and fifth hymns.⁴ Bergomensis, in his "Supplement," reciteth these words concerning his martyrdom, out of a certain sermon of St. Augustine.

The tor-
ments
exercised
upon
him.

Our heart conceived not a vain and fruitless sight (as it were in beholding o. lamentable tragedies), but certainly a great sight and marvellous, and there with singular pleasure received it, when the painful passion of victorious Vincentius was read unto us. Is there any so heavy hearted, that will not be moved in the contemplation of this immovable martyr, so manly, or rather so godly, fighting against the craft and subtlety of that serpent, against the tyranny of Dacian, against the horrors of death, and by the mighty Spirit of his God conquering all? But let us in few words rehearse the degrees of his torments, though the pains thereof in many words cannot be expressed. First, Dacian caused the martyr to be laid upon the torture, and all the joints of his body to be distended and racked out, until they cracked again. This being done in most extreme and cruel manner, all the members of his painful and pitiful body were grievously indented with deadly wounds. Thirdly (that his dolours and griefs might be augmented), they miserably vexed his flesh with iron combs, sharply filed. And to the end the tormentors might vomit out all their vengeance on the meek and mild martyr's flesh, the tormentors themselves, also, were vilely scourged at the president's commandment. And lest his passion, through want of pains, might seem imperfect, or else too easy, they laid his body, being all out of joint, on a grate of iron; and when they had opened it with iron hooks, they seared it with fiery plates, with hot burning salt sprinkling the same. Last of all, into a vile dungeon was this mighty martyr drawn, the floor whereof, first, was thick spread with the sharpest shells that might be gotten; his feet then being fast locked in the stocks, there was he left alone without all worldly comfort. But the Lord his God was with him; the Holy Spirit of God (whose office is to comfort the godly afflicted) fulfilled his heart with joy and gladness. "Hast thou prepared a terrible rack, O cruel tyrant, O devouring lion! for the martyr's bed? the Lord shall make that bed soft and sweet unto him. Rackest thou his bones and joints all asunder? His bones, his joints, his hairs, are all

The com-
fort of
the Lord
upon his
saints.

(1) Ambros. in Exhortatione ad Virgines.

(2) So says Prudentius, who perhaps uses it poetice for "deacon," as Ado terms him.—Ed.

(3) See Baronius's and Ado's Martyrologies, Jan. 22d. Another Vincentius, a Levite, is commemorated in the Martyrologies, June 9th, as having suffered at Agen in France.—Ed.

(4) Prud. "De Coronis," Hymn iv. v. 97, 99. v. v. 30, 40.—Ed.

numbered. Tormentest thou his flesh with mortal wounds? The Lord shall pour abundantly into all his sores of his oil of gladness. Thy scraping combs, thy sharp fleshhooks, thine hot searing-irons, thy parched salt, thy stinking prison, thy cutting shells, thy pinching stocks, shall turn to this patient martyr to the best. All together shall work contrary to thine expectation; great plenty of joy shall he reap into the barn of his soul, out of this, mighty harvest of pains that thou hast brought him into. Yea, thou shalt prove him *Vincentius* indeed; that is, a vanquisher, a triumpher, a conqueror, subduing thy madness by his meekness, thy tyranny by his patience, thy manifold means of tortures by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifully enriched."¹

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In this catalogue or company of such holy martyrs as suffered in this aforesaid tenth persecution, many more, and almost innumerable, there be expressed in authors beside them whom we have hitherto comprehended; as Philoromus, a man of noble birth and great possessions in Alexandria, who, being persuaded by his friends to favour himself, to respect his wife, to consider his children and family, did not only reject the counsels of them, but also neglected the threats and torments of the judge, to keep the confession of Christ inviolate unto the death and losing of his head:² of whom Eusebius beareth witness, that he was there present himself.

The confession and martyrdom of Philoromus.

Of like estate and dignity was also Procopius in Palestine, who, Torments and constancy of Procopius. after his conversion, brake his images of silver and gold, and distributed the same to the poor; and after all kind of torments, of racking, of cording, of tearing his flesh, of goring and stabbing in, of firing, at length had his head also smitten off, as witnesseth Nicephorus.³

To this may be joined also George, a young man of Cappadocia, who, stoutly inveighing against the impious idolatry of the emperors, was apprehended and cast into prison; then torn with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, stretched with cords; after that, his hands and feet with other members of his body being cut off, at last with a sword he had his head cut off.⁴

Sundry torments of George.

With these aforementioned, add also Sergius and Bacchus; Panteleon, a physician in Nicomedia;⁵ Theodorus, of the city of Amasæa, in Pontus;⁶ Faustus, a martyr of Egypt;⁷ Gereon, with three hundred and eighteen fellow-martyrs, who suffered about Cologne;⁸ Hermogenes, the president of Athens, who, being converted by the constancy of one Mennas and Eustraphus in their torments, suffered also for the like faith. Item, Samonas, Gurias, and Abibus, mentioned in Simeon Metaphrastes; Jerome also, with certain of his confessors, under Maximin, mentioned in Metaphrastes; Indes and Domnas,⁹ who suffered with many other martyrs above mentioned at Nicomedia, as recordeth Metaphrastes. Evelasius and Maximin, the emperor's officers, whom Fausta the virgin in her torments converted. Also Thyrsus, Leucius, Callinicus;¹⁰ Apollonius, Philemon, Asclas; Leonidas; with Arrian, president of Thebais. Cyprian likewise, a citizen of Antioch, who, after he had continued a long time a filthy magician or sorcerer, at length was converted and made a

Divers martyrs.

(1) Ex August. in Sermone [in Append. tom. v. col. 315].—Ed.

(2) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 9; Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 9. (3) Niceph. lib. viii. cap. 15.

(4) Euseb. lib. viii. cap. 9; Niceph. lib. vii. cap. 9. (6) Vincent. lib. xli. cap. 93.

(7) Niceph. lib. viii. cap. 15. (5) Bergom. Supplem. lib. viii.

(8) Niceph. lib. viii. cap. 5. (9) Petr. De Natal. lib. ix. cap. 49.

(10) It is doubtful whether there were ever such martyrs. See Basnagii Annal. ad an. 293, § 2.—Ed.

(11) This name is spelt sometimes "Gallenicus;" but see Baronius's Note on Jan. 28. "Mart. Rom." p. 53, Antwerp. 1589.—Ed.

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deacon, then a priest, and at last the bishop of Antioch, of whom partly we touched somewhat before. This Cyprian, with Justina a virgin, suffered among the martyrs.¹ Item, Glycerius at Nicomedia; Felix a presbyter, Fortunatus and Achilleus deacons, in the city of Valence; Arthemius at Rome; Cyriacus deacon to Marcellus bishop of Rome; Carpophorus priest at Spoleto, with Abundius a deacon. Item, Claudius, Cyrinus, and Antoninus,² who suffered with Marcellinus bishop of Rome; Cucuphas, in the city of Barcelona; Felix, a bishop,³ with Adauctus⁴ and Januarius his priests, Fortunatus and Septimus his readers, who suffered in the city of Venosa in Apulia,⁵ under Dioclesian.⁷

The
lament-
able his-
tory of
Cassia-
nus, mar-
tyr.

It were too long a travail or trouble to recite all and singular names of them particularly, whom this persecution of Dioclesian did consume; the number of whom being almost infinite, is not to be collected or expressed. One story yet remaineth not to be forgotten of Cassianus, whose pitiful story being described of Prudentius we have here inserted, rendering metre for metre as followeth.⁸

Verses on Cassianus.

Through Forum as (in Italy)
I passed once to Rome,
Into a church by chance came I,
And stood fast by a tomb;
Which church sometime a place had
been,
Where causes great in law [giv'n,
Were scanned and tried and judgment
To keep brute men in awe.
This place Sylla Cornelius
First built; he rais'd the frame,
And call'd the same Forum, and thus
That city took the name.⁹
In musings deep as here I stood,
Casting mine eye aside,
A figure in full piteous mood
Pourtrayed by chance I spied;
Marked with a thousand wounds full
All mangled rent and torn; [bad,
The skin appeared as though it had
Been jagged and prickt with thorn.
A school of pictured boys did band
About that loathsome sight,
That with their sharpened gads in hand
His members thus had dight.

These gads were but their pens, where-
Their tablets written were, [with
And such as scholars often, sith,
Unto the schools do bear.
"Whom thou seest here thus pictured
sit,
And firmly dost behold,
No fable is, I do thee wit,"
(The verger question'd told,¹⁰
That walk'd thereby) "but doth declare
The history of one,
Which, written, would good record bear
What faith was long agoe.
A skilful schoolmaster this was,
That here sometime did teach,
The bishop once of Brixen was,¹¹
And Christ full plain did preach.
He knew well how to comprehend
Long talk in a few lines,
And it at length how to amend
By order and by times.
His sharp precepts and his stern looks
His beardless boys did fear;
When hate in heart, yet, for their books
Full deadly they did bear.

(1) Vincent. lib. xlii. cap. 120—122. See *supra*, p. 205, note (1).—Ed.

(2) Tillemont, tom. v. pt. i; Mart. Rom. a Baronio, April 26.—Ed.

(3) Sabel. Ennead, vii. lib. 8.

(4) It is difficult to say over what place he presided, but certainly not in Apulia. See Tillemont, "Mémoires Eccles." tom. v. pt. ii. p. 360, edit. in 12mo, 1707. His episcopate seems to have been Thibara, or Tizzaca, in Africa: see note in Baron. Martyrol. Oct. 24th.—Ed.

(5) This name is sometimes read, Audactus, and Audax.—Ed.

(6) A different place, Aquileia, is assigned as the place of these martyrdoms by Baronius (ad an. 303, § 123), and the same may be remarked of many preceding.—Ed.

(7) Bergom. lib. viii. [p. 176, Ed. Brixia, 1485.—Ed.]

(8) Ex Aurel. Prudent. lib. "De Coron." [hymn 9. This story has been translated rather paraphrastically; there is nothing in the original answering to the second stanza.—Ed.]

(9) Forum Cornelii, hodie, *Imola*.—Ed.

(10) "Eedituus consultus, ait," is the original.—Ed.

(11) There is nothing in the original answering to this. London. Valpy, tom. i. p. 298.—Ed.

The child that learns, I do ye weet,
Terms aye his tutor cruel;
No discipline in youth seems sweet;
Count this a common rule.

Behold the raging time now here,
Oppressing so the faith,
Doth persecute God's children dear,
And all that Christ bewraith.

This trusty teacher of the swarm
Profest the living God;
The chief good thing they count their
harm,
Perhaps he shakes his rod.¹

'What rebel,' asked the president,
"Is he I hear so loud?"
'Unto our youth 'an instrument,"
They say, and low they bowed.

"Go, bring the caitiff forth," he bids,
"And make no long delay;
Let him be set the boys amidst."
They do as he doth say.

"Let him be given unto them all,
And let them have their will,
To do to him what spite they shall,
So that they will him kill.

Even as they list let them him fray,
And him deride so long,
Till weariness provokes their play,
No longer to prolong.

Let them, I say then, uncontrolled
Both prick and scotch his skin;
To bathe their hands let them be bold
In the hot blood of him."

The scholars hereat make great game,
It pleaseth them full well; [flame,
That they may kill and quench the
They thought to them a hell.

They bind his hands behind his back,
And naked they him strip;
In bodkin-wise at him they nack,
They laugh to see him skip.

The private hate that each one hath
In heart, it now appears;
They pour it forth in gawdy wrath,
They wreak them of their tears.

Some cast great stones, some others
break

Their tablets on his face;
"Lo! here thy Latin and thy Greek!"
(Oh barren boys of grace!)

The blood runs down his cheeks, and
doth

Imbrue the boxen leams,
Where notes by them were made
(though loth),
And well proponed themes.

Some whet and sharp their pencils'
points,
Which served to write withal;
Some others gage his flesh and joints,
As with a pointed nall.

Sometime they prick, sometime they
rent,²

This worthy martyr's flesh;
And thus by turns they do torment
This confessor afresh.

Now all with one consent on him
Their bloody hands they lay;
To see the blood from limb to limb
Drop down, they make a play.

More painful was the pricking pang
Of children oft and thick,
Than of the bigger boys that stang,
And near the heart did stick.

For by the feeble strokes of th' one,
Death was denied his will,
Of smart that made him woe-begone,
He had the better skill.

The deeper strokes the great ones gave,
And nearer touched the quick,
The welcomer he thought the same,
Whom longing death made sick.

"God make you strong," [he saith,
"I pray,
God give you might at will;
And what you want in years, I say,
Let cruelty fulfil.

But whilst the hangman breatheth still
And me with you doth match,
That weakly work (yet want no will)
My life for to dispatch,

My griefs wax great."—"What groan'st
thou now?"

Said some of them again,
"In school, advised well art thou,
Whom there thou put'st to pain.

Behold (we pray) and now make good
As many thousand stripes,
As when with weeping eyes we stood
In danger of thy gripes.

Art thou now angry at thy band,
Who always criedst, 'write, write';
And never wouldst that our right hand
Should rest in quiet plight?

We had forgot our playing times,
Which thou wert stingy of:
We now but prick and point our lines."
And thus they grin and scoff:

"Correct, good sir! our viewed verse,
If aught amiss there be:
Now use thy power, and them rehearse
That have not minded thee."

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(1) The same remark applies to this and the preceding line; from line 70 to 76, and 96 and 97.—Ed.
(2) There is an allusion here in the original (not sufficiently retained perhaps in the translation) to the shape of the stylus, or ancient pen, one end of which was sharp, the other flattened, to smoothe the wax if needful. See Adam's Roman Antiquities, by Boyd, p. 440.—Ed.

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 Cassian, martyr.
 Christ, pitying this groaning man,
 With torments torn and tired,
 Commands his heart to break even then;
 Who—yielded and expired.
 [This tale the picture tells (saith he)
 Which doth thine eyes allure—
 The agonies and victory
 Of Cassian, martyr pure.
 Say, stranger, doth some strong desire
 Thy panting soul possess,
 Or some fond hope thy bosom fire,
 Or some deep grief distress?
 Here make thy suit: the martyr saint,
 In humble faith address, [plaint,
 Each suppliant hears, whate'er his
 And grants each pure request.

I could not but consent: I weep:
 His tomb I do embrace:
 His altar 'in devotion deep
 I kiss with glowing face.
 The secret thoughts I then rehearse
 Which fill'd my lab'ring breast,
 Whisper my fears of sad reverse,
 My longings to be blest.
 Of home and all its dear delights,
 Mid dangers left behind,
 Of all that now my steps invites
 To Rome, I tell my mind.
 The martyr hears, and smiles success:
 At home in safety found,
 I there the name of Cassian bless,
 And Cassian's fame resound.']

No less admirable than wonderful was the constancy also of women and maidens, who, in the same persecution, gave their bodies to the tormentors, and their lives for the testimony of Christ, with no less boldness of spirit than did the men themselves above specified, to whom how much inferior they were of bodily strength, so much more worthy of praise they be, for their constant standing. Of whom some examples here we mind (Christ willing) to infer, such as in our stories and chronicles seem most notable, first beginning with Eulalia, whose story we have taken out of the aforesaid Prudentius, as followeth:²

Eulalia,
 martyr.
 The
 chaste
 and con-
 tinent be-
 haviour of
 Eulalia.

In the west part of Spain is a city great and populous, named Merida, wherein dwelt, and was brought up, a virgin, born of noble parentage, whose name was Eulalia; which Merida, although for the situation thereof, it was both rich and famous, yet more adorned and famous was the renown thereof by the martyrdom, blood, and sepulchre of this blessed virgin, Eulalia. Twelve years of age was she, and not much above, when she,³ not delighting in precious balms, or costly ornaments and jewels, but forsaking and despising all these and such-like pompous allurements, showed herself most busy in preparing her journey to her hoped inheritance and heavenly patronage; which Eulalia, as she was modest and discreet in behaviour, sage and sober in conditions, so was she also witty and sharp in answering her enemies. But when the furious rage of persecution broke out against God's children in the household of faith, and when the Christians were commanded to offer incense and sacrifice to devils or dead gods, then began the blessed spirit of Eulalia to kindle; and, being of a prompt and ready wit, thought forthwith (as a courageous captain) to give a charge upon this so great and disordered a battle. And so she, silly woman, her innocent heart panting with the divine inspiration, challengeth the force and rage of her enemies against her. But the godly care of her parents, fearing lest the willing mind of this damsel, so ready to die for Christ's cause, might make her guilty of her own death, hid her, and kept her close at their house in the country,

Giveth
 the onset,
 denying
 to sacri-
 fice to
 devils.

Is kept
 secret by
 her pa-
 rents.

(1) It may be proper here to add a remark from Rivet. "Poetis in more positum est, quid versus potius, quam pietas postulat, sæpe considerare, et elegantias poeticas multo magis, quam accuratam Scripturarum disciplinam consecrari. Id cum ad *Prudentii* nonnulla dicta respondisset Campiano doctiss. Whittakerus, [ad rat. Campiani respons. x.] quid? ait Duræus, quia *Poeta fuit, se esse Christianum oblitus est?* Id quaerat a suo Bellarmino, qui lib. ii. de Purgat. cap. 18, respondens ad argumentum, quo ex Prudentio objiciebatur. *esse sub Styge ferias spiritibus nocentibus*, 'nihil' (inquit) 'aliud dico, nisi more poetico lusisse Prudentium.'" Tract. de Patrum Auctori. cap. 11, § 3, prefixed to his *Criticus Sacer*. This remark may be extended to the practice of praying to the departed saints, of which there are, as it will be perceived, some traces both in this hymn and the hymn upon Romanus (v. 833, supra, p. 262). Cellarius pointed out these and other deviations from sound doctrine, in his edition of Prudentius (Halæ Sax. 1703); and various similar passages are collected by Chemnitz (Exam. Conc. Trid. pars 3, loc. 4, de Invoc. Sancti. § 57). See also Forbesii Instruct. Historico-Theol. lib. vii. c. 5, § 11. Some portions of these verses, particularly the closing stanzas, are not precisely as Foxe gave them, but are made to accord with the original.—Ed

(2) Ex Aurel. Prudentio, lib. "De Coronis." [Hymn. 3.]

(3) Foxe's text has been corrected here.—Ed.

being a great way out of the city. She yet misliking that quiet life, and also detesting to make such delay, softly stealeth out of the doors (no man knowing thereof) in the night; and in great haste leaving the common way, openeth the hedge-gaps, and with weary feet (God knoweth) passed through the thorny and briery places, accompanied yet with spiritual guard. And although dark and dreadful was the silent night, yet had she with her the Lord of light. And as the children of Israel, coming out of Egypt, had by the mighty power of God, a cloudy pillar for their guide in the day, and a flame of fire in the night, so had this godly virgin, travelling in this dark night, when she, flying and forsaking the place where all filthy idolatry abounded, and hastening her heavenly journey, was not oppressed with the dreadful darkness of the night. But yet she travelled many miles in this her speedy journey, before the day appeared.

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In the morning betime, with a bold courage she goeth unto the tribunal or judgment-seat; and in the midst of them all, with a loud voice crying out, said, "I pray you, what a shame is it for you thus rashly and without advisement, to destroy and kill men's souls, and to throw their bodies alive against the rocks, and cause them to deny God, the universal Father. Would you know, O you unfortunate! what I am? Behold, I am one of the Christians, an enemy to your devilish sacrifices. I spurn your idols under my feet; I confess God omnipotent, with my heart and mouth. Isis, Apollo, and Venus, what are they? Maximian himself, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for that they be the works of men's hands; the other but a castaway, because he worshippeth the same work. Therefore, frivolous are they both, and both not worthy to be set by. Maximian is a lord of substance, and yet he himself falleth down before a stone, and voweth the honour of his dignity unto those that are much inferior to his vassals. Why then doth he oppress so tyrannically more worthy stomachs and courages than himself? He must needs be a good guide and an upright judge, who feedeth upon innocent blood, and breathing on the bodies of godly men, doth rend and tear their bowels; and, what is more, hath his delight in destroying and subverting the faith. Go to, therefore, thou hangman! burn, cut, and mangle thou, these earthly members. It is an easy matter to break a brittle substance, but the inward mind shalt thou not hurt for any thing thou canst do."

Reproveth the heathen judge.

The godly confession of Eulalia.

The prætor then, or judge, with these words of hers set in a great rage, saith, "Hangman! take her and pull her out by the hair of her head, and torment her to the uttermost. Let her feel the power of our country's gods, and let her know what the imperial government of a prince is. But yet, O thou sturdy girl! fain would I have thee (if it were possible), before thou die, to revoke this thy wickedness. Behold, what pleasures thou mayest enjoy by the honourable house thou camest of; thy fallen house and progeny follow thee to death with lamentable tears, and the nobility of thy kindred in much concern make doleful lamentation for thee. What meanest thou? Wilt thou kill thyself, so young a flower, and so near the honourable marriage and great dowry which thou mayest enjoy? Doth not the glistering and golden pomp of the bride-bed move thee? Doth not the reverend piety of thine ancestors prick thee? Who is it that this thy rashness and wickedness grieve not? Behold here the furniture ready prepared for thy terrible death: either shalt thou be beheaded with this sword, or else with these wild beasts shalt thou be pulled in pieces; or else thou, being cast into the fiery flames, shalt be (although lamentably bewailed of thy friends and kinsfolks) consumed to ashes. What great matter is it for thee, I pray thee, to escape all this? If thou wilt but take and put with thy fingers a little salt and incense into the censers, thou shalt be delivered from all these punishments."

Allured with fair persuasions.

To this Eulalia made no answer, but being in a great fury, she spitteth in the tyrant's face; she throweth down the idols, and spurneth abroad with her feet the heap of incense prepared to the censers. Then, without further delay, the hangmen with both their strengths took her, and rent her slender breast, and with hooks or claws scotched her sides to the hard bones; she all this while counting the gasches, and saying, "O Lord! behold thou art inscribed upon me! how pleasant it is to note those piercings, which mark thy triumphs, O Christ! even the purple blood itself proclaims thy sacred name." This sang she with a bold stomach, neither lamentingly nor yet weepingly, but being glad

The Tenth Persecution. and merry, abandoning from her mind all heaviness and grief, when, as out of a warm fountain, her mangled members with fresh blood bathed her white and fair skin.

A. D. Then proceed they to the last and final torment, which was not only the
303 goring and wounding of her mangled body with the iron grate and hurdle, and
to terrible harrowing of her flesh, but burned on every side with flaming torches,
313. her tormented breasts and sides : her hair hanging about her shoulders in two
parts divided (wherewith her shamefaced chastity and virginity were covered)
reaching down to the ground. But when the cracking flame flieth about her
face, kindled by her hair, and reacheth the crown of her head, then she,
desiring swift death, opened her mouth and swallowed the flame. And so
rested she in peace.

The end
and mar-
tyrdom of
Eulalia.

The said Prudentius and Ado, also Equilinus, add moreover, writing of a white dove issuing out of her mouth at her departing, and of the fire quenched about her body ; also of her body covered miraculously with snow, with other things more, whereof let every reader use his own judgment.¹

Agnes,
martyr.

Strange
and un-
necessary
miracles
omitted.

As ye have heard now the christian life and constant death of Eulalia, much worthy of praise and commendation, so no less commendation is worthy to be given to blessed Agnes, that constant damsel and martyr of God, who, as she was in Rome of honourable parents begotten, so lieth she there as honourably entombed and buried. Which Agnes for her unspotted and undefiled virginity deserved no less praise and commendation, than for her willing death and martyrdom. Some writers make of her a long discourse (more, in my judgment, than necessary), reciting divers and sundry strange miracles by her done in the process of her history ; which, partly for tediousness, partly for the doubtfulness of the author (some father them upon Ambrose), and partly for the strangeness and incredibility thereof, I omit, being satisfied with that which Prudentius briefly writeth of her, as followeth :

Agnes
constant
in the
confes-
sion of
her faith.

Agnes
threaten-
ed to the
brothel-
house.
Her hold
upon the
help of
Christ.

She was [saith he] young, and not marriageable, when first she, being dedicated to Christ, boldly resisted the wicked edicts of the emperor, and refused to embrace the worship of idols and to deny and forsake the holy faith. Although first proved by divers and sundry policies to induce her to the same (as now with the flattering and enticing words of the judge, now with the threatenings of the storming executioner), she stood notwithstanding stedfast in all courageous strength, and willingly offered her body to hard and painful torments, not refusing (as she said) to suffer whatsoever it should be, yea, though it were death itself. Then said the cruel tyrant, " If to suffer pain and torment be so easy a matter, and lightly regarded of thee, and that thou accountest thy life nothing worthy, yet the shame of thy dedicated or vowed virginity is a thing more regarded, I know, and esteemed of thee. Wherefore, this is determined, that forasmuch as thou, Agnes the virgin, inveighest against both Minerva and her virginity, thou shalt make obeisance to the altar of Minerva, and ask forgiveness of her for thy arrogancy ; else thou shalt be sent and abandoned to the common stews or brothel-houses, whither the youth in shoals will flock and run together, and crave that they may have thee for their ludicrous prey." Then saith Agnes, " Christ is not forgetful of those that be his, that he will suffer violently to be taken from them their golden and pure chastity, neither will he leave them so destitute of help. He is always at hand, and ready to fight for such as are shamefaced and chaste virgins ; neither suffereth he his gifts of holy chastity to be polluted. Thou shalt," saith she, " bathe thy sword in my blood, if thou wilt, but thou shalt not defile my body with filthy lust, for any thing thou canst do." She had no sooner spoken these words, but he com-

(1) Ex Pruden. etc.

manded that she should be set naked at the corner of some street (which place, at that time, such as were strumpets, commonly used); the greater part of the multitude both sorrowing and shaming to see so shameless a sight, went their ways, some turning their heads, some hiding their faces. But one amongst the rest, with uncircumcised eyes beholding the damsel, and that in such opprobrious wise, behold! a flame of fire, like unto a flash of lightning, falleth upon him, and striketh his eyes; whereupon he, falling unto the ground for dead, sprawleth in the kennel-dirt; whose companions taking him up, and carrying him away, bewailed him as a dead man: but the virgin, for this her miraculous delivery from the danger and shame of that place, singeth praises to God and Christ.

There be [saith Prudentius] that report, how that she, being desired to pray unto Christ for the party that a little before was stricken with fire from heaven for his incontinency, was restored by her prayer both unto his perfect health and sight. But blessed Agnes, after that she had climbed this her first greese¹ and step unto the heavenly palace, forthwith began to climb another: for fury engendering now the mortal wrath of her bloody enemy, wringing his hands, he crieth out, saying, "I am undone! O thou executioner, draw out thy sword, and do thine office that the emperor hath appointed thee!" And when Agnes saw a sturdy and cruel fellow to behold, stand near to her with a naked sword in his hand, "I am now gladder," saith she, "and rejoice that such a one as thou, being a stout, fierce, strong, and sturdy soldier, art come, than that one more feeble, weak, and faint, should come; or else any other young man, sweetly embalmed, and wearing gay apparel, that might destroy me with the loss of my chastity. This, even this, is he, I now confess, that I do love. I will make haste to meet him, and will no longer protract my longing desire. I will willingly receive into my paps the length of his sword, and into my breast will draw the force thereof even unto the hilts, that thus, I being married unto Christ my spouse, may surmount and escape all the darkness of this world, being raised even unto the skies. O eternal Governor! vouchsafe to open the gates of heaven, once shut up against all the inhabitants of the earth, and receive, O Christ, my soul that seeketh thee." Thus speaking, and kneeling upon her knees, she prayeth, looking up unto Christ above in heaven, that so her neck might be the readier for the sword, now hanging over the same. The executioner then with his bloody hand accomplisheth her hope, and at one stroke cutteth off her head; and by such short and swift death doth he prevent her of the pain thereof.²

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The incontinent eyes of a young man, be-

holding Agnes, stricken out.

The young man restored to his health by her prayer.

Agnes desirous of martyrdom.

The prayer of Agnes.

Agnes beheaded.

I have oftentimes before complained, that the stories of saints have been powdered and sauced with divers untrue additions, and fabulous inventions of men, who, either of a superstitious devotion, or of a subtle practice, have so mangled their stories and lives, that almost nothing remaineth in them simple and uncorrupt, as in the usual portasses wont to be read for daily service, is manifest and evident to be seen; wherein few legends there be able to abide the touch of history, if they were truly tried. This I write upon the occasion specially of good Katharine, whom now I have in hand; in whom although I nothing doubt but in her life was great holiness, in her knowledge excellency, in her death constancy, yet, that all things be true that be storied of her, neither do I affirm, neither am I bound so to think; so many strange fictions of her be feigned diversely of divers writers, whereof some seem incredible, some also impudent. As where Petrus de Natalibus,³ writing of her conversion, declareth, how that Katharine sleeping before a certain picture or table of the crucifix, Christ with his mother Mary appeared unto her; and when Mary had offered her unto Christ to be his wife, he first refused her for her blackness. The next time, she being baptized, Mary appear-

All things be not true and probable that be written of saints' lives.

The history of Katharine, martyr.

(1) "Greese," a stair or step.—Ed.

(3) Petrus de Natalibus, lib. x.

(2) Ex Pruden. Lib. de Coronis, [hymn 14.]

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Katharine re-
sisteth the em-
peror openly
to his
face.

Katharine com-
mitted to
prison,
and com-
forted by
an angel.

The tor-
ments
and end
of Katha-
rine.

The his-
tory of
Julitta,
martyr.

Julitta
violently
spoiled of
her goods.

Had once
abjured.

A chris-
tian voice
of a true
martyr.

Julitta
stands to
the con-
fession of
her faith.

Julitta
condemn-
ed to the
fire.

ing again, offered her to marry with Christ; who then, being liked, was espoused to him and married, having a golden ring the same time put on her finger in her sleep, etc.¹ Bergomensis writeth thus, that because she in the sight of the people openly resisted the emperor Maxentius to his face, and rebuked him for his cruelty, therefore she was commanded and committed upon the same to prison: which seemeth hitherto not much to digress from truth. It followeth, moreover, that the same night an angel came to her, comforting and exhorting her to be strong and constant unto the martyrdom, for that she was a maid accepted in the sight of God, and that the Lord would be with her for whose honour she did fight, and that he would give her a mouth and wisdom which her enemies should not withstand: with many other things more, which I here omit. As this also I omit concerning the fifty philosophers, whom she in disputation convicted, and converted unto our religion, and who died martyrs for the same. Item, of the converting of Porphyry, kinsman to Maxentius, and Faustina, the emperor's wife. At length (saith the story), after she had proved the rack and the four sharp-cutting wheels, having at last her head cut off with the sword, so she finished her martyrdom, about the year of our Lord 310, as Antoninus affirmeth.² Simeon Metaphrastes, writing of her, discourseth the same more at large, to whom they may resort, who covet more therein to be satisfied.

Among the works of Basil a certain oration is extant concerning Julitta the martyr, of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, who came to her martyrdom (as he witnesseth) by this occasion:

A certain avaricious and greedy person of great authority (and, as it may appear, the emperor's deputy, or other like officer), who abused the decrees and laws of the emperor against the Christians, to his own lucre and gain, violently took from this Julitta all her goods, lands, chattels, and servants, contrary to all equity and right. She made her pitiful complaint to the judges: a day was appointed when the cause should be heard. The spoiled woman, and the spoiling extortioner, stood forth together: the woman lamentably declareth her cause; the man frowningly beholdeth her face. When she had proved that of good right the goods were her own, and that wrongfully he had dealt with her, the wicked and bloodthirsty wretch, preferring vile worldly substance before the precious substance of a christian body, affirmed her action to be of no force, for that she was an outlaw, in not having observed the emperor's gods since her christian faith had been abjured. His allegation was allowed as good and reasonable. Whereupon incense and fire were prepared for her to worship the gods, which unless she would do, neither the emperor's protection, nor laws, nor judgment, nor life, should she enjoy in that commonweal. When this handmaid of the Lord heard these words, she said, "Farewell life, welcome death; farewell riches, welcome poverty. All that I have, if it were a thousand times more, would I rather lose, than to speak one wicked and blasphemous word against God my Creator. I yield thee thanks most hearty, O my God! for this gift of grace, that I can condemn and despise this frail and transitory world, esteeming christian profession above all treasures." Henceforth, when any question was demanded, her answer was: "I am the servant of Jesus Christ." Her kindred and acquaintance, flocking to her, advertised her to change her mind: but that vehemently she refused, with detestation of their idolatry. Forthwith the judge, with the sharp sword of sentence, not only cutteth off all her goods and possessions, but judgeth her also to the fire most cruelly. The joyful martyr embraceth the sentence as a thing most sweet and delectable. She addresseth herself to the flames, in countenance, gesture and words, declaring the joy of her heart, coupled with singular constancy. To the women beholding her

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Anton. tit. viii. capit. 1 § 38.—Ed.

sententiously she spake: "Stick not, O sisters, to labour and travail after true piety and godliness. Cease to accuse the fragility of feminine nature. What! are not we created of the same matter that men are? Yea, after God's image and similitude are we made as lively as they. Not flesh only did God use in the creation of the woman, in sign and token of her infirmity and weakness, but bone of bones is she, in token that she must be strong in the true and living God, all false gods forsaken; constant in faith, all infidelity renounced; patient in adversity, all worldly ease refused. Wax weary, my dear sisters, of your lives led in darkness, and be in love with my Christ, my God, my Redeemer, my Comforter, who is the true light of the world. Persuade yourselves, or rather the Spirit of the living God persuade you, that there is a world to come, wherein the worshippers of idols and devils shall be tormented perpetually; the servants of the high God shall be crowned eternally." With these words she embraced the fire, and sweetly slept in the Lord.¹

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tion.*

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Her
words
and ex-
hortation
to women
about her

There have been, moreover, beside these above recited, divers godly women and faithful martyrs, as Barbara a noble woman in Tuscany, who, after miserable prisonment, sharp cords, and burning flames put to her sides, was at last beheaded. Also Fausta the virgin, who suffered under Maximian; by whom Euilasius a ruler of the emperor's palace, and Maximin the president, were both converted, and also suffered martyrdom, as witnesseth Metaphrastes. Item, Juliana, a virgin of singular beauty in Nicomedia, who, after divers agonies, suffered likewise under Maximin. Item, Anysia a maid of Thessalonica, who under the said Maximin suffered.² Justina, who suffered with Cyprian bishop of Antioch;³ not to omit also Tecla,⁴ although most writers do record that she suffered under Nero. Platina⁵ maketh also mention of Lucia and Agatha. All which holy maids and virgins glorified the Lord Christ with their constant martyrdom, in this tenth and last persecution of Dioclesian.

Martyrs.

During the time of which persecution, these bishops of Rome succeeded one after another; Caius, who succeeded awhile after Sixtus⁶ before-mentioned; Marcellinus; Marcellus (of whom Eusebius in his story maketh no mention); Eusebius; and then Miltiades: all which died martyrs in the tempest of this persecution. First, Marcellinus, after the martyrdom of Caius, was ordained bishop. He, being brought by Dioclesian to the idols, first yielded to their idolatry, and was seen to sacrifice. Wherefore, being excommunicated by the Christians, he fell into such repentance, that he returned again to Dioclesian, where he, standing to his former confession, and publicly condemning the idolatry of the heathen, recovered the crown of martyrdom, suffering with Claudius, Quirinus, and Antoninus.⁷

Five
bishops of
Rome
martyrs.

Marcelli-
nus de-
nieth and
repent-
eth.

Marcellus likewise was urged of Maxentius to renounce his bishopric and religion, and to sacrifice with them to idols; which when he constantly refused, he was beaten with cudgels, and so expelled the city. Then he, entering into the house of Lucina a widow, assembled there the congregation; which when it came to the ears of Maxentius the tyrant, he turned the house of Lucina into a stable,⁸ and made Marcel-

(1) Ex Basil. in Ser.

(2) Metaph. *ibid.*

(3) See *supra*, p. 205, note (1). According to Dowling's "Notitia Scriptorum SS. Patrum. Oxon. 1839," p. 217, the works of Cyprian of Antioch are included in Francis Oberthurs "SS. Patrum Latinorum opera omnia, Wirceburgi 1780—91;" but see Basnage, an. 248, § 7.—Ed.

(4) Euseb. de Mart. Pal. cap. 3.—Ed.

(5) Platin. in Vita Caii; [but Agatha suffered under Decius: see Mart. Rom. Feb. 5.—Ed.]

(6) St. Dionysius, St. Felix, and St. Eutychian, intervened.—Ed.

(7) Ex lib. Concilior. et Platina.

(8) This story is taken from the "Pontificale" of Damasus, and is, in Basnage's opinion (Annales, ad an. 308, § 5,) fabulous. His main objection is that the episcopate of Marcellus is thus made to occupy five years, whereas he sat but one year, seven months, and twenty days.—Ed.

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Persecution.*

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303
to
313.

Authors
dissent.

A place
of Platina
confuted.

The order
and pro-
ceeding
against
the bishop
of Rome.
An objec-
tion of the
papists
answer-
ed.

The
bishop of
Rome is
cited up
and ap-
peareth
before the
council.

lus the keeper of the beasts ; who with the stink thereof and miserable handling was put to death. Eusebius sat bishop of Rome, as Eusebius saith,¹ seven months ; Marianus Scotus saith eight months, Damasus affirmeth six years. Sabellicus allegeth certain authors that say, that he was slain by Maximian ; but correcteth that himself, affirming that Maximian died before him.

Miltiades or Melchiades, by the testimony of Platina and others that follow him, sat three years and seven months, and suffered under Maximian. But that seemeth not to be true,² as Sabellicus doth rightly note,³ affirming that the same cannot stand by the supputation of time ; forsomuch as the said Galerius Maximian reigned but two years, and died before Miltiades. Also Eusebius manifestly expresseth the example of a letter of Constantine⁴ written to this Miltiades bishop of Rome, plainly convicting that to be false, which Platina affirmeth.

In the book collected of General Councils, among the decretal epistles, there is a long tractation about the judgment and condemnation of Marcellinus ; whereof the masters and patrons of popery in these our days take great hold to prove the supremacy of the pope to be above all general councils, and that he ought not to be subject to the condemnation of any person or persons, for that there is written, " Nemo unquam judicavit pontificem, nec præsul sacerdotem suum, quoniam prima sedes non judicabitur a quoquam,"⁵ etc. : although this sentence of Miltiades seemeth apparently to be patched in rather by some Hildebrand than by Miltiades, both for that it hangeth with little order of sense upon that which goeth before ; and again, because that " prima sedes," here mentioned, was not yet ordained nor attributed to the see of Rome before the council of Nice, where the order and placing of bishops was first established. But to let this sentence pass, yet notwithstanding, the circumstance and proceeding of this judgment, if it be rightly weighed, maketh very little to the purpose of these men. Neither is it true that the bishops of this council of Sinuessa⁶ did not condemn Marcellinus, for the words of the council be plain : " They subscribed therefore to his condemnation, and condemned him to be expelled out of the city."⁷ Moreover by the said council were brought in the seventy-two witnesses against Marcellinus.⁸ In the said council, the verdict of the same witnesses was

(1) Euseb. in Chron. " Mira confusio " (remarks Pagi) " ut animadvertit Constantius, p. 318, in veteribus libris, in designando quando, et quamdiu sederit S. Eusebius." A brief session seems most probable ; if the reader wishes for more information upon the question, he may consult " Pagii Crit. in Baron." an. 311, p. 493, edit. Luce, 1748. " Errore immuni," says Basnage (ad an. 310, § 6). Six months, he considers, are as much as can be allowed to the episcopate of Eusebius.—Ed.

(2) Foxe is correct about the chronology : " Qui tamen in antiquis ecclesiasticis monumentis reperitur titulo *Martyris* consignatus, more majorum, quod qui persecutionis tempore perperus pro Christi fide tormenta, licet superstes in fide quieverit, martyr appellari ejusmodi consueverit." Baron. Annal. an. 313, § 47. Constantine's letter is in Euseb. Hist. Eccl. x. cap. 5.—Ed.

(3) Ex Sabel. Eunead. vii. lib. 8.—Ed.

(4) Euseb. Ecc. Hist. x. 5.

(5) For this and the subsequent quotation, see Labbe's Collection of the Councils, tom. i. col. 943.—Ed.

(6) The Romanists seem puzzled whether to reject or to advocate the existence of such a council. see Howel's " Synopsis Canonum Eccles. Latinæ," (Lond. 1710) pp. 34—36, and " Concil. Generali. Studio Labbei," tom. i. col. 944 ; Dupin's " History of Eccles. Writers," vol. ii. p. 241. The seat of the supposed council is now called Sezza. " Hoc Concilium videtur supposititium esse ; nam licet convocatum dicatur anno 303, ejus tamen nec meminit Eusebius, nec Rufinus, nec Hieronymus, nec Socrates, nec Theodoretus, nec Sozomenus, nec Eutropius, nec Damasus, nec Beda, nec quisquam alius sæculo tertio, 4 aut 5, aut 6, aut septimo. Nico'aus Papa primus ejus nominis, qui vixit circa 860, primus extitit qui illius meminit." Censura quorundam Scriptorum auct. R. Coco ; p. 441, edit. Helmst. 1683.—Ed.

(7) " Subscriperunt igitur in ejus damnationem et damnaverunt eum extra civitatem."

(8) About eighty-five names of witnesses are given in Labbe, tom. i. col. 939 ; but in col. 940, " seventy-two " is mentioned as the number. The number is also expressed in a peculiar manner

demanded, and also received. Furthermore Quirinus, one of the bishops there, openly protested, that he would not depart the council, before the naughtiness of the bishop was revealed. What doth all this declare, but that the bishop of Rome was called there, and did appear before the judgment-seat of the council, and there stood subject to their sentence and authority, by the which he was expelled out of the city? As for the words of the council, whereupon our papists stand so much, "Non enim nostro, sed tuo ipsius iudicio condemnaberis," etc. Item, "Tuo ore judica causam tuam," etc.: these words import not here the authority of the Roman bishop to be above the council, neither do they declare what the council could not do, but what they would and wished rather to be done; that is, that he should rather acknowledge his crime before God and them with a voluntary yielding of his heart, than that the confession of such a heinous fact should be extorted from him through their condemnation; for that they saw to be expedient for his soul's health, otherwise their condemnation should serve him to small purpose. And so it came to pass; for he, being urged of them to condemn himself, so did, prostrating himself and weeping before them; whereupon immediately they proceeded to the sentence against him,¹ condemning and pronouncing him to be expelled the city. Now, whether by this may be gathered that the bishops of Rome ought not to be cited, accused, and condemned by any person or persons, let the indifferent reader judge simply.

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tion.*

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The
bishop of
Rome
con-
demned
by the
council.

As touching the decretal epistles, which be intituled under the names of these aforesaid bishops, whoso well adviseth them, and with judgment will examine the style, the time, the argument, the hanging together of the matter, and the constitutions in them contained (little serving to any purpose, and nothing serving for those troublesome days then present), may easily discern them, either in no part to be theirs, or much of the same to be clouted and patched by the doings of others, which lived in other times; especially seeing all the constitutions in them, for the most part, tend to the setting up and to exalt the see of Rome above all other bishops and churches, and to reduce all causes and appeals to the said see of Rome. So the epistle of Caius, beginning with the commendation of the authority of his see, endeth after the same tenor, willing and commanding all difficult questions in all provinces whatsoever emerging, to be referred to the see apostolical. Moreover the greatest part of the said epistle from this place,² "Quicumque illi sunt, ita obcæcati," etc. to the end of this period, "Quoniam sicut ait Beatus Apostolus, magnum est pietatis," etc., is contained in the epistle of Leo, unto Leo the emperor: and so rightly agreeth in all points with the style of Leo, that evident it is the same to be borrowed out of Leo, and to be patched into the epistle of Caius out of Leo.

The de-
cretal
epistles
and con-
stitutions
of these
bishops
examin-
ed.

The
epistle of
Caius.

as "Occidua Libra testium," i. e. a western pound, which Baronius (Ecl. Ann. A.D. 302), says, contained 72 solidi, and represented the number 72: he also adds that the best copies mention seventy-two names. Foxe erroneously says "forty-two."—Ep.

(1) "Falsum esse de *thurificatione* Marcellini rumorem, docet antiquum Damasi Chronicum. Lapsus Marcellini ante Augustum mensem an. 303, contigisse dicitur, utpote Episcopatu moti x. Kal. Sept. Diocletiano VIII. et Maximiano VII. Coss. Atqui teste Chronico Pontificatum Marcellinus etiamnum retinebat, anno 304, *Diocletiano IX. et Maxim. VIII. Coss.* Denique Sinuesanum Concilium, quod lapsui Marcellini fundamento est, omnino subditum est." Basnagii Annal. ad an. 296, § 5.—Ep.

(2) Blondel agrees with Foxe as to the patching up of this epistle: "Centonem ex Innocentii, Leonis et Vigili Epistolis, et Impp. rescriptis consutum jam docui." Epist. Decretal. examen (Genevæ, 1635) p. 384; in Labbé's Concill. General. tom. i. col. 926.—Ep.

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313.

The
epistle of
Marcellinus.
The
epistles
decretal
of Mar-
cellus.

Likewise the epistle of Marcellinus, to get more authority with the reader, is admixed with a great part of Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, word for word. And how is it likely that Marcellinus, which died in the twentieth year of Dioclesian, could write of consubstantiality of the Divine Persons, when that controversy and term of consubstantiality was not heard of in the church before the Nicene council, which was twenty-three years after him? But especially the two epistles of Marcellus bewray themselves, so that for the confuting thereof needeth no other probation more than only the reading of the same. Such a glorious style of ambition therein doth appear, as it is easy to be understood not to proceed either from such an humble martyr, or to savour any thing of the misery of such a time. His words of his first epistle written unto the brethren of Antioch, and alleged in the pope's decrees by Gratian, are these :¹

The
church of
Rome
sueth to
the
church of
Antioch
to yield
unto her.

"We desire you, brethren, that you do not teach nor think any other thing but what ye have received of the blessed apostle St. Peter, and of the other apostles and fathers. For of him ye were first of all instructed ; wherefore you must not forsake your own Father, and follow others. For he is the Head of the whole church, to whom the Lord said, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church ;" whose seat was first with you in Antioch, which afterward, by the commandment of the Lord, was translated from thence to Rome ; of the which church of Rome I am this day placed (by the grace of God) to be the governor.² From the ordering of which church of Rome neither ought you to deviate, seeing to the same church all manner of causes ecclesiastical, being of any importance, (God's grace so disposing) are commanded to be referred ; by the same authority to be ordered regularly, from whence they took their first beginning," etc. And followeth consequently upon the same, "And if your church of Antioch, which was once the first, yielded precedence unto the see of Rome, there is no other church else that is not subject to our dominion. To whom all bishops who please or find it necessary (according to the decrees of the apostles and of their successors), ought to fly, as to their head, and must appeal to the same, so as there to have their redress and protection, from whence they took their first instruction and consecration," etc.³

Whether this be likely matter to proceed from the spirit of Marcellus, that blessed martyr, in those so dreadful days, I say no more, but only desire thee, gentle reader, to judge.

The
second
epistle of
Marcellus
to Maxen-
tius.

The
epistle
blanched
stuff.

In his second epistle, moreover, the said Marcellus writing to Maxentius, the bloody tyrant, first reprehendeth him for his cruelty, sharply admonishing him how and what to do : to learn and seek the true religion of God, to maintain his church, to honour and reverence the priests of God ; and especially exhorteth him to charity, and that he would cease from persecution, etc. All this is possible, and likely to be true. But now mark, good reader, what blanch stuff here followeth withal : as where he, alleging the statutes and sanctions of his predecessors, declareth and discusseth that no bishop nor minister ought to be persecuted or deprived of his goods. And if they be, then ought they to have their possessions and places again restored by the law, before they were bound by the law to answer to the accusations laid in against them ; and so after that, in convenient time, to be called to a council ; the which council notwithstanding, without the authority of the holy see, cannot proceed regularly, albeit it

(1) [Decret. pars 2. causa] 24 quæst. 1. [§ 15]. "Rogamus vos fratres."—Ed.

(2) In what chapter or leaf of all the Bible doth the Lord command the see of Peter to be translated from Antioch to Rome ?

(3) The above translation has been revised from the copy in Labbe, Conc. Gen. tom. i. col. 948.—Ed.

remain in his power to assemble certain bishops together. Neither can he regularly condemn any bishop, appealing to this his apostolical see, before the sentence definitive do proceed from the aforesaid see, etc. And it followeth after: "And therefore," saith he, "let no bishop, of what crime soever he be attached, come to his accusation, or be heard, but in his own ordinary synod at his convenient time: the regular and apostolical authority being joined withal." Moreover in the said epistle, writing unto Maxentius, he decreeth that no laymen, nor any suspected bishop, ought to accuse prelates of the church: "So that if they be either laymen, or men of evil conversation, or proved manifest enemies, or incensed with any hatred, their accusations against any bishops ought not to stand:" with other such matters more, concerning the disposition of judicial courts; which matter, if pope Gregory VII. had written unto Henry IV. emperor, or if pope Alexander III. had written to the emperor Frederic I., it might have stood with some reason and opportunity of time. But now for Marcellus to write these decrees¹ in such persecution of the church, to Maxentius the heathen and most cruel emperor, how unlikely it is to be true, and how it served then to purpose, the reader may soon discern. And yet these be the epistles and constitutions decretal, whereby (under the pretended title of the fathers) all churches of late time, and all ecclesiastical causes, have been and yet are, in this realm of England to this day governed, directed, and disposed.

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The church of England governed by the pope's canon law without sufficient ground of antiquity.

The like discussion and examination I might also make of the other epistles that follow of Eusebius and Miltiades, which all tend to the same scope, that no prelate or bishop ought to come to his answer (or "Ad litem contestatam," as the words of their writing do term it) before they be orderly and fully restored again to their possessions. Who moreover in the said their epistles still harp upon this key of the Scripture, "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam." Declaring, moreover, that this privilege of judging all men, and to be judged of no man, but only to be left to the judgment of the Lord, was given to this aforesaid holy see of Rome from time of the apostles, and chiefly left with Peter the holy key-keeper: so that although the election of the apostles was equal, yet this was chiefly granted to St. Peter, to have pre-eminence above the rest. Concluding in the end hereby, "That always all greater causes, as be the matters of bishops, and such other cares of weighty importance, should be brought to the see of St. Peter, the blessed prince of the apostles,"² etc. These be the words of Miltiades and Eusebius, whereby it may partly be smelled of him that hath any nose, what was the meaning of them which forged these writings and letters upon these ancient holy martyrs.³

The epistles decretal of Eusebius and Miltiades.

This I cannot but marvel at in the third epistle of Eusebius, the bishop of Rome, that whereas Marcellinus, his late predecessor before, in his own time and remembrance did fall so horribly, and was condemned for the same justly to be expelled the city by the council of

A place of the third epistle decretal of Eusebius found untrue.

(1) This letter is dated "xvi. Kal. Feb. Maxentio et Maximo V. C. Coss." Quæ vel una subscriptio impostoris fraudes detegit, cum in Fastis horum par Consulum nusquam appareat gentium. Annus 309, qui Marcello supremus fuit, Coss. habuit Maxentium Augustum et Romulum." Basnagii "Annales Politico-Eccles." an. 308, § 6.—Ed.

(2) "Quod semper majores causæ, sicut sunt Episcoporum, et potiorum curæ negotiorum, ad unam beati principis apostolorum Petri sedem confluerent."

(3) Ex Epist. Decretal. Melchisedæ. [Apud Blondel Examen Epist. Decret. (Genevæ 1635), p. 427.—Ed.]

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tion.*

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Miltiades,
the last
bishop of
Rome, in
danger of
persecu-
tion.

The end
of these
persecu-
tions in
all the
west
churches.

The per-
secution
under Li-
cinius.
Hermylus, Stra-
tonicus,
martyrs.
Theodo-
rus, cap-
tain, mar-
tyr.

Milles,
martyr.

Persecu-
tion in
Persia.

128 mar-
tyrs.

The story
of Simeon,
arch-
bishop of
Seleucia
and Ctesi-
phon.

three hundred bishops, yet notwithstanding the aforesaid Eusebius, in his third epistle,¹ alleging that place of "Tu es Petrus," bringeth in for a proof of the same, and saith, "Quia in sede apostolica extra maculam semper est catholica servata religio," etc.; that is, "For in the apostolical see always the catholic religion hath been preserved without any spot or blemish." But howsoever the forgers of these decretal epistles have forgotten themselves, most certain it is, that these holy bishops, unto whom they were and are ascribed, lived perfect good men, and died blessed martyrs. Of whom this Miltiades was the last among all the bishops of Rome here in the west church of Europe, that ever was in danger of persecution to be martyred, yet to this present day.

And thus have ye heard the stories and names of such blessed saints, as suffered in the time of persecution, from the nineteenth year of Dioclesian to the seventh² and last year of Maxentius, described; with the deaths also and plagues upon those tormentors and cruel tyrants, which were the captains of the same persecution. And here cometh in (blessed be Christ!) the end of these persecutions here in these west churches of Europe, so far as the dominion of blessed Constantine did chiefly extend. Yet, notwithstanding, in Asia all persecution as yet ceased not for the space of four years, as above is mentioned, by the means of wicked Licinius, under whom divers there were holy and constant martyrs, that suffered grievous torments; as Hermylus a deacon, and Stratonicus, a keeper of the prison,³ both which after their punishments sustained, were strangled in the Danube.⁴ Also Theodorus the captain,⁵ who being sent for of Licinius, because he would not come, and because he brake his gods in pieces, and gave them to the poor, therefore was fastened to the cross, and after being pierced with sharp pricks or bodkins in the secret parts of his body, was at last beheaded. Add to these also Milles,⁶ who being first a soldier, was afterward made bishop of a certain city in Persia; where he, seeing himself could do no good to convert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among them, cursed the city and departed; which city, shortly after, by Sapor,⁷ king of Persia, was destroyed.

In the same country of Persia, about this time [A. D. 343] suffered under Sapor the king (as recordeth Simeon Metasphrastes) divers valiant and constant martyrs, as Acindynus, Pegasius, Anempodistus, Epidephorus,⁸ also Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, royal cities of Persia, with other ministers and religious men of that region, to the number of one hundred and twenty-eight. Of this Simeon thus writeth Sozomen:⁹

The idolatrous magicians and the Jews in Persia, taking counsel together against the Christians, accused Simeon, archbishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to Sapor the king, of being friendly to the Roman emperor, and of bewraying to him such things as were done in the land of Persia. Whereupon Sapor

(1) Page 417 in Blondel's Examen.—Ed.

(2) See sup. p. 248, note (2).—Ed.

(3) This martyrdom is placed by Baronius under the fifth year of Aurelian, anno 275, § 11.—Ed.

(4) Metaphrast. 7. (5) Nieph. lib. vii. cap. 44; or Baron. anno 316, § 47. See supra, p. 255.—Ed.

(6) Or Milesius; see Mart. Rom. a Baron. Ap. 22; and Sozom. H. E. lib. ii. cap. 14.

(7) The kings of Persia were commonly called by the name of Sapor.

(8) Upon these names, which Metaphraustes has inserted suitably enough in his lists, Tillemont remarks, "Les noms de ces martyrs sont tous Grecs, et non pas Persans," tom. vii. pt. 1, p. 153.—Ed.

(9) Ex Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 9, 10.—Ed.

being moved, took great displeasure against the Christians, oppressing them with taxes and tributes unto their utter impoverishing, killing all their priests with the sword: after that he called for Simeon the archbishop, who there, before the king, declared himself a worthy and valiant captain of Christ's church. For when Sapor had commanded him to be led to suffer torments, he neither shrank for any fear, nor showed any great humble suit of submission for any pardon: whereat the king, partly marvelling, partly offended, asked "Why he did not kneel down as he was wont before to do?" Simeon to this answered, "For that," saith he, "before this time I was not brought unto you in bonds to betray the true God, as I am now; and so long I refused not to accomplish that which the order and custom of the realm of me required: but now it is not lawful for me so to do, for now I come to stand in defence of our religion and true doctrine." When Simeon thus had answered, the king, persisting in his purpose, offereth to him the choice either to worship the sun with him after his manner (promising to him many great gifts, if he would so do), or, if he would not, threateneth to him and to all the other Christians within his land destruction. But Simeon, neither allured with his promises nor terrified with his threatenings, continued constant in his doctrine professed, so as neither he could be induced to idolatrous worship, nor yet to betray the truth of his religion. For the which cause he was committed into bonds, and there commanded to be kept, till the king's pleasure was further known.

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Worthy answer of Simeon unto the king.

The constancy of Simeon.

It befel in the way as he was going to the prison, there was sitting at the king's gate a certain eunuch, an old tutor or schoolmaster of the king's, named Usthazanes, who had been once a Christian, and afterward, falling from his profession, fell with the heathenish multitude to their idolatry. This Usthazanes, sitting at the door of the king's palace, and seeing Simeon passing by, led to the prison, rose up, and revered the bishop. Simeon, again, with sharp words (as the time would suffer) rebuked him, and in great anger cried out against him, who being once a Christian, would so cowardly revolt from his profession, and return again to the heathenish idolatry. At the hearing of these words the eunuch forthwith bursting out into tears, laying away his courtly apparel, which was sumptuous and costly, and putting upon him a black and mourning weed, sitteth before the court gates, weeping and bewailing, thus saying with himself: "Woe is me! with what hope, with what face shall I look hereafter for my God, who have denied my God, when this Simeon, my familiar acquaintance, thus passing by me, so much disdaineth me, that he refuseth with one gentle word to salute me?"

The fall of Usthazanes.

The fruit of ecclesiastical discipline and chastisement.

The repentance of Usthazanes.

These words being brought to the ears of the king (as such tale-carriers never lack in princes' courts), procured against him no little indignation. Whereupon Sapor the king sending for him, first with gentle words and courtly promises began to speak him fair, asking him, "What cause he had so to mourn, and whether there was any thing in his house which was denied him, or which he had not at his own will and asking?" Whereunto Usthazanes answering again, said, "That there was nothing in that earthly house, which was to him lacking, or whereunto his desire stood. Yea would God," said he, "O king, any other grief or calamity in the world, whatsoever it were, had happened to me rather than this, for the which I do most justly mourn and sorrow! For this sorroweth me, that I am this day alive, who should rather have died long since, and that I see this sun, which against my heart and mind, for your pleasure dissemblingly I appeared to worship; for which cause double-wise I am worthy of death: first, for that I have denied Christ; secondly, because I did dissemble with you." And incontinent upon these words, swearing by him that made both heaven and earth, he affirmed most certainly, that although he had played the fool before, he would never be so mad again, as instead of the Creator and Maker of all things, to worship the creatures which he had made and created. Sapor the king, being astonished at the so sudden alteration of this man, and more enraged than ever at the Christians, whom he supposed to have wrought this change in him by means of enchantments, doubting whether to intreat him with gentleness or with rigour, at length, in this mood, commanded the said Usthazanes, his old ancient servant, and first tutor and bringer up of his youth, to be had away, and to be beheaded. As he was going to the place of execution, he desired of the executioners a little to stay, while he might send a message unto the king, which was this (sent in by one of the king's most trusty

Answer of Usthazanes to the king.

Usthazanes, the king's tutor, condemned to be beheaded.

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The message of Usthazanes to the king.

The cause openly cried, why Usthazanes was beheaded.

His end and martyrdom.

The martyrdom of Simeon, archbishop.

The exhortation of Simeon to the martyrs at their death, when he also himself should suffer.

Abedecalaas, and Ananias.

eunuchs), desiring him, that for all the old and faithful service he had done to his father, and to him, he would now requite him with this one office again, to cause to be cried openly by a public crier in these words following: "That Usthazanes was beheaded, not for any treachery or crime committed against the king or the realm, but only for that he was a Christian, and would not, at the king's pleasure, deny his God." And so, according unto his request, it was performed and granted. For this cause did Usthazanes so much desire the cause of his death to be published, because that as his shrinking back from Christ was a great occasion to many Christians to do the like, so now the same, hearing that Usthazanes died for no other cause but only for the religion of Christ, should learn likewise by his example to be fervent and constant in that which they profess. And thus this blessed eunuch did consummate his martyrdom. Of the which his said martyrdom Simeon (being in prison) hearing, was very joyful, and gave God thanks; who, on the next day following, being brought forth before the king, and constantly refusing to condescend unto the king's request, to worship him or the sun, was likewise by the commandment of the king beheaded, with a great number more which the same day also did suffer, to the number (as is said) of a hundred and more; all which were put to death before Simeon, he standing by, and exhorting them with comfortable words, admonishing them to stand firm and stedfast in the Lord; preaching, and teaching them concerning death, resurrection, and true piety; and proving by the Scriptures that so to die, was true life indeed; and that it was death indeed, to deny or betray God for fear of punishment. And added further, "There is no man alive, but needs once must die; forso much as to all men is appointed necessarily here to have an end. But those things which after this life follow hereafter, are eternal; which neither shall come to all men after one sort; for the time shall come when all men in a moment shall render an account of their lives, and receive according to their doings in this present life immortal recompence: such as have here done well, life and glory; such as have done contrary, perpetual punishment. As touching our well doing, there is no doubt but of all other our holy actions and virtuous deeds, there is no higher or greater deed, than if a man here lose his life for his Lord God." With these words of comfortable exhortation the holy martyrs being prepared, willingly yielded up their lives to death. After whom at last followed Simeon, with two other priests or ministers of his church, Abedecalaas and Ananias, who also with him were partakers of the same martyrdom.¹

The story of Pusices, martyr.

Free speech and boldness of Pusices.

His cruel martyrdom.

The daughter of Pusices, martyr.

A cruel edict of Sapor against the Christians.

At the suffering of those above mentioned, it happened that Pusices, one of the king's officers and overseer of his artificers, was there present; who, seeing Ananias, being an aged old father, somewhat to shake and tremble as he was preparing to suffer, "O father," said he, "a little moment shut thine eyes, and be strong, and shortly thou shalt see the light of Christ." Upon these words thus spoken, Pusices immediately was apprehended and brought unto the king; who there confessing himself constantly to be a Christian, and for that he was very bold and hardy before the king in this cause of Christ's faith, was extremely and most cruelly handled in the execution of his martyrdom; for in the upper part of his neck they made a hole to thrust in their hand, and plucked out his tongue out of his mouth; and so he was put to death. At the which time also the daughter of Pusices, a godly virgin, by the malicious accusation of the wicked, was apprehended and put to death.

The next year following, upon the same day when the Christians did celebrate the remembrance of the Lord's passion (which we call Good Friday before Easter), as witnesseth the said Sozomen, Sapor the king directed out a cruel and sharp edict throughout all his land, condemning to death all them whosoever confessed themselves to be

(1) Ex Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 11.—Ed.

Christians. By reason whereof an innumerable multitude of Christians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant magicians, suffered the same time by the sword, both in city and in town ; some being sought for, some offering themselves willingly, lest they should seem, by their silence, to deny Christ. Thus all the Christians that could be found without pity were slain, and divers also of the king's own court and household ; amongst whom was also Azades, a eunuch, one whom the king did entirely love and favour ; which Azades after that the king understood to be put to death, being greatly moved with the sorrow thereof, he commanded after that no Christians should be slain, but them only who were the doctors and teachers of christian religion.¹

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Innumerable martyrs in Persia. Azades. Provision of God to save the Christians.

In the same time it happened that the queen fell into a certain disease ; upon the occasion whereof the cruel Jews, with the wicked magicians, falsely and maliciously accused Tarbula, the sister of Simeon the martyr, a godly virgin, with a sister also and a maid of hers, that they had wrought privy charms to hurt the queen, for the revenging of the death of Simeon. This accusation being received and believed, innocent Tarbula, and the two others, were condemned, and with a saw cut in sunder by the middle ; whose quarters were then hanged upon stakes, the queen going between them, thinking thereby to be delivered of her sickness. This Tarbula was a maid of a right comely beauty and very amiable, to whom one of the magicians cast great love, much desiring and labouring, by gifts and rewards sent into the prison, to win her to his pleasure ; promising that if she would apply to his request, she should be delivered and set at liberty. But she, utterly refusing to consent unto him, or rather rebuking him for his incontinent attempt, did choose rather to die, than to betray either the religion of her mind or the virginity of her body.

Tarbula and her sister sawn in sunder.

Example of maidenly chastity in Tarbula.

Now, forso much as the king had commanded that no Christians should be put to death, but only such as were the teachers and leaders of the flock, the magicians and arch-magicians left no diligence untried to set forward the matter ; whereby great affliction and persecution was among the bishops and teachers of the church, who in all places went to slaughter, especially in the country of the Adiabeni ;² for that part of Persia, above all other, was most christian :³ where Acepsimas the bishop, with a great number of his flock and clergy, were apprehended and taken ; upon the apprehension of whom, the magicians, to satisfy the king's commandment, dismissed all the rest, only depriving them of their living and goods. Only Acepsimas the bishop they retained, with whom one Jacob, a priest of his church, was also joined ; not of any compulsion, but only as himself so desired and obtained of those magicians that he might follow him, and be coupled in the same bonds, to serve the aged bishop, and to relieve (so much as he might) his calamities, and heal his wounds. For he had been sore scourged before of the magicians, after they had apprehended him, and urged him to worship the sun : which thing, because he would not do, they cast him into prison again, where this Jacob was waiting upon him. At the same time likewise Aithalas

Persecution against the bishops and teachers of the church in Persia.

Acepsimas, a bishop, martyr.

Jacob, a priest, martyr, an example of true christian charity and singular piety. Three Persian deacons, martyrs.

(1) Ex Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 12.—Ed.

(2) Adiabeni was the same as Mesopotamia, and preserves its name in the modern Diarbek.—Ed.

(3) Ex Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 13.—Ed.

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The end
and mar-
tyrdom of
Acephi-
mas,
bishop.

Aithalas
racked.

250 other
martyrs.

The num-
ber of
martyrs
that suf-
fered in
Persia
were
16,000.

Constan-
tine, the
emperor,
writeth to
the king
of Persia
in the be-
half of the
afflicted
Chris-
tians.

and Jacob,¹ priests, also Azadanés and Abdiesus, deacons, were imprisoned and miserably scourged, for the testimony of the Lord Jesus. After this the arch-magician,² espying his time, complaineth unto the king of them, having authority and commission given him (unless they would worship the sun) to punish them as he pleased. This commandment received of the king the arch-magician doth declare to them in prison. But they answered again plainly, that they would never be either betrayers of Christ, or worshippers of the sun; whereupon without mercy they were put to bitter torments: where Acepsimas, strongly persisting in the confession of Christ, died; the other, being no less rent and wounded with scourges, yet continued marvellously alive, and, because they would in no case turn from their constant sentence, were turned again into prison. Of whom Aithalas, in the time of his whipping, was so drawn and racked with pulling, that both his arms being loosed out of the joints hanged down from his body, which he so carried about, without use of any hand to feed himself, but as he was fed of others.³

Miserable, and almost innumerable, were the slaughters under the reign of this Sapor, of priests, deacons, monks, holy virgins, and other ecclesiastical persons, such as did then cleave to the doctrine of Christ, and suffered for the same: the names of the bishops taken in the persecution, besides the other multitude, are recited in Sozomen,⁴ and in Nicephorus,⁵ in this order following; Barbasymes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Johannes, Hormisdas, Papas, Jacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abdiesus, Johannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Sapor, Isaac, and Dausas,⁶ a prisoner of war from Zabda; with Mareabdas, a chorepiscopus, and the rest of his clergy under him, to the number of two hundred and fifty persons, who had also been taken prisoners of the Persians. Briefly, to comprehend the whole multitude of them that suffered in that persecution, the manner of their apprehension, the cruelness of their torments, how and where they suffered, and in what places, it is not possible for any history to discharge. Neither are the Persians themselves (as Sozomen recordeth⁷) able to recite them. In sum, the multitude and number of them whom they are able to recite by name, cometh to the sum of sixteen thousand men and women.

The rumour and noise of this so miserable affliction of the Christians in the kingdom of Persia, coming to the ears of Constantine the emperor, put him in great heaviness, studying and revolving with himself, how to help the matter, which indeed was very hard for him to do. It so befel the same time, that certain ambassadors were then at Rome from Sapor king of Persia; to whom Constantine did easily grant and consent, satisfying all their requests and demands: thinking thereby to obtain the more friendship at the king's hands, that at his request he would be good to the Christians; to whom he writeth his epistle in their behalf, and sendeth the same by his messengers, beginning thus: "Divinam fidem servans, veritatis lucem sortior. Veritatis luce doctus, divinam fidem cognosco. Per ea igitur, quibus illa res

(1) He is called Joseph by Nicephorus.—Ed.

(2) This archi-magus and magi (as Xenophon saith) was an order of religion among the Persians, which had the greatest stroke in the land next to the king.

(3) Ex Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 13. Niceph. lib. viii. cap. 37.—Ed.

(4) Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 13.—Ed.

(5) Tillemont, tom. vii. pt. 1, p. 156.—Ed.

(6) Niceph. lib. viii. cap. 37.—Ed.

(7) Sozom. lib. ii. cap. 14.—Ed.

agendas confirmat, sanctissimam religionem cognitam reddo, et hunc me cultum doctorem cognitionis Sancti Dei habere confiteor," etc. *The Tenth Persecution.*
The contents whereof, briefly do tend to this effect :

· He declareth unto him how he should stand much beholden to him, if at his request he would show some quiet and rest to the Christians in whose religion there was nothing which he could justly blame : forsomuch as in their sacrifices they use to kill nothing, nor to shed blood, but only to offer up unbloody sacrifices ; to make their prayers unto God, who delighteth not in blood-shedding, but only in the soul that loveth virtue, and followeth such doctrine and knowledge, which is agreeing unto true piety ; and therefore such men as do lead and learn him so to believe and to worship God, are more to be commended. Moreover, he assureth him to find God more merciful unto him, if he would embrace the godly piety and truth of the Christians. And for example thereof, alludeth to the stories of Gallien and Valerian, who, so long as they were favourers of the Christians, did prosper and flourish : but, as soon as they moved any persecution against them, it happened to them as it did to all other emperors before them, that all went backward with them ; as specially might appear by Valerian, who, after he had raged so cruelly against the Christians, was eftsoons overcome of the Persians, the revenging hand of God falling upon him ; where he led ever a miserable life, in wretched captivity. Further also, for the more evidence of the same, he referreth to the examples of those emperors and tyrants in his time, whom he vanquished and subdued only by his faith in Christ, for the which faith God was his helper, and gave him the victory in many battles, and triumph over great tyrants ; whereby he hath so enlarged the dominion of the Roman monarchy, from the West ocean unto the uttermost parts well-near of all the East. To the doing whereof, he neither called to him the help of any charmer, or divination of soothsayer, nor used the killing of any sacrifice, but only the following of the cross ; and prayer made to Almighty God, without any bloody sacrifice, was the armour wherewith he overcame, etc.

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The copy and effect of the epistle of Constantine to Sapor.

And in the end of the epistle he addeth these words :

"What joy," saith he, "is it to my heart, to hear the kingdom also of the Persians to flourish and abound in this sort of men ; the Christians, I mean. And I wish that both you with them, and they with you, in long prosperity may enjoy much felicity together, as your hearts would desire. For so shall you have God, who is the Author and Creator of all this universal world, to be merciful and gracious to you. These men, therefore, I commend to your kingly honour ; and, for the piety for which you are renowned, I commit the same unto you ; embrace them according to your humanity and benignity ; and in so doing you will confer an immense benefit through your faith, both on yourself and on me."¹

This epistle wrote Constantine² to king Sapor ; such care had this godly prince for them that believed in Christ, not only in his own monarchy, but also in all places of the world. Neither is it to be doubted, but this intercession of the emperor did something mitigate the heat of the Persian's persecution, although thereof we read no certain thing in our histories.

The general care of godly Constantine for all Christians in all places.

Of other troubles and persecutions we read, which happened afterward in the said country of Persia, under Isdegerdes the king, and his son and successor Vororanes ; but these followed long after, about the time of the emperor Theodosius the younger ;³ at which time suffered Abdas a bishop,⁴ and Hormisdas a great nobleman's son,

Other persecutions in Persia. The story of Hormisdas, martyr.

(1) Theodoret, lib. i. cap. 25. Euseb. de Vitâ Constantini, lib. iv. cap. 9—13.—Ed.

(2) See the Magdeburg Centuriators, cent. 4, col. 47, edit. 1624. Foxe gives the "contents" and "effect," not a translation, of Constantine's epistle to Sapor. The part marked with inverted commas is, however, a translation of its conclusion.—Ed.

(3) Isdegerdes I. reigned A.D. 399—420, his son Vororanes IV. A.D. 420—440. Theodosius the Younger was emperor A.D. 408—450. L'Art de Vérifier des Dates.—Ed.

(4) Tillemont, tom. vii. p. 158.—Ed.

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and of great reputation among the Persians ; whom when the king understood to be a Christian, and to deny to turn from his religion, he condemned him to keep his army-camels, naked. In process of time, the king looking out of his chamber window, and seeing him all swarted and tanned in the sun, commanded him to have a shirt put on, and to be brought before him ; whom then the king asked, if he would deny Christ. Hormisdas hearing this, tore off his shirt from his body and cast it from him, saying, " If ye think that I will deny my faith to Christ for a shirt, have here your gift again," etc. And so was upon that expelled the country.¹

The constancy of
Suenes.

Another there was that same time, named Suenes, which had under him a thousand servants. The king, taking displeasure with him for that he would not alter from his religion and godly truth, asked who was the worst of all his servants, and him the king made ruler of all the rest, and coupling him in marriage with his master's wife, brought also Suenes under his subjection, thinking thereby to subdue also the faith of Suenes : but " his house was builded upon the rock."²

The story of Benjamin, deacon and martyr.

Of Benjamin the deacon thus writeth the said Theodoret, in his fifth book, that after two years of his imprisonment, at the request of the Roman ambassador he was delivered ; who a year afterward, having meanwhile contrary to the king's commandment preached and taught the gospel of Christ, was most miserably excarnificate, having twenty sharp pricks of reeds thrust under his nails : but when he did laugh at that, then in his privy member he had a sharp reed thrust in with horrible pain. After that, a certain long stalk ragged and thorny, being thrust into his body by the nether part, was forced into him ; with the horribleness of the pain whereof, the valiant and invincible soldier of the Lord gave over his life.³ And thus much concerning the martyrs and persecutions among the Persians, although these persecutions belong not to this time, but came (as it is said) long after the days of Constantine, about the year of our Lord 425.

His torment and martyrdom.

Martyrs under Julian the apostate.

The story of Theodore, martyr.

Likewise under Julian the wicked apostate,⁴ certain there were which constantly suffered martyrdom by the heathen idolaters : as Æmilian who was burned in Thrace, and Domitius who was slain in his cave. Theodore also, for singing of a psalm at the removing of the body of Babylas (whereof mention is made before) being apprehended, was so examined with exquisite torments, and so cruelly excruciated from morning almost to noon, that hardly he escaped with life ; who, being asked afterward of his friends, how he could abide so sharp torments, said, " That at the first beginning he felt some pain, but afterward there stood by him a young man, who, as he was sweating, wiped away his sweat, and refreshed him with cold water oftentimes : wherewith he was so delighted, that when he was let down from the engine, it grieved him more than before."⁵ Artemius also, the captain of the Egyptian soldiers, the same time lost his head for his religion indeed ; although other causes were pretended against him.⁶ Add unto these, moreover, Eusebius, Nestabus, and Zeno, brothers, with Nestor their cousin, who for their Christianity were dragged

A miracle to be noted.

Artemius, martyr. Eusebius, and three others, martyrs.

(1) Ex Theodor. lib. v. cap. 39.—Ed.

(3) Ibidem.—Ed.

(5) Ruff. 5, cap. 26. Theod. lib. iii. cap. 11. Sozom. lib. v. cap. 10, 20.—Ed.

(6) Theod. lib. iii. cap. 18. Niceph. lib. x. cap. 11.—Ed.

(2) Ibidem.—Ed.

(4) He was emperor A. D. 361—363.—Ed.

through the streets, and murdered of the idolatrous people of Gaza.¹ Among them of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, some were slain, some were banished, by Julian, for pulling down the temple of Fortune : Euppsychius, a nobleman of that country, died also with them a martyr.² But especially the cruelty of the inhabitants of Heliopolis, on mount Lebanon, and of Arethusa, a city of Syria, exceeded against the christian virgins, whom they set out naked before the multitude to be scorned ; after that they shaved them ; lastly they ripped them up, and, covering them with swill and draffe went to be given to their hogs, so caused their bowels and flesh to be devoured of the hungry swine. This rage and fury of the wicked Arethusians Sozomen supposeth to come of this, because that Constantine before had broken them from their country-manner of setting forth and exposing their virgins filthily to whosoever lusted, and destroyed the temple of Venus at Heliopolis, restraining the people there from their filthiness and vile whoredom.³

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The christian virgins of Arethusa.

The people mad to be plucked from their old customs, though they be never so wicked.

Of the lamentable story or rather tragedy of Marcus, bishop of Arethusa,⁴ writeth the said Sozomen ; and also Theodoret, in his third book and seventh chapter, in these words as followeth :

The tragedy (saith he) of Marcus, bishop of Arethusa, doth require the eloquence of Æschylus and Sophocles, to set forth and beautify his great afflictions as the matter deserveth. This man, in the time of Constantine, pulled down a certain temple dedicated to idols, and instead thereof built up a church where the Christians might congregate. The Arethusians afterward, on learning the little good-will that Julian bare to the Christians, soon began openly to discover their spite against Marcus. At the first, according as the Scripture teacheth, he prepared himself to fly : but when he learnt that there were certain of his kinsmen or friends apprehended in his stead, returning again of his own accord, he offered himself to those that thirsted for his blood. Whom when they had gotten, as men neither pitying his old age and worn years, nor abashed at his virtuous conversation, being a man so adorned both with doctrine and manners, first stripped him naked, and pitifully beat him : then within a while after, they cast him into a foul filthy sink, and from thence being brought, they caused boys to thrust him in with sharpened sticks made for the nonce, to provoke his pain the more. Lastly, they put him in a basket, and being anointed with honey and broth, they hung him abroad in the heat of the sun, as meat for wasps and bees to feed upon. And all this extremity they showed unto him, for that they would enforce him to do one of these things ; that is, either to build up again the temple which he had destroyed, or else to give so much money as should pay for the building of the same. But even as he purposed with himself to suffer and abide their grievous torments, so refused he to do that they demanded of him. At length they, taking him to be but a poor man, and not able to pay such a sum of money, promised to forgive him the one half, so that he would be contented to pay the other half. But he, hanging in the basket, wounded pitifully with the sharpened sticks of boys and children, and all-to be bitten with wasps and bees, did not only conceal his pain and grief, but also derided those wicked ones, and called them base, low, and terrene people, and he himself to be exalted and set on high. At length, they demanding of him but a small sum of money, he answered thus : " It would be as great wickedness to confer one half penny in a case of impiety, as if I should bestow my all." Thus they, being not able to prevail against him, let him down, and were so completely altered from their former purpose, that they received instruction in true religion at his mouth.

The story of Marcus Arethusius.

His true conscience.

Great cruelty showed.

Covetousness the cause of cruelty.

A notable saying.

Although the tractation of these aforesaid stories and persecutions of Persia, above premised, do stray somewhat out of the order and

(1) Sozom. lib. v. cap. 9.—Ed.

(2) Ibid. cap. 11.—Ed.

(3) Ibid. cap. 10.—Ed.

(4) Tillemont, vol. vii. pt. 2, p. 640.—Ed.

(5) See Theod. (loc. citat.), whence a few expressions are changed.—Ed.

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course of time and place, as which came neither in the time of Constantine, nor be pertinent to the monarchy of Rome; yet because in this present history we are in hand with the holy martyrs and saints of Christ, forso much as these also gave such a faithful testimony of the Lord Jesus with their blood, I thought therefore not to pass them over without some testimony in this our catalogue of holy martyrs. And here an end of these persecutions of the primitive church.

The wicked in this world do most flourish and prevail.

It may, peradventure, be marvelled of some, reading the history of these so terrible persecutions above specified, why God Almighty, director of all things, would suffer his own people and faithful servants, believing in his own and only-begotten Son Jesus, so cruelly to be handled, so wrongfully to be vexed, so extremely to be tormented and put to death, and that the space of so many years together, as in these foresaid persecutions may appear. To the which admiration I have nothing to answer, but to say with the words of Jerome, "Non debemus super hac rerum iniquitate perturbari, videntes," etc. We ought not to be moved with this iniquity of things, to see the wicked to prevail against the body: forso much as in the beginning of the world, we see Abel the just to be killed of wicked Cain; and afterward Jacob being thrust out, Esau to reign in his father's house. In like case the Egyptians with brick and tile afflicted the sons of Israel; yea, and the Lord himself, was he not crucified of the Jews, Barabbas the thief being let go?¹

Persecution cometh by no chance.

Is prefigured and forewarned of God.

The church forewarned of Christ by special revelation in the Apocalypse.

The beast in the Apocalypse expounded.

Two and forty months expounded.

Time would not suffice me to recite and reckon up how the godly in this world go to wrack, the wicked flourishing and prevailing.¹ Briefly, howsoever the cause hereof proceedeth, whether for our sins here in this life, or how else soever; yet this is to us, and may be to all men a sufficient stay, that we are sure these afflictions and persecutions of God's people in this world did not come by any chance or blind fortune, but by the provident appointment and forewarning of God. For so in the old law, by the affliction of the children of Israel, he hath prefigured these persecutions of the Christians. So by the words of Christ's own mouth in the gospel he did forewarn his church of these troubles to come. Again, neither did he suffer these so great afflictions to fall upon his servants, before that he had premonished them sufficiently by special revelation in the Apocalypse of John his servant; in the which Apocalypse he declared unto his church before, not only what troubles were coming at hand towards them, and where and by whom they should come; but also in plain number, if the words of the prophecy be well understood, assigneth the true time, how long the said persecutions should continue, and when they should cease. For, as there is no doubt but by the beast with seven heads bearing the whore of Babylon, drunken with the blood of saints, is signified the city of Rome; so, in my judgment, the power of making² forty-two months (in the thirteenth of the Apocalypse) is to be expounded [by] taking every month for a sabbath of years, that is, reckoning a month for seven years, so that forty and two such sabbaths of years being gathered together, make up the years just, between the time of Christ's death to the last year of the persecution of Maxentius;³

(1) Hieron. in Habac. cap. i.

(2) Ποιῶσαι μ. τ. καὶ δ. ἰ. ε. "continuing." Rev. xiii. 5. See Acts xviii. 23; James iv. 13. Gr. See also *infra*, p. 291, note (2).—Ed.

(3) Our author should rather have said Licinius, as *infra*, pp. 291, 292.—Ed.

when Constantine, fighting under the banner of Christ, overcame him, and made an end of all persecution within the monarchy of Rome. The number of which years by plain computation come to two hundred ninety and four: to the which two hundred ninety and four years if ye add the other six years, under the persecution of Licinius in Asia, then it filleth up full the three hundred years. And so long continued the persecution of Christ's people, under the heathen tyrants and emperors of the monarchy of Rome, according to the number of the forty and two months which the beast had power to make,² specified in the thirteenth of the Apocalypse. For the better explication whereof, because the matter (being of no small importance) greatly appertaineth to the public utility of the church; and lest any should misdoubt me herein, to follow any private interpretation of mine own; I thought good to communicate to the reader that which hath been imparted unto me, in the opening of these mystical numbers in the aforesaid Book of Revelation contained, by occasion as followeth.

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The persecuting time of the primitive church, under the beast, lasted 300 years.

As I was in hand with these histories, and therein considered the exceeding rage of these persecutions, the intolerable torments of the blessed saints, so cruelly racked, rent, torn, and plucked in pieces with all kind of tortures, pains and punishments that could be devised, more bitter than any death itself, I could not without great sorrow and passion of mind, behold their sorrowful afflictions, or write of their bloody passions. Wherein much like it happened to me as it did to Titus Livius; who, writing of the wars of Carthage, was so moved in the writing thereof, "Ac si in parte aliquâ laboris ac periculi ipse pariter fuisset." The further I proceeded in the story, and the hotter the persecutions grew, the more my grief with them and for them increased; not only pitying their woful case, but almost reasoning with God, thinking thus like a fool with myself:—Why should God of his goodness suffer his children and servants so vehemently to be cruciated and afflicted? If mortal things were governed by heavenly providence (as must needs be granted), why did the wicked so rage and flourish, and the godly go so to wrack? If their sins deserved punishment, yet neither were they sinners alone, and why was their death above all other so sharp and bitter? At least why should the Lord suffer the vehemency of these so horrible persecutions to endure so long time against his poor church, showing unto them no certain determined end of their tribulations, whereby they, knowing the appointed determination of Almighty God, with more consolation might endure out the same? The Israelites in the captivity of Babylon had seventy years limited unto them; and under Pharaoh they were promised a deliverance out; also under the Syrian tyrants threescore and two weeks were abridged unto them. Only in these persecutions I could find no end determined, nor limitation set for their deliverance. Whereupon, much marvelling with myself, I searched the Book of Revelation, to see whether any thing there might be found; wherein, although I well perceived the beast there described to signify the empire of Rome, which had power to overcome the saints, yet concerning the time and continuance of these persecutions

(1) Our author assigns a less period, sup. pp. 250, 280. See also last note.—Ed.

(2) See note (2) in last page.—Ed.

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under the beast, I found nothing to satisfy my doubt. For, albeit I read there of forty-two months, of a time, times, and half a time, of one thousand two hundred and threescore days; yet all this by computation coming but to three years and a half, came nothing near the long continuance of these persecutions, which lasted three hundred years. Thus, being vexed and turmoiled in spirit about the reckoning of these numbers and years; it so happened upon a Sunday in the morning, I lying in my bed, and musing about these numbers, suddenly it was answered to my mind, as with a majesty, thus inwardly saying within me; "Thou fool, count these months by sabbaths, as the weeks of Daniel are counted by sabbaths." The Lord I take to witness, thus it was. Whereupon thus being admonished, I began to reckon the forty-two months by sabbaths: first, of months; that would not serve: then by sabbaths of years; wherein I began to feel some probable understanding. Yet not satisfied herewith, to have the matter more sure, eftsoons I repaired to certain merchants of mine acquaintance; of whom one is departed a true faithful servant of the Lord, the other two be yet alive, and witnesses hereof. To whom the number of these aforesaid forty-two months being propounded and examined by sabbaths of years, the whole sum was found to surmount unto two hundred ninety and four years, containing the full and just time of these aforesaid persecutions, neither more nor less.

Now this one clasp being opened, the other numbers that follow are plain and manifest to the intelligent reader to be understood. For, whereas mention is made of three days and a half; of one time, two times, and half a time; also of one thousand two hundred and threescore days; all these come to one reckoning, and signify forty and two months; by which months, as is said, is signified the whole time of these primitive persecutions, as here in order may appear.

THE MYSTICAL NUMBERS IN THE APOCALYPSE OPENED.

First, whereas mention is made (Apocalypse, xi.) that the two prophets shall prophesy one thousand two hundred and sixty days; and also that the woman flying into the desert, shall there be fed one thousand two hundred and sixty days; who knoweth not that one thousand two hundred and sixty days make three years and a half? that is, months forty-two.

Secondly, whereas we read (chap. xi.) the bodies of the two aforesaid prophets shall lie in the streets of the great city unburied the space of three days and a half, and after the said three days and a half they shall revive again, etc., let the hours of these three days and a half (which be forty-two) be reckoned every day for a sabbath of years, or else every day for a month; and they come to months forty-two.¹

Thirdly, whereas in the same book is expressed, that the woman had two wings given her to fly unto the desert for a time, times, and half a time; give for one time, one year or one day; for two times, two years or two days; for half a time, half a year or half a day;

(1) Our author has scarcely expressed himself intelligibly in this place: perhaps he means "Let the hours of these three days and a half (which be forty-two) be reckoned at the rate of every week for a sabbath of years, or else every day of twelve hours for a year, or else every hour for a month; and so these three days and a half come to months forty-two."—Ed.

and so it is manifest, that these three [times or] years and a half amount to months¹ forty-two.

Fourthly, account these forty-two months aforesaid, which the beast had power to make² (Apoc. xiii. 5), by sabbaths of years; that is, seven years for a month, or every month for seven years; and it amounteth to the sum of years two hundred and ninety-four.

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And so have ye the just years, days, times, and months of these aforesaid persecutions under the beast, neither shorter nor longer, reckoning from the death of John Baptist under Herod the Roman king, to the end of Maxentius, and of Licinius, the two last great persecutors, the one in the West, the other in the East, who were both vanquished by godly Constantine. And so peace was given to the church; albeit not in such ample wise, but that divers tumults and troubles afterward ensued, yet they lasted not long: and the chief brunt, to speak of these Roman persecutions which the Holy Ghost especially considered above all others in this his Revelation, thus ended in the time of Constantine. Then was the great dragon the devil (to wit, the fierce rage and power of his malicious persecuting) tied short for a thousand years after this, so that he could not prevail in any such sort, but that the power and glory of the gospel by little and little increasing, and spreading with great joy and liberty, so prevailed that at length it got the upper hand, and replenished the whole earth, rightly verifying therein the water of Ezekiel,³ which issuing out of the right side of the altar, the further it ran, the deeper it grew, till at length it replenished the whole ocean sea, and healed all the fishes therein. No otherwise the course of the gospel, proceeding of small and hard beginnings, kept still its stream: the more it was stopped, the swifter it ran. By blood it seeded, by death it quickened, by cutting it multiplied, through violence it sprung; till, at last, out of thralldom and oppression it so burst forth into perfect liberty, and flourished in all prosperity: had it so been that the Christians wisely and moderately could have used this liberty, and not abused the same (forgetting their former estate) to their own pride, pomp, and worldly ease! as it came afterward to pass: whereof more is to be seen and said (the Lord willing) in place and time convenient.

Forty-two
months.

And thus much touching the prophetic numbers in the Apocalypse. Wherein is to be noted and magnified the eternal wisdom and high providence of Almighty God, so disposing and governing his church, that no adversity or perturbation happeneth at any time to it, which his provident wisdom did not foresee before, and pre-ordain; neither did he pre-ordain or determine any thing, which he doth not most truly perform, both foreseeing the beginning of such persecutions, and limiting the end thereof, how long to continue, and when to cease. In much like sort we read in the books of Genesis, how the stock of Israel was four hundred years in the land of Egypt. During the space of which four hundred years, after the death of Joseph (who beareth a plain figure of Christ) they were hardly entreated, and cruelly afflicted of the Egyptians, about the space of three hundred years, reckoning from after the death of Joseph, to their deliverance out of the bondage of Egypt: semblably

The per-
secuted
Israelites
bearing a
figure of
the perse-
cuted
church
of Christ.

(1) Rev. xii. 14. (2) See *supra*, p. 288, note (2), and p. 269, note (2).—Ed. (3) Ezek. xlvii. 2.

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From the
first per-
secution
to the
last, two
hundred
ninety
and four
years.

Universal
persecu-
tion
ceaseth
for one
thousand
years.

From the
time of
Licinius
to Wick-
liff one
thousand
years.

Satan
bound a
thousand
years.

Satan's
binding
opened.

as these Christians, after Christ's time, suffered the like bondage under the Roman tyrants. Thus much by the way I thought to insinuate, lest any should muse or take any offence in himself, to see or read of the church and people of God so long and so many years to be under so miserable and extreme afflictions: wherein neither chance, nor fortune, nor disposition of man, hath had any place, but only the fore-counsel and determination of the Lord so governed and disposed the same; who not only did suffer them to fall, and foresaw those persecutions before they fell, but also appointed the times and years how long they should last, and when they should have an end, as by the aforesaid forty-two months in the eleventh and thirteenth chapters of St. John's Apocalypse hath been declared; which months, containing two hundred ninety and four years, if they be rightly gathered, make the full time between the first year of the persecution of Christ under the Jews and Herod, till the last year of persecution under Licinius; which was in the year from the nativity of Christ 324: which was from the first persecution of Christ, in the year of our Lord 30, two hundred ninety and four years, as is aforesaid. After the which year, according to the pre-ordinate counsel of God, when his severity had been sufficiently declared upon his own house, it pleased him to show mercy again, and to bind up Satan, the old serpent, according to the twentieth chapter of the Revelation, for the space of a thousand years; that is, from this time of Licinius, to the time of John Wickliff and John Huss. During all which time, albeit certain conflicts and tumults were among christian bishops themselves in the church; yet no universal murdering persecution was stirring before the preaching of John Wickliff, Huss, and such others; as in the further process of this history (Christ willing and aiding us) shall more appear hereafter.¹

Thus having at large discoursed these horrible persecutions past, and heavy afflictions of christian martyrs; now by the grace of God, coming out of this red sea of bloody persecution, leaving Pharaoh and his host behind, let us sing gloriously to the worthy name of our God; who through the blood of the Lamb, after long and tedious afflictions, at length hath visited his people with comfort, hath tied up Satan short, hath sent his meek Moses (gentle Constantine, I mean), by whom it hath so pleased the Lord to work deliverance to his captive people, to set his servants at liberty, to turn their mourning into joy, to magnify the church of his Son, to destroy the idols of all the world, to grant life and liberty (and would God also not so much riches!) unto them which before were the abjects of all the world, and all by the means of godly Constantine, the meek and most christian emperor; of whose divine victories against so many tyrants and emperors, persecutors of Christ's people, and lastly against Licinius in the year of our Lord 324, of whose other noble acts and prowesses, of whose blessed virtues and his happy birth and progeny, part we have comprehended before, part now remaineth (Christ willing) to be declared.

(1) Our author resumes these computations and expositions *infra*, vol. ii. p. 724, and vol. iv. p. 107.—Ed.

This Constantine was the son of Constantius the emperor, a good and virtuous child of a good and virtuous father; born in Britain (as saith Eutropius¹), whose mother was named Helena, daughter indeed of king Coilus: although Ambrose in his funeral oration on the death of Theodosius saith, she was an inn-holder's daughter. He was a most bountiful and gracious prince, having a desire to nourish learning and good arts, and did oftentimes use to read, write, and study himself. He had marvellous good success and prosperous achieving of all things he took in hand, which then was (and truly) supposed to proceed of this, for that he was so great a favourer of the christian faith. Which faith when he had once embraced, he did ever after most devoutly and religiously reverence; and commanded by special commission and proclamation, that every man should profess the same religion throughout all the Roman monarchy. The worshipping of idols (whereunto he was for some time addict by the allurements of Fausta his wife, insomuch that he did sacrifice to them), after the discomfiture of Maxentius in battle, he utterly abjured: but his baptism he deferred even unto his old age, because he had determined a journey into Persia, and thought in Jordan to have been baptized.²

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The good qualities of Constantine.

The cause of all his prosperous success.

Constantine sometime by means of his wife was an idolater.

As touching his natural disposition and wit, he was very eloquent, a good philosopher, and in disputation sharp and ingenious. He was accustomed to say, that an emperor ought to refuse no labour for the utility of the common-weal; and that a part of the body must be cut off, if it cannot be cured; otherwise the same should be cherished.³ This do Aurelius Victor, Pomponius Lætus, and Egnatius write of him. And Ælius Lampridius saith, writing upon the life of Heliogabalus; that Constantine was wont to say, "That an empire was given by the determinate purpose of God;"⁴ and that he to whom it was given, should so employ his diligence, as that he might be thought worthy of the same at the hands of the Giver:" which same saying also Augustine noteth in his third book against Cresconius.⁵

The common saying of Constantine.

He first entered into the empire by the mercifulness of God, minding after long waves of doleful persecution to restore unto his church peace and tranquillity, in the year of our Lord 310,⁶ as Eusebius accounteth in his chronicle. His reign continued, as Eutropius affirmeth, thirty years; Lætus saith thirty and two years, lacking two months. Great quiet and tranquillity enjoyed the church under the reign of this good emperor, who took great pain and travail for the preservation thereof. First (yea, and that before he had subdued Licinius), he set forth many edicts for the restitution of the goods of the church, for the revoking of the Christians out of exile, for taking away the dissension of the doctors out of the church, for the setting of them free from public charges, and such like; even as the copies of his Constitutions declare, which Eusebius hath recorded in his tenth book and fifth chapter; in his Life of Constantine he repeateth other edicts of his, breathing kindness toward the christian church, in this wise:⁷

The reign of Constantine.

The effect of some of his Constitutions.

(1) Lib. x. cap. 2.

(2) Euseb. De Vita Constantini, lib. iv. cap. 61, 62.—Ed.

(3) "Ea similitudine notabat malos homines, qui emendari nequeunt," adds Pomponius Lætus.—Ed.

(4) "Imperatorem esse, fortuna est." Æl. Lamp.—Ed.

(5) August. contra Crescon. lib. iii. cap. 82; and Epist. 49, 50.

(6) July 25, A.D. 306, is the true date.—Ed.

(7) Eusebius, De Vita Constant. lib. ii. cap. 48—60. The following is a new and more accurate translation than Foxe's.—Ed.

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The law
of nature
made per-
fect, com-
pared
with the
know-
ledge of
God.
Sloth the
nurse of
igno-
rance, and
ignorance
the
enemy to
wisdom.
Tyranny
depriveth
emperors.

Bloody
tyrants
make
civil wars.

Apollo
disquiet-
ed by the
Chris-
tians.

The
sword
given to
be
avenged
upon ma-
lufactors.

A great
commen-
dation of
the Chris-
tians.
The earth
bewailed
the
martyrs'
deaths.
The au-
thors of
all mis-
chief pu-
nished.

The Copy of an Epistle of Constantine, sent to his Subjects inhabiting in the East.

Victor Constantine, Maximus Augustus, to our loving subjects inhabiting the eastern provinces, sendeth greeting. Every thing connected with the established laws of nature furnishes sufficient indication to all men of providence and design, such as imply a divine agency; neither can there be any doubt that where the mind is led to the subject in the direct path of knowledge, the accurate apprehension of sound reason and of sight itself tends, equally with true virtue, to lead up to the knowledge of God. Therefore no wise man would ever be disturbed, though he sees mankind swayed by divers and opposite predilections; for the excellency of virtue would have remained in unprofitable obscurity, had not vice on the contrary part exhibited the life of perverse folly. Assuredly, therefore, there is a crown of reward for virtue; but the most high God reserves to himself the final adjudication. But I will endeavour, as perspicuously as I can, to explain to you all concerning the hope that is in me.

For my own part, I always looked on the emperors, our immediate predecessors, as having forfeited their share in the empire on account of the ferocity of their manners. My father was the only one among them, who adopted a merciful line of conduct; and with an admirable piety he invoked God the Father in all his actions. But all the rest, like persons in a phrensy, made cruelty rather than kindness their study, and indulged it without restraint, seeking all the time they were in power to supplant the true doctrine: nay, the fury of their wickedness was kindled to such a degree, that when all sacred and civil affairs were in a state of profound repose, they stirred up civil wars.

It was said at the time, that Apollo had given an oracle from a certain den and dark cavern, and not by a man's voice, that the righteous people on the earth were an impediment to his predicting the truth, and that for this reason the responses given from his tripods proved false. This caused his locks to hang down relaxed, and he bewailed the misfortune to mankind of the prophetic influence being driven away. But let us see to what manner of conclusion these things were brought.

I now appeal to thee, the most high God, for the truth of what follows. When quite a youth, I heard him who then held the primacy among the Roman emperors (a wretched, truly wretched man, being deceived in his mind by error) with much curiosity inquire of his guards, who were meant by "the righteous people on the earth:" when one of the priests who were about him answered, "the Christians to be sure." The emperor, having gulped this answer as he would a mess of honey, unsheathed the swords which were prepared to punish crimes, against unblameable sanctity. Immediately, therefore, he wrote edicts of blood (as I may say) with homicidal sword-points, and desired the judges to rack their wits to the utmost in devising more terrible tortures. Then, then might you have seen with what strength those venerable worshippers of God, during a long continuance of cruelty, daily endured no common injuries; while the sobriety, which none of their enemies had ever aspersed, became the mere sport of their enraged fellow-citizens. What fire, what pains, what kind of tortures, was not applied indiscriminately to persons of all sorts and ages? Then, without doubt, the earth wept, and the round world with all things contained therein, being polluted with their blood, made lamentation, and the very day itself was clouded for sorrow at the awful prodigy.

But what of all this? Why from these things the very barbarians now take occasion to glory, who received under their protection those of our countrymen who then fled, and kept them in a most humane captivity; for they not only afforded them preservation, but also liberty to retain their religious worship with security; and to this very day the Roman nation beareth the brand of infamy fixed upon it by those who were then banished from the Roman world, and found an asylum with the barbarians.

But what is the use of dwelling any longer on those lamentable events, which were the general sorrow of the whole world? Even the authors themselves of that horrid wickedness are at length gone, and have been committed for everlasting punishment to the depths of Acheron with an ignominious end: for

having become involved in civil wars, they have left neither name nor kindred of theirs behind; which would not have happened to them, had not the impious prophecy of the oracles of Apollo possessed a spurious force.

And now I beseech thee, the supreme God, be mild and propitious to thy creatures in the eastern regions, yea to all thy provincials, worn out by long continued calamity: by me thy servant administer a remedy. And this I ask not without reason, O Lord of all, holy God! for it is under thy guidance and assistance that I have hitherto undertaken and perfected salutary measures; carrying thy sign before me every-where, I have led a victorious army; and as often as any public necessity requires I go forth against the enemy following the same ensigns of thy excellency. For these reasons I have entrusted my soul to thee, duly tempered with thy love and fear; for I sincerely love thy name, but I stand in awe of thy power, which thou hast manifested by many tokens, thereby rendering my own faith in thee the firmer. I hasten therefore (putting my own shoulders to the work) to repair and beautify thy most holy house, which those detestable and most ungodly wretches in their destructive phrensy laid waste. I desire that thy people may enjoy peace and live in tranquillity, and that—for the common advantage of the world and all its inhabitants. And may those who are yet in error partake (and welcome) of the enjoyment of peace and quiet equally with the believers, for the restoration of the social feeling will of itself have a great efficacy to lead those in error into the right way. Let no one, therefore, annoy his neighbour; but let every one be left to follow that which he really prefers. Yet right-minded persons will of necessity hold, that they only can live holily and purely, whom thou thyself callest to acquiesce in thy holy laws. As for those who withdraw themselves, let them have (if they must) their synagogues of false doctrine; *we* retain that splendid house of thy own truth which thou gavest us when born again.¹ This, however, we heartily wish for the others also, namely, that they also may reap pleasure from the general pacification.

And yet our religion is nothing new or recent, but from the time when we believe the fabric of the universe to have been framed, thou didst enjoin it to be observed with becoming reverence. But mankind stumbled, being misled with all sorts of errors. Nevertheless, thou, in order that sin might not increase more and more, raising up a pure light, hast by thine own Son called all men to remember thee.

Thy works confirm these things: it is thy power that makes us innocent and faithful; the sun and moon have their stated course; neither do the stars run their circuit round the world at random; the changes of the seasons recur by a certain law; it is by thy word that the earth is kept firm on its base; the wind makes its motion according to a set time; the ebb-tide of the waters alternates with the flood by a certain measure; the sea is confined within fixed bounds; and throughout the wide range of earth and ocean every thing is framed for certain admirable and advantageous uses. But unless all this were ordered according to thy sovereign will, without doubt so great a diversity of things, and a manifold distribution of independent power, would have brought ruin on all living beings and things in general. For those who fought against one another, would doubtless have fought with greater vehemence against mankind; which also they do, though invisible to the eye.

We give thee abundant thanks, Lord of all, supreme God! for, as human nature is distinguished by special tokens of thy regard, so the instructions of thy divine word come specially recommended to such as are right-minded and zealous for true virtue. But if any one hinders himself from being cured, let him not impute that to another; for the means of cure are openly proffered to all men. Only let every man beware of doing wrong to that, which experience proves to be immaculate. Let us all then take our share in that common good which is now offered, namely, the blessing of peace, discarding from our minds every thing that is contrary to it.

But, whatever a man has been persuaded himself to adopt, let him not take occasion thereby to injure another; and if one sees and understands a thing, let him serve his neighbour therewith, if he can; but if that cannot be, let

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Apollo's
lying oracles
the cause of
so many
martyrs'
deaths. Constan-
tine's
prayer.
His faith
confirmed by
the miracles
of the
cross. The clem-
ency of
a good
emperor.
A good
judg-
ment.

One reli-
gion from
the be-
ginning
of the
world.

Each
thing in
their
creation
preach
the very
and true
God.
The earth
stayed up
by the
power of
God.

Who they
be, that
Constan-
tine ac-
counteth
wise
indeed

(1) Κατὰ φύσιν is the Greek, and is obscure: Heineken thinks it equivalent to κατὰ περι-
ποίησιν; vid. not. in Euseb. V. C. 2. cap. 56. The phrase may perhaps be illustrated in Le Clerc's
Art. crit. part 2, § 1, cap. 7, 5, though he is upon such topics, generally, a very unsafe guide.—Ed.

The Tenth Persecution. him leave the matter alone; for it is one thing to take up the struggle for immortality voluntarily, and another, to be forced to it by punishment. Let this suffice: in fact, I have gone into the subject at greater length than my manuscript intended, because I would not conceal what I consider the true belief; especially because some (as I hear) assert, that the temple-rites and the power of darkness have been abolished: which indeed I would ere this have advised all men to do, had not the violent insurrection of wicked error so strongly entrenched itself in some men's minds, to the hinderance of the common resurrection.

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Constantine compared to Moses.

The letter of Constantine to Anulinus his captain.

Another letter of Constantine.

The contempt of God's religion, the chief decay of common weals.

Another letter to Miltiades, bishop of Rome.

Such was the goodness of this emperor Constantine, or rather such was the providence of Almighty God toward his church in stirring him up, that all his care and study of mind was set upon nothing else, but only how to benefit and enlarge the commodities of the same. Neither was it to him enough to deliver the church and people of God from outward vexation of foreign tyrants and persecutors. No less beneficial was his godly care also in quieting the inward dissensions and disturbance within the church, among the christian bishops themselves; according as we read of Moses the deliverer of the Israelites, in agreeing the brethren together, when he saw them at variance:¹ no less, also, did his vigilant study extend in erecting, restoring, and enriching the churches of God in all cities, and in providing for the ministers of the same. And therefore, writing to Anulinus his chief captain, he declareth his will and mind to him in letters concerning the goods which did appertain to the churches of the Christians; that he should procure vigilantly for the same, that all goods, houses, and gardens, belonging before to the right of churches, should again be restored in all speedy wise, and that he therein might be certified with speed, &c.²

Moreover he, writing to the said Anulinus in another letter, signifieth unto him in this effect: that forso much as the contempt of God's reverend religion is and hath been ever the greatest decay to the name and people of Rome, as, contrarily, the maintaining and reverencing the same hath ever brought prosperity to all commonweals, therefore he, in consideration thereof, hath taken that order, and giveth to him in charge, that through that province where he had to do, which was in Africa where Cæcilian was bishop, he should there see and provide that all such ministers and clerks, whose vocation was to serve in the church, should be freed and exempted from all public duties and burdens; whereby they being so privileged, and all impediments removed which should hinder their divine ministration, thereby the common utility of the people might the better flourish, &c.³

Furthermore the said Constantine, in another letter writing to Miltiades, bishop of Rome, and to Marcus, declareth in his letters to them how Cæcilian bishop of Carthage had been accused unto him by divers of his colleagues and fellow-bishops. Wherefore his will is, that the said Cæcilian, with ten bishops his accusers, and with ten other his defendants, should repair up to him at Rome; where, in the presence of the aforesaid Miltiades, with the assistance of Reticius, Maternus, Marinus, and of others his colleagues, the cause of Cæcilian might be heard and rightly examined, so that all schism and

(1) Exod. ii.

(2) Euseb. lib. x. cap. 5.—Ed.

(3) Ibid. cap. 7.—En.

division might be cut off from among them ; wherein the fervent desire of Constantine to peace and unity may well appear.¹ Upon the like cause and argument also he writeth to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse ; being so desirous to nourish peace and concord in the church, that he offereth to him, with two of his ministers of the second order and three servants, a public carriage to come up to him unto the council of other bishops, to be held at the city of Arles on the calends of August, for the agreeing of certain matters belonging to the church.² He writeth also another letter to the aforementioned Cæcilian bishop of Carthage.³ To the provincials likewise of Palestine and those parts about, he directeth his edict in the behalf of the Christians, for the releasing of such as were in captivity, and for the restoring again of them which had sustained any loss in the former persecution before, and for the refreshing of such as heretofore had been oppressed with any ignominy or molestation for their confession sake ; declaring in the said edict how that his whole body, life and soul, and whatsoever is in him, he oweth to God and to the service of him, &c.⁴ Moreover another letter he writeth to Eusebius, for the edifying of new christian churches, and restoring of them which had been wasted before by foreign enemies.⁵

He also collected the synod of Nice⁶ for the study of peace and unity of the church, after he had first written upon the same to Alexander and Arius. In which his letter he most lamentably uttered the great grief of his heart, to see and hear of their contention and division, whereby the peace and common harmony of the church was broken, the synods provoked and resisted, the holy people of the Lord divided into parts and tumults, contrary to the office of good and circumspect men, whose duty were rather to nourish concord, and to seek tranquillity. And though in some small points and light trifles they did disagree from others ; yet the example of philosophers might teach them, who although in some part of a sentence or piece of a question, some might dissent from others, yet in the unity of their profession they did all join as fellows together. In like case were it their duty in such fruitless questions (or rather pieces of questions) to keep them in the conceptions of their minds in silence unto themselves, and not to bring them forth into public synods, or to break there-for from the communion of the reverend council : declaring moreover in the said epistle, the first origin and occasion of this their contentious dissension to rise upon vain and trifling terms, vile causes and light questions, and pieces rather of questions ; about such matters as neither are to be moved, nor to be answered unto, being moved ; more curious to be searched, and perilous to be expressed, than necessary to be inquired : “ *Magisque puerilibus ineptiis, quam sacerdotum ac cordatorum virorum prudentiæ convenientia ;*”⁷ as he there doth term them. Wherefore by all manner of means he doth labour them, doth desire and entreat them, and doth persuade them, not only with reasons, but also with tears and sighing sobs, that they would restore peace again unto the church, and quietness to the rest of his life (which otherwise would not be sweet unto him),

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His letter to Chrestus bishop of Syracuse. The edict of Constantine to the rulers of the province of Palestine.

The letter of Constantine to Eusebius.

The letter of Constantine to Alexander and Arius.

(1) Euseb. lib. x. cap. 5.—Ed.

(2) Ibid.—Ed.

(3) Ibid. cap. 6.—Ed.

(4) Euseb. De Vitâ Constant. lib. ii. cap. 24—43.—Ed.

(5) Ex Euseb. De Vitâ Constant. lib. ii. [cap. 46].

(6) Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 4—14.—Ed.

(7) Ibid. lib. ii. cap. 71.—Ed.

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Constan-
tine set
forth a
spectacle
to all
princes
to follow.

and that they would return again to the communion of the reverend council; who, in so doing, should open his way and purposed journey into the East parts: who otherwise, hearing of their discord and dissension, would be sorry to see with his eyes that which grieveth him now to hear with his ears—with much more in the same epistle contained; but this is the effect of the whole.¹ Thus much I thought summarily to comprehend, whereby the divine disposition and singular gentle nature of this meek and religious Constantine might more notoriously appear to all princes, for them to learn by his example what zeal and care they ought to bear toward the church of Christ, and how gently to govern, and how to be beneficial to the same.

Many other edicts and epistles, written to other places and parties, be expressed at large in the second book of Eusebius's "*De Vitâ Constantini*;" wherein the zealous care and princely beneficence of this noble emperor toward the church of Christ may appear; whereof, in a brief recapitulation, such specialties we have collected as here follow, and are to be seen in Sozomen.²

A brief
recapitu-
lation of
benefits
wrought
by him,
upon
Christ's
church.

First, he commanded all them to be set free, whosoever for the confession of Christ had been condemned to banishment, or to the mines of metal, or to any public or private labour to them inflicted. Such as were put to any infamy or open shame among the multitude, he willed them to be discharged from all such blemish of ignominy. Soldiers, who before were either deprived of their place, or put out of their wages, were put to their liberty either to serve again in their place, or quietly to live at home. Whatsoever honour, place, or dignity had been taken away from any man, should be restored to them again. The goods and possessions of them that had suffered death for Christ, howsoever they were alienated, should return to their heirs or next of kin, or for lack of them should be given to the church. He commanded, moreover, that only Christians should bear office; the others he charged and restrained, that they should neither sacrifice nor exercise any more divinations and ceremonies of the Gentiles, nor set up any images, nor keep any feasts of the heathen idolaters. He corrected, moreover, and abolished all such unlawful manners and dishonest usages in the cities as might be hurtful any ways to the church; as the custom that the Egyptians had in the flowing of Nile, at what time the people used to run together like brute beasts, both men and women, and with all kind of filthiness and sodomitry to pollute their cities in celebrating the increase of that river. This abomination Constantine extinguished, causing that wicked order called Androgyni to be killed: by reason whereof the river afterward (through the benefit of God) yielded more increase in its flowing, to the greater fertility of the ground, than it did before.³

Where
wicked-
ness is
punished,
there
goodness
followeth.

Among the Romans was an old law, that such as were barren, having no fruit of children, should be amerced of half the goods left them by will. Also, that such as being above the years of twenty and five unmarried, should not be numbered in the same privileges with them that were married, neither should be entitled to any thing

(1) Euseb. *De Vitâ Constant.* lib. ii. cap. 64—72.—Ed.
(3) Sozom. lib. i. cap. 8, 9. Euseb. *V. C.* 4. 25.—Ed.

(2) Sozom. lib. i. cap. 8, 9.—Ed.

by will, unless they were next in kin.¹ These laws, because they seemed unreasonable (to punish the defect of nature, or gift of virginity by man's law), he abrogated and took away. Another order was among the Romans, that they who made their wills being sick, had certain prescribed and conceived words appointed to them to use, which unless they followed, their wills stood in no effect. This law also Constantine repealed, permitting to every man, in making his testament, to use what words or what witnesses he would. Likewise among the Romans he restrained and took away the cruel and bloody spectacles and sights, where men were wont with swords one to kill another. Of the barbarous and filthy fashion of the Arethusians in Phœnicia,² I have mentioned before, where they used to expose and set forth their virgins to open fornication before they should be married: which custom also Constantine removed away. Where no churches were, there he commanded new to be made; where any were decayed, he commanded them to be repaired; where any were too little, he caused them to be enlarged, giving to the same great gifts and revenues, not only of such tributes and taxes as came to him from certain sundry cities, which he transferred unto the churches, but also out of his own treasures. When any bishops required any council to be had, he satisfied their petitions; and what in their councils and synods they established, being godly and honest, he was ready to confirm the same.

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The liberality of Constantine in giving to churches.

The armour of his soldiers, who were newly come from Gentilism, he garnished with the arms of the Cross, whereby they might learn the sooner to forget their old superstitious idolatry. Moreover, this worthy emperor, acting the part of a catechist, prescribed a certain form of prayer, for every man to have, and to learn how to pray and to invoke God. The which form of prayer is recited in the fourth book of Eusebius's, "*De Vitâ Constantini*," in words as followeth:

"We acknowledge thee only to be our God; we confess thee to be our King; we invoke and call upon thee our only helper; by thee we obtain our victories; by thee we vanquish and subdue our enemies; to thee we attribute whatsoever present commodities we enjoy, and by thee we hope for good things to come: unto thee we all direct our suits and petitions, most humbly beseeching thee to conserve Constantine our emperor (with his pious children) in long life to continue, and to give him victory over all his enemies."³

Form of prayer appointed of Constantine for his soldiers.

In his own palace he set up a house peculiar for prayer and doctrine, using also to pray and sing with his people. Also in his wars he went not without his tabernacle appointed for the same. The Sunday he commanded to be kept holy of all men, and free from all judiciary causes, from markets, marts, fairs, and all other manual labours, only husbandry excepted: especially charging that no images or monuments of idolatry should be set up.

The Sunday appointed to be kept holy.

Men of the clergy and of the ministry in all places he endued with special privileges and immunities; so that if any were brought before

Liberties granted to the clergy.

(1) The text has been somewhat corrected from Sozomen, lib. i. cap. 9.—ED.

(2) See Euseb. "*Vit. Constant.*" 3. § 58. It might be more correct, perhaps, to say "in Cœle-syria;" but this region was variously named of old: vide "*Plinii Hist. Nat.*" lib. v. cap. 12, or Cellarii "*Geogr. Plen.*" tom. ii. p. 266, edit. 1706.

(3) "Te solum novimus Deum, te regem cognoscimus, te adiutorem invocamus, abs te victorias referimus, per te victorias inimicorum constituimus, tibi presentium bonorum gratiam acceptam ferimus, et per te futura quoque speramus, tibi supplices sumus omnes: imperatorem nostrum Constantinum, ac pientissimos ejus filios, in longissima vita incolumes nobis ac victores custodire supplices oramus." Euseb. lib. iv. *De Vitâ Const.* [c. 20.]

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the civil magistrate, and listed to appeal to the sentence of his bishop, it should be lawful for him so to do, and that the sentence of the bishop should stand in as great force as if the magistrate or the emperor himself had pronounced it. But here is to be observed and noted by the way, that the clerks and ministers then newly creeping out of persecution, were in those days neither in number so great as, nor in order of life of the like disposition to, these in our days now living.

The provision and liberality of Constantine in maintaining schools.

No less care and provision the said Constantine also had for the maintenance of schools pertaining to the church; and others for the nourishing of good arts and liberal sciences, especially of jurisprudence; not only with stipends and subsidies furnishing them, but also with large privileges and exemptions defending the same, as by the words of his own law is to be seen and read as followeth:

"Physicians, grammarians, and other professors of liberal arts, and doctors of the law, with their wives and children, and all other their possessions which they have in cities, we command to be freed from all civil charges and functions, neither to receive foreign strangers in provinces, nor to be burdened with any public administration, nor to be cited up to civil judgment, nor to be drawn out or oppressed with any injury. And if any man shall vex them he shall incur such punishment as the judge at his discretion shall award him. Their stipends moreover, and salaries, we command truly to be paid them, whereby they may more freely instruct others in arts and sciences," etc.¹

His care to have the Scripture in churches:

Over and besides this, so far did his godly zeal and princely care and provision extend to the church of Christ, that he commanded and provided books and volumes of the Scripture, diligently and plainly to be written and copied out, to remain in public churches to the use of posterity. Whereupon writing to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, in a special letter, he willeth him with all diligence to procure fifty volumes of parchment well bound and compacted, wherein he should cause to be written out copies of the Scripture in a fair legible hand, the provision and use whereof he thought necessary and profitable for the instruction of the church; and alloweth him the use of two public carriages to convey them when finished to the emperor's inspection, and engageth to pay one of his deacons for the conveyance thereof: he also writeth concerning the same to the superintendent of the diocese,² to support and further him with such necessities, as thereunto should appertain.³

A wish of the author admonitory to princes.

In viewing, perusing, and writing this story, and in considering the christian zeal of this emperor, I wish that either this our printing and plenty of books had been in his days, or that this so heroical heart toward Christ's religion, as was in this so excellent monarch, might something appear in inferior princes reigning in these our printing-days.

The liberality of Constantine towards the poor and needy.

The liberal hand of this emperor born to do all men good, was no less also open and ready toward the needy poverty of such, which either by loss of parents or other occasions were not able to help themselves: to whom he commanded and provided due subvention

(1) "Medicos, grammaticos, et alios professores literarum, et doctores legum, cum uxoris et liberis," etc.

(2) About Constantine's time, several provinces were placed under one *καθολικός*, and called a "diocese;" and the *καθολικός* was the deputy of the *praefectus praetorio*, who had several "dioceses" under him. See Vales. not. in Euseb. loc. cit.—Ed.

(3) Euseb. De Vitâ Constant. lib. iv. cap. 36, whence Foxe's text has been corrected in two or three points.—Ed.

both of corn and raiment to be ministered out of his own coffers, to the necessary relief of the poor men, women, children, orphans, and widows.¹

Finally, among all the other monuments of his singular clemency and munificence, this is not to be pretermitted; that through all the empire of Rome and provinces belonging to the same, not only he diminished such taxes, revenues, and imposts, as publicly were coming to him, but also clearly remitted and released to the contributors the fourth part of the same.

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This present place would require something to be said of the donation of Constantine, whereupon, as upon their chiefest anchorhold, the bishops of Rome do ground their supreme dominion and right, over all the political government of the West parts, and the spiritual government of all the other sees and parts of the world. Which donation to be falsely feigned and forged, and not to proceed from Constantine, many arguments might here be inferred, if leisure from other matters would suffer me.²

*Donation
of Con-
stantine.*

First, for that no ancient history, nor yet doctor, maketh any mention thereof.

*Reasons
and argu-
ments
proving it
to be fal-
sified.*

2. Nauclerus reporteth it to be affirmed in the history of Isidore. But in the old copies of Isidore no such thing is to be found.

3. Gratian, the compiler of the Decrees,³ reciteth that decree, not upon any ancient authority, but only under the title of "Palea."

4. Gelasius is said to give some testimony thereof, in Dist. 15, "Sancta Romana Ecclesia." But that clause of the said distinction touching that matter in the old ancient books is not extant.

5. Otho of Frisingen,⁴ who was about the time of Gratian, after he hath declared the opinion of the favourers of the papacy, affirming this donation to be given of Constantine to Silvester the pope, induceth consequently the opinion of them that favour the empire, affirming the contrary.

6. How doth this agree, that Constantine did yield up to Silvester all the political dominion over the West? whereas the said Constantine

(1) Euseb. De Vitâ Constant. lib. iv. cap. 28.—Ed.

(2) The following arguments against the Donation of Constantine are probably an abridgment of those given by Illyricus Flacius, "Catalogus testium, curâ Goularti, Genevæ, 1608," cols. 284—290; whence several inaccuracies in Foxe's text have been detected and corrected. They will also be found in the Magdeburg Centuriators, cent. iv. cap. 7, col. 319, 320, edit. Basil, 1624. The Donation of Constantine was forged between 755 and 776: for in 776 pope Adrian avails himself of it in an exhortation to Charlemagne. But in 755 Stephen II. had also an opening to make use of it; but as he neither mentions it nor refers to it in any way, it follows that it was unknown to him as it had been to all his predecessors. The president Hénault thinks it took its rise from Constantine's allowing the churches from the year 321 to acquire landed property, and individuals to enrich them by legacies. This donation preserved its credit so long, that in 1478 some Christians were burned at Strasburg for daring to question its authenticity. Laurence Valla having demonstrated its falsity towards the middle of the 15th century, the best writers of the 16th, even those of Italy, treated it with contempt. Ariosto places it among the chimeras which Astolphus meets with in the moon. Ori. Fur. chap. 14, stanza 8.—Ed.

(3) That portion of the canon law, which was drawn up by Gratian, is at present entitled Decretum; but from the remarks of Mairicht (§ 305), it will easily bear a plural interpretation. Some general reflections upon Gratian's compilation from the same writer may not be unsuitably subjoined:

"Nec meo iudicio integrum opus Gratiani penitus abolendum aut omni utilitate carere censeo. Sunt in eo multa, quæ historiam, ut supra dictum, ejus et anteriorum temporum juvant. Sunt multa, quæ erroribus pontificiorum contraria sunt, et multa ipsam pontificis majestatem oppugnant et convellunt, etiamsi contra intentionem forte scribentis, qui in promovendâ monarchiâ pontificiâ multum momenti attulit; quod solide et accurate demonstravit magnus juris-consultus Innocentius Gentilet Delphinus in *Apologia pro ecclesiis Reformatis*; in qua controversias quæ inter Protestantem et pontificios agitari solent, solidissime et feliciter satis decidunt.—Quæ sola ratio studiosos, interque eos etiam potissimum theologos, excitare debet ad studium juris canonici, ex quo, tanquam armamentario arma sufficienter contra adversarios promere, eosque proprio gladio conficere possunt." Ger. Von Mairicht historia juris eccles. et Pontifici, Halæ, 1719, p. 350.—Ed.

(4) Lib. iv. cap. 3.—Ed.

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at his death, dividing the empire to his three sons, gave the West part of the empire to one, the East part to the second, the middle part to the third.

7. How is it likely that Theodosius after them, being a just and a religious prince, would or could have occupied the city of Rome, if it had not been his right, but had belonged to the pope? and so did many other emperors after him.

8. The phrase of this decree, being conferred with the phrase and style of Constantine in his other edicts and letters above specified, doth nothing agree.

9. Seeing the papists themselves confess that the decree of this donation was written in Greek, how agreeth that with truth? when both it was written not to the Greeks, but to the Romans, and also Constantine himself, for lack of the Greek tongue, was fain to use the Latin tongue in the council of Nice.

10. The contents of this donation (whosoever was the forger thereof) doth bewray itself;¹ for if it be true (which therein is confessed), that he was baptized at Rome of Silvester and that this patrimony was given on the fourth day after his baptism (which was before his battle against Maximin in the year of our Lord 313, as Nicephorus recordeth),² how then accordeth this with that which followeth in the donation, for him to have given jurisdiction to the bishop of Rome over the other four principal sees of Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem? whereas the city of Constantinople was not yet begun (as Nicephorus recordeth) before the fall of Licinius, viz. in the tenth year of Constantine; and was not finished before the eight and twentieth year of the reign of Constantine,³ A.D. 334; or if it be true as Jerome counteth, it was finished the three and twentieth year of his reign, which was A.D. 328, long after this donation, by their own account.

11. Furthermore, whereas in the said Constitution it is said that Constantine was baptized at Rome of Silvester,⁴ and thereby was purged of leprosy; the fable thereof agreeth not with the truth of history, forsomuch as Eusebius, Jerome, Ruffinus, Socrates, Theodoret, and Sozomen, do all together consent that he was baptized, not at Rome, but at Nicomedia;⁵ and that moreover, as by their testimony doth appear, not of Silvester, but of Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia; not before his battle against Maximin or Licinius, but in the thirty-first year of his reign, a little before his death.

12. Again, whereas Constantine in this donation appointed him to have the principality over the other four patriarchal sees, that maketh Constantine contrary to himself; who, in the council of Nice,

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

(2) Lib. vii. cap. 33, 35, 37.—Ed.

(3) Niceph. lib. viii. cap. 4. Constantine began his reign July 25, A.D. 306, so that the building of Constantinople commenced (according to Nicephorus) in A.D. 315; whereas Licinius did not receive his final overthrow till A.D. 324. Nicephorus seems to have misunderstood an expression of the emperor Julian, that Constantine built his city "infra decem annos." The more correct opinion probably is, that the building commenced the latter end of A.D. 325 (being the twentieth year of Constantine), that the dedication took place on Monday, May 11, 330, and that it was completed "infra decem annos" A.D. 334, which was the twenty-eighth of his reign. See Pagii Crit. in Baron. Annal. ad an. 324, num. xix an. 330, num. iv.—Ed.

(4) "Nullo plane argumento probari posse quæ de lepra et baptizato a. 324 per Sylvestrum Constantino M. jactantur—dudum demonstraverunt præter Valesium ad Euseb. etc. Tillemont Hist. des Empereurs; tom. iv. p. 422—et præ reliquis Tentzel. Examen fabulæ Romanæ de duplici baptismo Constant. M. (Viteb. 1683) etc. etc. Heineken excursus V. ad Euseb. de Vitâ Constant. iv. 61, Lipsiæ, 1830.—Ed.

(5) Euseb. lib. iv. De Vitâ Constantinî. Hieronym. in Chron. Ruffin. lib. ii. cap. 11. Socrat. lib. i. cap. 39. Theod. lib. i. cap. 32. Sozomen. lib. ii. cap. 34.

afterward agreed with other bishops, that all the four patriarchal sees should have equal jurisdiction, every one over his own territory and precinct.

13. In sum, briefly to conclude: whoso desireth more abundantly to be satisfied touching this matter, let him read the book of Marsilius Patavinus,¹ intituled, "Defensor Pacis," A.D. 1324; of Laurentius Valla, A.D. 1440; of Antoninus archbishop of Florence, who, in his history, plainly denieth the tenor of this donation to be found in the old books of the decrees; of cardinal Cusan, lib. iii. cap. 2, writing to the council of Basil, in 1460; of Æneas Sylvius in "Dialogo;" of Hieronymus Paulus Catalanus,² in 1496; of Raphael Volateran, in 1500; of Luther, in 1537, etc.; all which, by many and evident probations, dispute and prove this donation (taken out of a Greek book in the pope's library, and translated by one Bartholomeus Picernus out of Greek into Latin) not to proceed from Constantine, but to be a thing untruly pretended, or rather a fable imagined, or else to be the deed of Pipin or Charlemagne, or some such other, if it were ever the deed of any.³

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tion.*

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And thus hast thou, beloved reader, briefly collected the narration of the noble acts and heavenly virtues of this most famous emperor, Constantine the Great: a singular spectacle for all Christian princes to behold and imitate, and worthy of perpetual memory in all congregations of christian saints; whose fervent zeal and piety in general, to all congregations and to all the servants of Christ, was notable. But especially the affection and reverence of his heart toward them was admirable, which had suffered any thing for the confession of Christ in the persecutions before: them had he principally in price and veneration, inasmuch that he embraced and kissed their wounds and stripes, and their eyes being put out. And if any such bishops or any other ministers brought to him any complaints one against another (as many times they did), he would take their bills of complaint, and burn them before their faces; so studious and zealous was his mind to have them agree, whose discord was to him more grief than it was to themselves. All the virtuous acts and memorable doings of this divine and renowned emperor to comprehend or commit to history, it were the matter alone of a great volume: wherefore contented with these above premised, because nothing of him can be said enough, I cease to discourse of him any further.

*Com-
menda-
tion of
Constan-
tine the
emperor.*

Constan-
tine
kissed the
wounds of
them that
suffered
for Christ.
Constan-
tine burn-
eth the
bills of
com-
plaints,
and
breaketh
strife
among
the
bishops.

One thing yet remaineth not to be omitted, wherein as by the way

(1) The "Defensor Pacis" of Marsilius of Padua is mentioned again by our author, *infra*, vol. ii. p. 705: it is included in Goldasti's "De Monarchiâ S. Romani Imperii," tom. ii. p. 154. It was translated into English by W. Marshall, and printed by Robert Wyer, in 1535. See Herbert's edition of Ames' Typographical Antiquities, vol. i. p. 371; or Dibdin's, vol. iii. p. 178.—Ed.

(2) He was a canon of Barcelona, and chamberlain to Alexander VI. His opinion is quoted by Cooke, vicar of Leeds, in his "Censura quorundam Scriptorum," (Helmsted. 1683) p. 178. In a remark subjoined to the "Biblioth. Hisp. Vetus" of Antonio (tom. ii. p. 340, edit. 1788) he is characterised as "notissimus;" but it is doubtful in what sense exactly this epithet is to be understood, Antonio having neglected to record any particulars of his life.—Ed.

(3) The above paragraph has been corrected in several particulars from Illyricus; who, in penning it, seems to have had before him the "Fasciculus rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum" of Orthuinus Gratius; who, at folio lxii. gives the Latin "Donatio Constantini," translated by Bartholomæus Picernus de Monte Arduo from a small Greek book, which he himself says he found in the library of pope Julius II., to whom he dedicates the translation: this is followed in the Fasciculus by Laurence Valla's "Declamatio in Donationem Constantini;" by a passage from Nicolas of Cusan on the same subject (De Concordantiâ Catholicâ, lib. iii. cap. 2), containing an allusion to Æneas Sylvius's Dialogus; by an extract from the history of Antoninus (tit. viii. cap. 2, § 8); by an extract from Raphael Volateran (Vit. Constant.); and by another from Hieronymus Catalanus (Practica Cancellaria Apostolica).—Ed.

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of a note, I thought good to admonish the learned reader, such as love to be conversant in reading of ancient authors ; that in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius,¹ whereas in the latter end of the book is added a certain oration, "Ad conventum Sanctorum," under the name of Eusebius Pamphilus, here is to be understood, that the said oration is wrongfully intituled upon the name of Eusebius, which in very truth is the oration of Constantine himself. For the probation whereof (beside the style and matter therein contained, and tractation heroical lively declaring the religious vein of Constantine) I allege the very testimony of Eusebius himself, in his fourth book, "De Vitâ Constantini;" where he, in express words, not only declareth that Constantine wrote such an oration, intituled "Ad Conventum Sanctorum," but also promiseth, in the end of his book to annex the same: declaring, moreover, what difficulty the interpreters had to translate the same from the Roman speech to their Grecian tongue.²

And here an end of these lamentable and doleful persecutions of the primitive church, during the space of three hundred years from the passion of our Saviour Christ, till the coming of this Constantine ; by whom, as by the elect instrument of God, it hath so pleased his Almighty Majesty, by his determinate purpose, to give rest after long trouble to his church, according to that which St. Cyprian declared before to be revealed of God unto his church: that after darkness and stormy tempest, should come peaceable, calm, and stable quietness to his church, meaning this time of Constantine now present.

Satan
bound up
for a
thousand
years.

At which time it so pleased the Almighty, that the murdering malice of Satan should at length be restrained, and himself tied up for a thousand years, through his great mercy in Christ ; to whom there-for be thanks and praise, now and for ever ! Amen.

(1) Note, that the oration "Ad Conventum Sanctorum," is wrongly ascribed to Eusebius, which indeed is the oration of Constantine.

(2) Euseb. de Vitâ Constantini, lib. iv. [cap. 32.—Ed.]

ACTS AND MONUMENTS

BOOK II.¹

CONTAINING

THE NEXT THREE HUNDRED YEARS FOLLOWING, WITH SUCH
THINGS SPECIALLY TOUCHED AS HAVE HAPPENED IN
ENGLAND, FROM THE TIME OF KING LUCIUS
TO GREGORY, AND SO AFTER, TO THE
TIME OF KING EGBERT.

By these persecutions hitherto in the book before precedent thou mayest understand, christian reader, how the fury of Satan and rage of men have done what they could to extinguish the name and religion of Christ: for what thing did lack, that either death could do, or torments could work, or the gates of hell could devise? all was to the uttermost attempted. And yet, all the fury and malice of Satan, all the wisdom of the world and strength of men, doing, devising, practising what they could, notwithstanding, the religion of Christ (as thou seest) hath had the upper hand; which thing I wish thee greatly, gentle reader, wisely to note and diligently to ponder in considering these former histories. And because thou canst not consider them, nor profit by them, unless thou do first read and peruse them; let me crave, therefore, thus much at thine hands, to turn and read over the said histories of those persecutions above described, especially, above all the other histories of this present volume, for thy especial edification, which I trust thou shalt find not unworthy the reading.

The Britons.

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to
449.

Apetition
to the
reader
diligently
to read
over the
former
book of
the ten
persecu-
tions.

Now because the tying up of Satan giveth to the church some rest, and to me some leisure to address myself to the handling of other stories, I mind therefore (Christ willing) in this present book,—leaving awhile the tractation of these general affairs pertaining to the universal church,—to prosecute such domestical histories as more nearly concern this our country of England and Scotland done here at home; beginning first with king Lucius, with whom the faith first began here in this realm, as the sentence of some writers doth hold. And forsomuch as here may rise, yea and doth rise, a great contro-
versy in these our popish days, concerning the first origin and plant-
ing of the faith in this our realm, it shall not be greatly out of our
purpose somewhat to stay and say of this question, Whether the

The first
planting
of the
christian
faith in
England.

(1) Edition 1570, p. 145; edition 1576, p. 107; edition 1584, p. 106; edition 1596, p. 95; edition 1684, vol. I. p. 117.—Ed.

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church of England first received the faith from Rome or not? The which although I grant so to be, yet, being so granted, it little avail-eth the purpose of them which would so have it. For be it that England first received the christian faith and religion from Rome, both in the time of Eleutherius their bishop, one hundred and eighty years after Christ, and also in the time of Augustine whom Gregory I. sent hither six hundred years after Christ; yet their purpose followeth not thereby, that we must therefore fetch our religion from thence still, as from the chief well-head and fountain of all godliness. And yet as they are not able to prove the second, so neither have I any cause to grant the first, that is, that our christian faith was first derived from Rome; as I may prove by six or seven good conjectural reasons, whereof,

Answer.

The first I take of the testimony of Gildas, our countryman; who in his history affirmeth plainly, that Britain received the gospel in the time of Tiberius the emperor, under whom Christ suffered;¹ and saith moreover, that Joseph of Arimathea, after the dispersion of the early church by the Jews, was sent of Philip the apostle from France to Britain, about the year of our Lord 63, and here remained in this land all his time; and so, with his fellows, laid the first foundation of christian faith among the British people, whereupon other preachers and teachers coming afterward, confirmed the same and increased it.²

2. The second reason is out of Tertullian; who, living near about, or rather somewhat before, the time of this Eleutherius, in his book "*Contra Judæos*," manifestly importeth the same; where the said Tertullian, testifying how the gospel was dispersed abroad by the sound of the apostles, and there reckoning up the Medes, Persians, Parthians, and dwellers in Mesopotamia, Jewry, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Egypt, Pamphylia, with many more, at length cometh to the coast of the Moors, and all the borders of Spain, with divers nations of France; and there amongst all other reciteth also the parts of Britain which the Romans could never attain to, and reporteth the same now to be subject to Christ; as also reckoneth up the places of Sarmatia, of the Dacians, the Germans, the Scythians, with many other provinces and isles to him unknown; in all which places (saith he) reigneth the name of Christ, which now beginneth to be common. This hath Tertullian.³ Note here how among other divers believing nations, he mentioneth also the wildest places of Britain to be of the same number; and these, in his time, were christened; who was in the same Eleutherius' time, as is above said. Then pope Eleutherius was not the first which sent the christian faith into this realm, but the gospel was here received before his time, either by Joseph of Arimathea (as some chronicles record), or by some of the apostles or of their scholars, which had been here preaching Christ before Eleutherius wrote to Lucius.

3. My third probation I deduct out of Origen; whose words be these, "*Britanniam in Christianam consentire religionem*." Whereby it appeareth, that the faith of Christ was sparsed here in England before the days of Eleutherius.⁴

(1) Gildas, *Hist. Brit.* § 6. "Gildas cognomento *Sapiens*, et *Badonicus* dictus, natus anno 520, ob prælium *Badonicum* claro (inde ei nomen) Iltuti discipulus, ob. 570." Cave.—Ed.

(2) Gildas, *Lib. de Victoriâ Aurelii Ambrosii*. See *suprà*, p. 152. [It appears from Usher, p. 12, that there is no book extant bearing this title. See Appendix for more on this subject.—Ed.]

(3) Tertul. "*Contra Judæos*." [§ 7.—Ed.]

(4) Ex Origen. *Hom.* 4. in *Ezech.*

4. For my fourth probation I take the testimony of Bede ; where he affirmeth, that in his time (seven hundred years after Christ) here in Britain Easter was kept after the manner of the east church, in the full of the moon, what day in the week so ever it fell on, and not on the Sunday, as we do now. Whereby it is to be collected, that the first preachers in this land had come out from the east part of the world, where it was so used, rather than from Rome.¹

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5. Fifthly, I may allege the words of Nicephorus ; where he saith that Simon Zelotes did spread the gospel of Christ to the west ocean, and brought the same unto the isles of Britain.²

6. Sixthly, may be here added also the words of Peter of Clugni ; who, writing to Bernard, affirmeth that the Scots in his time did celebrate their Easter, not after the Roman manner, but after the Greeks, etc. And as the said Britons were not under the Roman order in the time of this abbot of Clugni, so neither were they, nor would be, under the Roman legate in the time of Gregory, nor would admit any primacy of the bishop of Rome to be above them.³

7. For the seventh argument, moreover, I may make my probation by the plain words of Eleutherius ; by whose epistle written to king Lucius we may understand, that Lucius had received the faith of Christ in this land before the king sent to Eleutherius for the Roman laws ; for so the express words of the letter do manifestly purport, as hereafter followeth to be seen.⁴

By all which conjectures it may stand probably to be thought, that the Britons were taught first by the Grecians of the east church, rather than by the Romans.

Peradventure Eleutherius might help something either to convert the king, or else to increase the faith then newly sprung among the people ; but that he precisely was the first, that cannot be proved. But grant he were, as indeed the most part of our English stories confess, neither will I greatly stick with them therein ; yet what have they got thereby when they have cast all their gain ? In few words, to conclude this matter ; if so be that the christian faith and religion was first derived from Rome to this our nation by Eleutherius, then let them but grant to us the same faith and religion which then was taught at Rome, and from thence derived hither by the said Eleutherius, and we will desire no more. For then, neither was any universal pope above all churches and councils, which came not in before Boniface III.'s time, which was four hundred years after ; neither any name or use of the mass, the parts whereof how and by whom they were compiled, hereafter in this book following appear to be seen. Neither was any sacrifice propitiatory for the scouring of purgatory then offered upon hallowed altars, but only the communion frequented at christian tables, where oblations and gifts were offered, as well of the people as of the priests, to God, because they should appear neither empty nor unkind before the Lord ; as we may understand by the time of Cyprian. Neither was then any transubstantiation heard of, which was not brought in before a thousand years after. Neither were then any images of saints departed set up in churches ; yea, a great number of the saints worshipped in this our time were not as

Difference
between
the late
church of
Rome and
the old
church of
Rome.

(1) Ex Beda, Hist. Eccl. Angl. lib. v. cap. 23.—Ed.

(2) Pet. Cluniacensis ad Bernardum. [Epist. 229, § 9.—Ed.]

(4) Ex Epist. Eleutherii ad Lucium.

(2) Ex Niceph. lib. ii. c. 40.—Ed.

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yet born, nor the churches wherein they were worshipped yet set up, but came in long after, especially in the time of Irene and Constans the emperor. Likewise neither relics nor peregrinations were then in use. Priests' marriage was then as lawful (and no less received) as now; neither was it condemned before the days of Hildebrand, almost a thousand years after that. Their service was then in the vulgar tongue, as witnesseth Jerome. The sacraments were ministered in both kinds, as well to laymen as to priests, the witness whereof is Cyprian. Yea, and temporal men which would not then communicate at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, were not then counted for catholics, the pope's own distinction can testify.¹ In funerals, priests then flocked not together, selling trentals and dirges for sweeping of purgatory; but only a funeral concio was used, with psalms of praises and songs of their worthy deeds, and hallelujah sounding on high, which did shake the gilded ceilings of the temple; as witness Gregory Nazianzen, Ambrose, and Jerome. In the supper of the Lord, and at baptism, no such ceremonies were used as now of late have been intruded: insomuch that (as in this story is showed hereafter), both Augustine and Paulinus baptized then in rivers, not in hallowed founts; as witness Fabian,² and the portues³ of Sarum, of York, of Bangor, with matins and evensong of the day. Again, neither were the orders and religions of monks and friars yet dreamed of, to the space almost of a thousand years after. So that, as I said, if the papists would needs derive the faith and religion of this realm from Rome, then let them set us and leave us there where they had us; that is, let them suffer us to stand content with that faith and religion which then was taught and brought from Rome by Eleutherius (as now we differ nothing from the same), and we will desire no better. And if they will not, then let the wise reader judge where the fault is, in us, or them, who neither themselves will persist in the antiquity of the Romish religion which they so much brag of, neither will they permit us so to do.

And thus much by the way, to satisfy the aforesaid objection; whereby we may have now a more ready passage into the order and course of the history. It being therefore granted unto them which they so earnestly stick upon, that the christian faith and religion of this realm was brought from Rome, first by Eleutherius, then afterward by Augustine; thus write the chronicles of that matter:—

Eleutherius
bishop of
Rome.
Augustine II.

The faith
of Christ
brought
into this
realm.
Lucius
first
christen-
ed king
of the
Britons.

About the time and year of the Lord 180, king Lucius son of Coilus, which builded Colchester, king of the Britons, who then were the inhabitors and possessors of this land, which now we Englishmen call England, hearing of the miracles and wonders done by the Christians at that time in divers places (as Geoffrey of Monmouth writeth), directed his letters to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, to receive of him the christian faith; although about the computation of the year and time, great difference there is in authors when this should be.⁴ Naucerus saith, it was anno 156:⁵

(1) [Decret. pars iii.] De Consecr. Dist. 2. [§ 19.—Ed.]

(2) Fabian, pt. 5, cap. 119 and 130. [pp. 96, 112, edit. Lond. 1811. Bede, Ecc. Hist. Gent. Angl. lib. ii. cap. 16.—Ed.]

(3) "Portues," (or "Portuese," *suprà*, p. 273.) a corruption of "Porthors," a word in French romance, signifying "a breviary" or portable prayer-book. See a full account of the word, and the various forms under which it occurs, in archdeacon Nares's Glossary.—Ed.

(4) Ex Monumetensi et aliis.

(5) See Appendix, and *suprà*, p. 151, note (6).—Ed.

but that cannot be, forsomuch as Eleutherius was not yet bishop by the space of twenty years after that. Henry of Herford saith it was A.D. 169, in the nineteenth year of Verus, emperor. But that agreeth not with approved histories, which all consent that Verus reigned not nineteen years; and if he had, yet that year cometh not to the year of our Lord 169, but to the year 179.¹ Some others say that Eleutherius was made bishop in the sixth year of Commodus, which was the year of our Lord 185: but that seemeth to go too far. But let the authors agree as they can. Let us return to Eleutherius, the good bishop, who, hearing the request of this king, and glad to see the godly-towardness of his well-disposed mind, sendeth him certain teachers and preachers called Fugatius, or by some Fagan, and Damian or Dimian, which first converted the king and people of Britain, and baptized them with the baptism and sacrament of Christ's faith. The temples of idolatry and all other monuments of gentility they subverted, converting the people from their divers and many gods, to serve one living God. Thus true religion with sincere faith increasing, superstition decayed, with all other rites of idolatry. There were then in Britain twenty-eight head-priests, which they called "Flamins,"² and three arch-priests among them, which were called "Arch-Flamins," having the oversight of their manners, and as judges over the rest. These twenty-eight Flamins they turned to twenty-eight bishops, and the three arch-flamins to three arch-bishops, having then their seats in three principal cities of the realm; that is, in London, in York, and in Glamorgantia, videlicet in Urbe Legionum,³ by Wales. Thus the countries of the whole realm being divided every one under his own bishop, and all things settled in a good order; the foresaid king Lucius sent again to the said Eleutherius for the Roman laws, thereby likewise to be governed, as in religion now they were framed accordingly; unto whom Eleutherius again writeth after the tenor of these words ensuing:

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Fagan.
Damian.

Twenty-eight
bishops.
Three arch-
bishops.

The Epistle of Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, sent to King Lucius.⁴

Anno 169 a passione Christi,⁵ scripsit Dominus Eleutherius papa Lucio regi Britanniae, ad correctionem regis et procerum regni Britanniae; and so forth, as followeth in English.

Ye require of us the Roman laws and the emperor's to be sent over to you, which you may practise and put in use within your realm. The Roman laws and the emperor's we may ever reprove, but the law of God we may not. Ye have received of late, through God's mercy, in the realm of Britain, the law and faith of Christ; ye have with you within the realm, both the parts of the Scriptures. Out of them, by God's grace, with the council of your realm, take

(1) Herford's only mistake is in saying A.D. 169, instead of 179; for the emperor Verus completed the 19th year of his reign, March 17, 180, and died ten days after. *L'Art de Ver. des Dates.*—Ed.

(2) "Some pretend to give a more punctual and exact account of the settling of our church government here; and for this, besides the rabble of our monkish historians, who swallow Geoffrey of Monmouth whole without chewing, I find two of my predecessors, men considerable in their times, produced for the same purpose, viz. Radulphus de Diceto, and Rad. Baldock; so that setting aside the name of *Flamins* and *Arch-Flamins*, for which there is no foundation at all, yet the thing itself hath no such absurdity or improbability in it." Stillingfleet's "*Antiq. of British Churches*," chap. 2: see also Usher, "*Antiq. Brit. Eccles.*" cap. 5.—Ed.

(3) Caerleon. See *infra*, p. 338, note (1).—Ed.

(4) *Ex vetusto codice regum antiquorum.* [There are serious objections to the genuineness of this epistle, which is exhibited more at length, and the subject fully discussed, in Mason's "*Vindication of the Church of England, and of the lawful Ministry thereof*;" (Lond. 1728) book ii. ch. 3. Bp. Stillingfleet's (p. 66) general view of the circumstances is probably correct. See also Cressy's "*Church History of Britanny*," b. iv. c. 4, § 7. See more in the Appendix to this Volume. Eleutherius was pope, A.D. 177—192. *L'Art de Ver. des Dates.*—Ed.]

(5) There is an error here; the reader may consult the Appendix to this volume; also Stillingfleet's "*Antiquities of the British Churches*," p. 59, edit. 1685; and Usher's "*Britan. Eccles. Antiquitates*," cap. 6, p. 54, edit. 1687.—Ed.

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The king
God's
vicar
within
his own
kingdom.

ye a law, and by that law, through God's sufferance, rule your kingdom of Britain. For you be God's vicar in your kingdom, according to the saying of the Psalm, "O God, give thy judgment to the king, and thy righteousness to the king's son,"¹ &c. He said not, the judgment and righteousness of the emperor, but thy judgment and justice; that is to say, of God. The king's sons be the christian people and folk of the realm, which be under your government, and live and continue in peace within your kingdom, as the gospel saith, "Like as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings," so doth the king his people. The people and folk of the realm of Britain be yours: whom if they be divided, ye ought to gather in concord and peace, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to the holy church, to cherish and maintain them, to rule and govern them, and to defend them always from such as would do them wrong, from malicious men and enemies. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of having a realm. You shall be a king, while you rule well; but if you do otherwise, the name of a king shall not remain with you, and you shall lose it, which God forbid. The Almighty God grant you so to rule the realm of Britain, that you may reign with him for ever, whose vicar you be in the realm!

After this manner (as you have heard) was the christian faith either first brought in, or else confirmed in this realm of Britain by the sending of Eleutherius, not with any cross or procession, but only at the simple preaching of Fagan and Damian, through whose ministry this realm and island of Britain was eftsoons reduced to the faith and law of the Lord, according as was prophesied by Isaiah, as well of that as other islands more, where he saith, "He shall not faint nor give over, till he hath set judgment in earth; and islands shall wait for his law."² The faith thus received of the Britons, continued among them, and flourished the space of two hundred and sixteen years, till the coming of the Saxons, who then were pagans; whereof more followeth hereafter to be said, the Lord Christ assisting thereunto. In the mean time something to speak of this space before, which was betwixt the time of Lucius, and the first coming in of the Saxons; first, it is to be understood that all this while, as yet, the emperors of Rome had not received the faith, what time the kings of Britain and the subjects thereof were converted now, as is said, to Christ: for the which cause much trouble and perturbation was sought against them, not only here in Britain, but through all parts of Christendom, by the heathen infidels; insomuch that in the persecution only of Dioclesian and Maximian, reigning both together, within one month seventeen thousand martyrs are numbered to have suffered for the name of Christ, as hath been hitherto in the book before sufficiently discoursed.³

What in-
commo-
dity
cometh
by lack
of suc-
cession.

Thus therefore, although the foresaid Lucius the British king, through the merciful providence of God, was then christened, and the gospel received generally almost in all the land, yet the state thereof, as well of the religion as of the commonwealth, could not be quiet, for that the emperors and nobles of Rome were infidels, and enemies to the same; but especially for this cause, it so happening that Lucius the christian king died without issue. For thereby such trouble and variance fell among the Britons (as it happeneth in all other realms, and namely in this realm of England, whensoever succession lacketh), that not only they brought upon them the idolatrous Romans, and at length the Saxons, but also enwrapped themselves in such misery and desolation, as yet to this day amongst them remaineth. Such a thing it is where a prince or a king is in a kingdom,

(1) "Deus judicium tuum Regi da," etc.

(2) Isaiah xlii. 4.

(3) Henr. Huntingd. lib. i.

there to lack succession, as especially in this case may appear. For after the death of Lucius, when the barons and nobles of the land could not accord within themselves upon succession of the crown, the Romans stept in and got the crown into their own hands, whereupon followed great misery and ruin to the realm. For sometimes the idolatrous Romans, sometimes the Britons, reigned and ruled as violence and victory would serve; one king murdering another, till at length the Saxons came and deprived them both, as in process hereafter followeth to be seen.¹

In the mean season touching the story of king Lucius, here is to be reprov'd the fable of some writers falsely feigning of him that he did, after his baptism received, put off all his kingly honour, forsake the land, and become a preacher,² who, after long travail in preaching and teaching in France, in Germany, [especially] at Augsburg, and in Swabia, at length was made doctor and rector of the church of Coire, where (as this fable saith) he suffered martyrdom. But this fancy, of whomsoever it first did spring, disagreeeth from all our English stories, who with a full consent do for the most part concord in this, that the said Lucius, after he had founded many churches, and given great riches and liberties to the same, deceased with great tranquillity in his own land, and was buried at Gloucester the fourteenth year after his baptism, as the book, "*Flores Historiarum*," doth count, which was the year of our Lord, as it saith, 201; and reckoneth his conversion to be in the year 187.³ In some I find his decease to be the fourth, and in some the tenth, year after his baptism; and some hold that he reigned all the space of seventy-seven years. And thus much concerning king Lucius.

Now to proceed in order of the story, briefly to touch the state of the aforesaid land of Britain, between the time of king Lucius, and the entering of the Saxons, who were the kings thereof, and in what order they succeeded, or rather invaded one after another, this catalogue hereunder written will specify.

A Table of the Kings of Britain from the time of Lucius, till the coming of the Saxons.⁴

Lucius, a Briton.	Octavius, a Gewissian. ⁶	
Severus, a Roman.	Maximian, a Roman born, but his mother a Briton.	
Bassian, a Roman by the father.	Gratian, a Roman.	
Carausius, a Briton.	Constantine II., a Briton by the mother.	A.D. 390.
Alectus, a Roman.	Constans, a Roman by the father.	second.
Asclepiodotus, a Briton.	Vortigern, a Gewissian or Briton.	Fab. Bed.
Coilus, a Briton.	Vortimer, a Briton.	A.D. 433.
Constantius, a Roman.	Vortigern, the same.	Fab.
Constantine, a Briton by the mother, named Helena. ⁵		A.D. 443.
		A.D. 448.
		A.D. 464.

(1) M. Westm. sub a 201. Fabian, pt. 3, sub finem.—Ed.

(2) King Lucius has been confounded with a German monk of that name. The authors, who have mentioned the missionary journey of the former, are cited in Usher's "*Brit. Eccles. Antiq.*" pp. 17, 18: see also Fuller, cent. 2, § 14.—Ed.

(3) Rather he so dates Lucius's endowment of churches.—Ed.

(4) Ex Beda. Polychron. Monumetensi.

(5) This Helena, being the daughter of Coel, and married to Constantius, father of Constantine, is said to have first made the walls of London, also of Colchester, much about the year of our Lord 305, and to have been born in Britain.

(6) "To rule and guyde this land of Briteyn in his (Copstantine's) absense, he ordeyned a man of might called Octavius, which was then king of Wales and duke of Gwiscop, which some expound to be Westsex, some Cornewall, and some Wynsore." Grafton's Chronicle, vol. i. p. 69, edit. Lond. 1809.—Ed.

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By this table may appear a lamentable face of a commonwealth so miserably rent and divided into two sorts of people, differing not so much in country as in religion; for when the Romans reigned, they were governed by the infidels; when the Britons ruled they were governed by Christians. Thus what quietness was or could be in the church in so unquiet and doubtful days, may easily be considered.

The
Britons
never
touched
with any
persecu-
tion be-
fore the
time of
Diocle-
sian.

Albeit, notwithstanding all these foresaid heathen rulers of the Romans which here governed, yet (God be praised) we read of no persecution during all these ten persecutions above mentioned, that touched the christian Britons, before the last persecution only of Dioclesian and Maximian Herculus, who here then exercised much cruelty. This persecution, as it was the last among the Roman Christians, so it was the first of many and divers that followed after in this church and realm of England; whereof we will hereafter entreat (Christ willing) as order of the matter shall lead us. In the mean time this rage of Dioclesian, as it was universally through all the churches in the world fierce and vehement, so in this realm of Britain also it was so sore, that, as all our English chronicles do testify and record, all Christianity almost in the whole land was destroyed, churches were subverted, all books of the Scriptures burned, many of the faithful, both men and women, were slain. Among whom the first and chiefest was Alban, then Julius, Aaron, and Amphibalus, of whom sufficiently hath been said before. What were the others, or how many they were that suffered besides, stories make no rehearsal. And thus much thereof.

Constan-
tine the
Great
born and
bred in
Britain.

The cause
how this
realm of
Britain
was first
weaken-
ed.

Now as concerning the government of these above-named kings of Britain, although I have little or nothing to note which greatly appertaineth to the matter of this ecclesiastical history, yet this is not to be past over. First, how in the order of these kings cometh Constantine, the great and worthy emperor, who was not only a Briton born, by his mother Helena (being king Coilus' daughter), but also by the help of the British army (under the power of God), which the said Constantine took with him out of Britain to Rome, obtained, with great victory, peace and tranquillity to the whole universal church of Christ; having three legions with him out of this realm, of chosen and able soldiers, whereby the strength of the land was not a little impaired and endangered, as afterwards in this story followeth.

Britain
spoiled of
soldiers.
Ursula
with her
virgins.

After him likewise Maximus, following his steps, took with him also (as stories record) all the power and strength which was left, and whatsoever he could make of able and fighting men to subdue France; besides the garrisons which he had out with him before, sending for more to the number of a hundred thousand soldiers at once, to be sent to him out of Britain into France. At which time also Conan his partner, being then in France, sent over for virgins from Britain, to the number of eleven thousand, who with Ursula,¹

(1) Fablan (p. 51, edit. 1811): "Of the martyrdome of these maydens, dyvers auctours wryte dyversly. Wherefore I remyte them that wyl have farther understandyng in this matter unto the Legende of Seyntes, radde yerely in the churche; where they maye be sufficiently taughte and enfourmed." Archbishop Usher has examined the fable with his customary erudition. "Brit. Eccles. Antiq." pp. 334—42, edit. 1687. The history of the eleven thousand virgins is supposed by Sirmond to have arisen from a mistake of this kind. The first reporters, having found in manuscript martyrologies, *SS. Ursula et Undecimilla V. M.* (i. e. *Sancta Ursula et Undecimilla Virgines Martyres*) supposed that *Undecimilla*, with *V* and *M* following, was an abridgement of *Undecim Millia Virginum Martyrum* (Valesiana, p. 49.) Encycl. Metrop. Hist. vol. iii. p. 96.—Ed.

the prince Dionet's daughter, being shipped over, many perished in the sea, some were taken of the infidels marching upon the borders; by whom because they would not be polluted, all were destroyed, being miserably dispersed (some one way, some another), so that none escaped.

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Thus poor Britain, being left naked and destitute on every side, as a maimed body, without might or strength, was left open to its enemies, not able to succour itself without help of foreign friends; to whom they were then constrained to fly, especially to the Romans, to whom the Britons sent this word or message: "*Ætio ter consuli gemitus Britannorum. Repellunt nos Barbari ad mare: repellit nos mare ad Barbaros. Hinc oriuntur duo funerum genera, quia aut jugulamur, aut submergimur.*" But the Romans then began to forsake them, whereby they were in nearer danger to be oppressed by Gwanus and Melga, had not Gwetelinus the archbishop of London made over to Lesser Britain; and, obtaining their help, had brought Constantine the king's brother, to rescue his country against the infidels. This Constantine was brother to Aldroenus, king of Little Britain, and father to Constans, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uther, who after reigned kings in Britain.¹

Gwetelinus archbishop of London.

Thus, by the means of the good archbishop and Constantine, the state of the religion and realm of Britain was in some mean, quiet, and safety, during the time of the said Constantine, and of the good archbishop. But as the realm of Britain almost from the beginning was never without civil war, at length came wicked Vortigern, who cruelly causing Constans his prince to be murdered, ambitiously invaded the crown; who then, fearing the other two brethren of Constans, which were Aurelius and Uther, being then in Little Britain, did send over for the aid of the Saxons, being then infidels; and not only that, but also married with an infidel, the daughter of Hengist, called Rowena. Whereupon the said Vortigern, not long after, by the said Hengist and the Saxons, was with like treachery dispossessed of his kingdom, and the people of Britain driven out of their country, after that the Saxons had slain of their chief nobles and barons at one meeting (joining together subtlety with cruelty) to the number of two hundred and seventy-one; some stories say four hundred and sixty. This wicked act of the Saxons was done at Amesbury, or at a place called Stonehenge; by the monument of which stones, there hanging, it seemeth that the noble Britons there were buried: (The fabulous story of the Welchmen,² of the bringing of these stones from Ireland by Merlin, I pass over.) Some stories record that they were slain, being bid to a banquet. Others say that it was done at a talk or assembly, where the Saxons came with privy knives, contrary to promise made; with the which knives they, giving a privy watch-word in their Saxon speech, "*Neme your sexes,*"³ slew the Britons unarmed. And thus far concerning the history of the Britons.

The Saxons sent for to Britain. King Constans slain by Vortigern. Hengist and Horsa, captains of the Saxons.

A wicked murder of the Saxons.

(1) *Ex Chronico Monumetensi.* [*"Galfrid. Hist. Brit."* lib. vi. cap. 3. See Usher, p. 199. Also Fabian, p. 53, edit. 1811.—Ed.]

(2) This is briefly alluded to by Fabian, pp. 69, 75.—Ed.

(3) In Grafton's Chronicle (vol. i. p. 78) the words are "*Nempnith your sexes,*" that is, draw your knives; and "*Nemet eour saxes*" in Usher Brit. Eccles. Antiq. p. 227, in a quotation from Ninius.—Ed.

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thereof, writing thus: "Quod Britones propter avaritiam et rapinam principum, propter iniquitatem et injustitiam iudicum, propter desidiam prædicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam et malos mores populi, patriam perdidisse."

THE ENTERING AND REIGNING OF THE SAXONS IN THE REALM OF ENGLAND.

The Saxons.

This was the coming in first of the Angles or Saxons into this realm being yet unchristened and infidels, which was about the year of our Lord, as William of Malmesbury testifieth, 449; the captains of whom were Hengist and Horsa. Although the said Hengist and Saxons at their first coming, for all their subtle working and cruel attempt, had no quiet settling in Britain, but were driven out divers times by the valiantness of Aurelius Ambrosius, and his brother Uther above-mentioned, who reigned after that among the Britons; yet, notwithstanding, they were not so driven out, but that they returned again, and at length possessed all, driving the Britons (such as remained) into Cambria, which we call now Wales. Hengist (as some chronicles record) reigned three and forty years, and died in Kent. Geoffrey of Monmouth, in his history of Britain, saith, that he was taken in war by Aurelius Ambrosius, and beheaded at Coningsburgh, after he had reigned nine and thirty years.¹

After the death of Hengist, his son Osca reigned four and twenty years, who also was slain by Uther Pendragon, leaving his son Octa, to whose reign with his son Imenricus histories do attribute three and fifty years.²

Seven
kings
ruling in
England.

The Saxons, after they were settled in the possession of England, distributed the realm among themselves first in seven parts, every part to have his king; that is, the first to be the king of Kent; the second to be king of Sussex and Southery, holding his palace at Cicester; the third king was of Westsex; the fourth king of Essex; the fifth king was of the East Angles, that is, of Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk; the sixth king of Merceland, or Mercia; and in his kingdom were contained the counties of Lincoln, Leicester, Huntingdon, Northampton, Oxford, Derby, Warwick, etc.; the seventh king had all the counties beyond Humber, and was called king of Northumberland.

Of the seven kingdoms, although they continued not long, but at length joined all in one, coming all into the possession and subjection of the West Saxons; yet for the space they continued (which was with continual trouble and wars among themselves), this is the race and order of them, as in this Table particularly followeth to be seen.

A Table describing the Seven Kingdoms of the Saxons reigning here in England.³

In the time of Vortigern above mentioned, began the reign of the Saxons in this land; the which, coming out of three sorts of the German people (to wit, the Saxons, the Jutes, and Angles), replenished the land, of them called now Anglia. Of whom first Hengist reigned in Kent, which country of Kent he had obtained by Rowena his daughter, of king Vortigern, which was about the

(1) Ex Galfrido, in suo Britannico, [lib. viii. cap. 3, 4. See Usher, "Brit. Eccles. Antig." p. 240, 241.—Ed.]

(2) Ex Polychron, lib. v. cap. 4; whence a slight correction is made in Foxe's text.—Ed.

(3) Foxe having sometimes failed to make different kings synchronize as they should do, in the following table, the dates A.D. of the accession of the kings are added, chiefly from Mr. Sharon Turner's table, Foxe's account of the length of their reigns being left to stand.—Ed.

year of our Lord, as some do count, 476, or, as I find in the computation of our English Tables 456, in some 463. After Hengist came in Osca, with Eosa or Isse, his kinsman; who afterward succeeded the said Hengist in Kent. Not long after came in another company of the Saxons, with Elle their captain, which planted themselves in South-sax. And after them again another garrison of the Saxons, with Cerdic their captain, which did occupy the west part of the land, called by them West-sax. And so, likewise, the other multitude of the Saxons after them, which (as yet being unchristened and infidels) divided the whole land among themselves into seven kingdoms, as in this Table followeth :—

*The
Saxons.*

KENT.

The Kings of Kent with the Years they reigned.

A.D.	Years	A.D.	Years
456 Hengist (slain) reigned	31	673 Lotharius (slain)	12
488 Eosa, or Isse ¹	24	685 Eadric ⁵	6
512 Ocha, or Octha		Nidred }	7
542 Emenric, or Emeric.....	26	Wilhard ⁶ }	
560 Ethelbert, ² the first of the		694 Withred	33
Saxon kings that received		728 Egfert, or Egbert	23
the faith by Augustine,		748 Ethelbert	11
anno regni 35	56	Alric ⁷	34
616 Edbald	24	760 Eadbert, surnamed Pren	2
640 Ercombert ³	24	Cuthred	18
664 Egebert, or Edbrieth (slain) ⁴ ...	9	Baldred (expulsed)	18

In the reign of this Baldred the kingdom of Kent was translated to Egbert, otherwise called Egbrict, king of the West Saxons; who, subduing the aforesaid Baldred in the year 832, gave the said kingdom to Athelstan his younger son. After whose decease it came to Ethelwolf, the elder son of Egbrict, and so was united to the West Saxons, who then began to be the monarch of the whole land. This kingdom began near about the year of our Lord 456, and continued 376 years, and had fifteen kings.

SUSSEX.

The Kings of Southsax, now called Sussex, with the Years they reigned.

A.D.	Years	
478 Elle, or Alle, reigned	31	Condebort. ¹²
Cissa. ⁸		Ethelred, or Ethereus.
Nancanleus, or Nancanleod. ⁹		Adelwold, or Ethelwald (slain). ¹³
Porth. ¹⁰		Adelbrich, or Berethunus (slain.)
Ethelwolf. ¹¹		Aldhume.
Redwall.		

This kingdom endured the shortest season of all others, and soonest passed into other kingdoms, in the days (as some write) of Ina king of West-sax; and so endured not above two hundred and ten years, under seven, or at most eleven kings, beginning first in the year of the Lord 478, and about the thirtieth year from the first coming of the Saxons.

(1) According to William of Malmesbury (p. 10), "Eisc" would be more correct; or "Esc," as Henry of Huntingdon has it (p. 312. edit. Francof. 1601.) Eosa was kinsman to Eisc, and was slain with him in battle by Uther; see *infra*, p. 322. See Usher, p. 241.—Ed.

(2) This Ethelbert, first of all the Saxons received the faith, and subdued all the other six kings, except only the king of Northumberland.

(3) Ercombert commanded Lent first to be fasted in his dominion.

(4) Egbert killed two sons of his uncle.

(5) Unto the time of Edrick, all the bishops of Canterbury were Italians.

(6) Some chronicles do place these two, Nidred and Wilhard, after Edrick, and give to them seven years; some again do omit them.

(7) Between the reigns of Alrick and Cuthred, some stories do insert the reign of Eadbert, which reigned two years.

(8) Of this Cissa came Cicester, which he builded, and where he reigned.

(9) This Nathanleod seemeth, by some old stories, to be a Briton, and the chief marshal of king Uther, whom Porth the Saxon slew.

(10) This Porth, a Saxon, came in at the haven, which now is called of him Portsmouth.

(11) Because I find but little mention of these two, I think it rather like to be the same Ethelwold, or Ethelwald, which after followeth.

(12) Of Condebort and Ethelred I find no mention but in one table only, and suppose, therefore, that the true names of these were Ercombert, and Egbert, which were kings of Kent the same time, and peradventure might then rule in Sussex.

(13) This Adelwold was the first king of Sussex christened, and, as Fabian saith, the fourth king of the South Saxons; as others say the seventh; so uncertain be the histories of this kingdom.

*The
Saxons.*

WESSEX.

The Kings of Westsax, and the Years they reigned.

A.D.	Years	A.D.	Years
495	Cerdic, or Credic, ¹ reigned ... 17	685	Cadwalla ² 3
534	Kenric 26	688	Ina, or Ine ⁴ 35
560	Cheling 30, 33	728	Edelard, or Athelard 14
591	Celric, or Celfric 5	741	Cuthred, or Cuthbert 16
597	Celwulf, or Ceolulf 14	754	Sigebert, or Sigher (slain) ⁵ ... 1
611	Kinigilsus, ² and Quicelinus ... 32	755	Kinulf, or Kinewlf (slain) ... 31
643	Kinewalkins 31	784	Brithric 13
672	Sexburga 1	800	Egbert, or Egbricht, ⁶ other- wise Athelbert, or Athel- brich, etc. 37
674	Escwin, Ascwin, or Elkwin ... 2		
676	Centwine (died at Rome) 7		

This Egbert subdued all the other seven kingdoms, and first begun the monarchy of all the Saxons, which after by Alfred was perfected, as hereafter followeth (the Lord willing) to be declared. This kingdom of the West Saxons began the year of grace 495; and as it subdued all the others, so it did the longest continue, till about the coming of William the Conqueror, which is about the time of 571 years.

NORTHUMBERLAND.

The Kings of Northumberland, with the Years they reigned.

A.D.	Years	A.D.	Years
547	Ida, ⁷ reigned 12	617	Edwin, of Northumberland (slain) ¹² 17
	After Ida the kingdom of Northumberland was divid- ed into two provinces, Deira and Bernicia.	634	Osric, of Deira (slain)
560	Alle or Elle, ⁸ for Deira 30	634	Eanfrid, of Bernicia (slain) ¹³
560	Adda, of Bernicia ⁹ 7	634	Oswald, ¹⁴ of Northumberland (slain).
588	Alric, or Alfric, of Deira ¹⁰ ... 5	642	Oswy, ¹⁵ of Northumberland... 28
593	Ethelfrid, of Bernicia. ¹¹	644	Oswin, ¹⁶ reigned together with Oswy, in Deira, (slain) 7

(1) This kingdom contained Somersetshire, Berkshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Cornwall, etc.
(2) This Kinigilsus, the first king christened in that province, was converted by Berinus, and after made monk.

(3) Cadwalla went to Rome, and there was christened, and died.

(4) Ina also went to Rome, and was made monk. [Repeatedly called Iwe by Foxe and Fabian.—Ed.]

(5) Sigebert, for his pride and cruelty, was deposed of his people. And as he had killed before one of his faithful council, giving him wholesome counsel; so after was he slain of the same councillor's swineherd, as he hid himself in a wood.

(6) This Egbert was first expelled by Brithric, who after (returning again and reigning) was much derided and scorned with mocking rhymes, for a coward, of Bernulf king of Mercia. At length the said Egbert subdued him first, then all the rest to his kingdom: causing the whole land to be called no more Britain, but Anglia. Concerning the other kings after him in that lordship, hereafter followeth.

(7) This Ida of his wife had six children, Adda, Elricus, Osmerus, Theodledus; of concubines other six.

(8) This Alle was the son of Isse, and reigned in Deira; [*i.e.* between the Humber and the Tyne.—Ed.]

(9) Some chronicles set under Adda, to reign in Bernicia [*i.e.* between the Tyne and the Firth of Forth.—Ed.], these kings, Glappaor Claspia, Theonulf, or Hussa, or Theowaln, Frihulf, Theodoric.

(10) This Alfric was the son of Ida, and reigned five years.

(11) This Ethelfrid was he that slew the monks of Bangor, to the number of 1200, which came to pray for the good success of the Britons; and by his wife Acca, the daughter of Elle, he had seven sons, Eaufrid, Oswald, Oswy, Oslac, Osmund, Osa, Offa.—Flor. Histor.

(12) This Edwin was the first of the Northumberland kings which was converted: he was christened by Paulinus bishop of London.

(13) These two are put out of the race of kings, because they revolted from the Christian faith, and were both slain miserably by Cedwalla a Briton, who then reigned in Northumberland and in Mercia.

(14) This Oswald, called St. Oswald, fought with Cedwalla and Penda with a small army, and by strength of prayer vanquished them in the field. He sent for Aidan out of Scotland to preach in his country, and as he preached in Scottish, the king expounded in English. He was a great giver of alms to the poor. Of his other acts more appeareth hereafter.

(15) This Oswy, fighting against Penda, vowed to make his daughter Elfred a nun, giving with her twelve lordships to build twelve monasteries; six in Bernicia, six in Deira. The same Oswy, in the beginning of his reign, took one Oswin the son of Edwin to be his partner over the country of Deira. Afterward, causing him to be killed, took to him another called Edelwald, the son of Oswald.

(16) Of this Oswin more followeth hereafter to be declared.

A.D.	Years	A.D.	Years	The Saxons.
670 Egfrid, ¹ of Northumberland (slain)	15	759 Mollo, ⁶ or Ethelwold, of Northumberland (in some chronicles six years)	11	
685 Alfred, ² of Northumberland (slain)	20	765 Alcred, ⁷ of Northumberland (expulsed).....	10	
705 Osred, ³ of Northumberland (slain)	11	774 Ethelbert, or Edelerd, of Northumberland (expulsed) ..	5	
716 Kenred, of Northumberland..	2	778 Alfwold, of Northumberland (slain)	11	
Osric, ⁴ of Northumberland ...	20	789 Osred II		
731 Celulf, ⁵ of Northumberland, (made a monk)	9	790 Ethelbert, or Adelwald, of Northumberland (slain) ...	16	
738 Edbert, or Eadbert, of North- umberland (monk)	21			
757 Osulf, of Northumberland, (slain)	1			

After this Ethelbert, the kingdom of Northumberland ceased the space of 25 years, till Egbert, king of the West Saxons, subdued also them, as he did the other Saxons, to his dominion. After the which Egbert, king of the West Saxons, succeeded his son in Northumberland.

Kings of West Saxons, reigning in Northumberland.

Ethelwolf.
Ethelbert.

Ethelbald.
Ethelred.

In the time of this Ethelred, there were two under-kings in Northumberland, Ella and Osbright, whom the Danes overcame, and reigned in their place, whose names were these :

Erbert, Richsi, Egbert, Gurthed, Gurthrid ; Danes.

After the reign of these foressaid Danes, the kingdom of Northumberland came into the hands of the West Saxons, in the time of Athelstan and his brother Edmund. It began first in the year 547 [and ended in the year 938], and so endured 391 years. It contained Yorkshire, the bishopric of Durham, Cope-land, and others.

MERCIA.

The Kings of Mercia, or Merceland, with the Years of their Reign.

A.D.	Years	A.D.	Years
586 Crida, or Creodda, reigned	35	656 Ulfer ¹⁰	29
Wibba	20	675 Adelred, or Ethelred, ¹¹ (made a monk)	30, or 19
Ceorlus	10	704 Kenred made also monk at Rome	5
626 Penda, ⁹ (slain)	30	709 Ceolred, or Kelred. ¹²	
655 Peda, ⁹ or Weda (slain by his wife).			

(1) This Egfrid married Etheldrida, who, being twelve years married to him, could after by no means be allured to lie with him ; but, obtaining of him license, was made nun, and then abbess of Ely. She made but one meal a day, and never wore linen. At last the same Egfrid, fighting against the Scots, was slain in the field by a train of the Scots feigning themselves to fly.

(2) Of this Alfred Bede in his history testifieth, that he was exactly and perfectly seen in the holy Scriptures, and recovered much that his predecessors had lost before. Some say, he reigned not eighteen years.

(3) Osred began his reign being but eight years old, and reigned the space of ten years.

(4) Some affirm that Osric reigned but eleven years.

(5) This Celulf, after he had reigned eight years, was made a monk. To him Bede wrote his history. "Gloriosissimo Regi Ceolwulpho Beda famulus Christi et Presbyter." See the Dedication to Bede's Ecclesiastical History of Britain.—Ed.

(6) Mollo by the subtle train of Alcred was made away, which Alcred also himself, after he had reigned ten years, was expulsed by his own people.

(7) In some chronicles this Alcred reigned but eight years.

(8) Penda slew in battle Edwin and Oswald kings of Northumberland. Also Sigebert, Edrick, and Anna, kings of the East Angles.

(9) Under Peda and Ulferus Christ's faith was received in those parts, they being converted by Finian, bishop. The same Peda reigned in a part of Mercia, with his brother Ulfer, who were both the sons of Penda.

(10) This Ulfer by his wife Erneburg, had three daughters ; Milburg, Mildrith, and Mildgith, holy virgins. Also he drove out Kenwalkius, king of the West Saxons. See p. 348.

(11) This Adelred, or Ethelred, was monk of Bardney, whose sisters were Kinedrid and Kins-with, holy virgins. ☐

(12) In the time of this Ceolred was Guthlake, otherwise called St. Guthlake, the popish hermit of Crowland.

<i>The Saxons.</i>	A.D.	Years	A.D.	Years
716	Ethelbald (slain) ¹	41	819	Ceolwolf (expelled).....1 or 3
755	Bernred ²	1	821	Bernulf (slain)..... 3
755	Offa ³	39		Ludecane (slain) ⁵ 2
794	Egfred	1		Some chronicles here insert
794	Kenulph, (slain)	20 or 16		Milefred, Wilasius, or
	Kenelm (murdered) ⁴		528	Withlacus (beheaded)..... 12

This Withlacus, in the beginning of his reign, was vanquished by Egbert king of West-sax, to whom he became tributary, with his successors here following :

Bernulf, 12 years; Buthred, 20 years; Celust, 1 year; Elfrid, 1 year. Some writers say that these four kings were subdued by the Danes.

After this Elfred, the kingdom of the Mercians was translated unto the West Saxons, in the latter time of king Alfred, or in the beginning of Edward the eldest; and so was adjoined to the West Saxons, beginning in the year 586. It endured for the space of 315 years, till about the latter end of Alfred, by whom it was joined to the kingdom of the West Saxons. This kingdom stretched out to Huntingdonshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Worcester, Warwick, Litchfield, Coventry, Chester, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Shrewsbury, Oxford, Buckingham, Dorchester, Lincoln, Leicester, etc.

EAST SAXONS.

The Kings of the East Saxons, with the Years of their Reign.

A. D.	Years		Years	
561	Erchwin, reigned.....	35	Switheline	14
	Sledda	17	Sigherius, son of Sigebert the Little. ⁹	
604	Sebert, or Sigebert ⁶	14	Sebbi, son of Seward, which was	
	Sexred, Seward, and Sigebert, ⁷		made a monk.	
	brethren (slain)		Sigehard and Suefrid, brethren....	8
	Sigebert, the Little	23	Offa ¹⁰	5
	Sigebert, the Good, ⁸ or Sibert		Selred, or Colred (slain)	38
	(slain)		Swithred	

This Swithred was subdued unto Egbert, king of West Saxons, albeit London remained under the Mercians to the time that they also were subdued to the West Saxons. This kingdom began in the year 561, and so continued till the time of Egbert. Some stories say it continued till the time of Edward son of Alfred, about the coming of the Danes, and contained under it the lordship of Middlesex and London. The metropolitan see of this province of Essex was London, where the famous church of St. Paul was builded by Ethelbert king of Kent, and Sebert king of Essex, whom Ethelbert had lately before turned to Christ's faith; whereof the first bishop was Mellitus, the second bishop was

(1) Under Ethelbald died Bede. Ethelbald gave, that all churches, should be free from all exactions and public charges.

(2) This Bernred, for his pride and stoutness toward his people, was by them deposed; and the same year, by the just judgment of God, burned.—Histor. Cariens.

(3) Offa, causing or consenting to the death of good Ethelbert, king of the East Angles, peaceably coming to marry his daughter, for repentance caused the Peter-pence first to be given to Rome, and there did his penance.

(4) This Kenelm, being seven years of age, was wickedly slain, after he had reigned six months.

(5) This Ludecane after the second year of his reign, was slain of Egbert, king of the West Saxons, by whom the rest of the Saxons were also subdued.

(6) This Sebert, nephew to Ethelbert king of Kent, among these kings was first christened by Mellitus: he also made the church of Paul's.

(7) Sexred, Seward and Sigebert expelled Mellitus the bishop, because he would not minister to them the sacramental bread, they being not baptized. They were slain of Kinegils and Quicheline his brother, by the just judgment of God, for they revolted again from their faith, and expelled Mellitus bishop of London.

(8) This Sigebert the Good, or Sibert, much resorting to Oswy king of Northumberland, by his persuasion was brought to christian baptism, baptized of Finian, bishop, to whom also was sent Cedde with other ministers to preach and to baptize in his country. At last he was slain of his men about him, using too much to spare his enemies, and to forgive their injuries that repented.—Flor. Hist.

(9) This Sigherius and Sebbi first fell to idolatry; then, through the means of Ulfer or Wolfer king of Mercia, were reduced, and at last Sebbi became a monk.

(10) Offa, after he had reigned a while, became a monk at Rome.

Cedda, the third came in by simony, whose name was Wine.¹ After him was Erkenwald, of whom writeth Bede, that he, being diseased in his legs so that he could not go nor ride, yet would be carried about in a litter, to preach in his diocese, etc. Although William of Malmesbury, writing of the bishops of London in his book "*De Vitis Pontificum*," saith that Maurice, first the king's chancellor, then bishop there, did first begin this so large and famous building of the church of St. Paul in London; which work after him Richard, his successor, did prosecute, bestowing all the rents of his bishopric upon the same, and yet was scarcely seen [to make any progress].² Yet herein may be answered peradventure, that the church builded before by king Ethelbert and king Sigebert, might be overthrown by the Danes, and afterward was re-edified by these bishops above mentioned.

*The
Saxons.*

EAST ANGLIA.

The Kings of East Angles, with the Years of their Reign.

	Years		Years
Uffa, or Ulfa, ³ reigned.....	30	Adelhere, or Adelred (slain)	2
Titulus, or Titila	13	Adelwold, or Ethelbald	9
Redwald ⁴	12	Adulph.....	25
Erpwald, or Corpwalous (slain) ...	38	Elkwold	12
Sigebert, or Sibrect, ⁵ first a monk		Beorna	26
(slain)	3	Ethelred (slain)	52
Egnic, or Egric (slain)	3	Ethelbright, or Ethelbert ⁷ (slain) ..	5
Anna (slain) ⁶	3		

After the sinful murder of Ethelbert, the kingdom of East Angles, during the term of certain years, was in great trouble and desolation, under divers kings and tyrants; sometimes the king of Westsax, sometimes of Kent or of Mercia, having dominion over them; till the coming of St. Edmund, who was the last king there ruling under the West Saxons.

St. Edmund (martyred) reigned 16 years.

After the death of St. Edmund, being slain of the infidel Danes, the kingdom remained with the Danes fifty years, till at length Edward, king of the West Saxons, expelled the Danes, and joined it to his kingdom. It began about the year of our Lord 561, and continued near about 350 years. Fabian numbereth but twelve kings, but in others I find more.

The metropolitan see of this province of East Angles was first at a town called Dunmoke, or Dunwich,⁸ which in times past hath been a famous and populous town, with a mayor and four bailiffs, and also divers parish churches and hospitals, whereunto great privileges by divers kings have been granted; which town is now fallen into ruin and decay, and more than half consumed by the eating in of the sea, as also greatly impoverished by loss of the haven, which heretofore hath flourished with divers tall ships belonging to the same (the inhabitants thereof being not able of themselves to repair it without the help of other good people); where the first bishop was Felix, a Burgundian, who sat there fourteen years. After this, unto the time of Egbert king of Westsax, this province was ever ruled by two bishops, whereof the one had his see at Dunmoke, now called Dunwich; the other at Hemaham,⁹ where ten sat one after another. From thence it was translated to Thetford, where sat two bishops. At last, by bishop Herbert it was removed to Norwich, where he erected a monastery of monks.

(1) Malmesb. *de Vitis Pont.*

(2) Malmesbury's words are, "*propemodum nihil efficere visus est.*"—Ed.

(3) Of this Uffa, the people of Norfolk were then called Uskins [or "Uffings." Higden.—Ed.]

(4) Redwald first was converted in Kent. Afterward through the wicked persuasions of his wife and others, he joined idolatry with Christianity. Notwithstanding his son Erpwald through the means of Edwin king of Northumberland, was brought to the perfect faith of Christ, and therein faithfully did continue.

(5) This Sigebert made himself a monk, and afterward brought out to fight against Penda with a white stick in his hand, was slain in the field.

(6) The daughters of Anna were Sexburga, Ethelberta, and St. Etheldreda.

(7) This Ethelbert for his holiness and godly virtues is counted for a saint; he, innocently coming to Offa king of Mercia, to marry with Althrid his daughter, by the sinister suspicion of Offa, and wicked counsel of Kinecwina his wife, was cruelly put to death in the house of Offa. For the which cause Offa, afterward repenting, went to Rome, where he made himself a monk.

(8) This Dunwich lieth upon the sea side, in Suffolk.

(9) North Elmham, in Norfolk.—Ed.

*The
Saxons.*

And thus standeth the order and race of the Saxon kings, reigning together with the Britons in this realm. Now followeth the description of the British kings, reigning with the Saxons in like manner.

Although the miserable Britons thus were bereaved of their land, by the cruel subtlety of the Saxons, yet were they not so driven out or expelled, but that a certain kingdom remained among them in some part of the land, namely about Cornwall, and the parts of Cambria, which is divided in two parts, South Wales called Demetia, and North Wales called Venedocia. The said Britons, moreover, through the valiant acts of their kings, sometimes reigned also in other countries, displacing the Saxons, and recovering again their own, sometimes more, sometimes less, till the time of Carecius, when the Britons, being deposed by Gormund (whose help they themselves sent for out of Ireland against Carecius their wicked king), utterly lost their land and kingdom; being thence driven utterly into Wales and Cornwall, A.D. 586. What the order of these kings was, what were their acts, their names and times when they reigned, in this brief table under-written is expressed. Wherein, first, is to be premonished that Constantine the Second had three children, to wit, Constans, who was made a monk in Winchester, and after made a king; the second was Aurelius Ambrosius; the third was Uther Pendragon. This being premised, we will now enter the description of our Table, beginning with Vortigern.

A Table declaring the Kings of Britain which reigned together with the Saxons, after their coming into their land.

Vortigern.	Aurelius Ambrosius.	Constantine III.	Malga.
Vórtimer.	Uther Pendragon.	Aurelius Conanus.	Carecius, or
Vortigern again.	Arthur.	Vortiporius.	Careticus.

What it
is to let
in strange
nations.
Marriage
with in-
fidels.

Here is to be understood that these British kings above mentioned did not so reign here in this land from the time of Vortigern, that they had the full government over all the whole realm, but only over parcels or parts, such as by force of arms they could either hold or win from the Saxons; who, coming in daily, and growing upon them, did so replenish the land with multitudes of them, that the Britons at length were neither able to hold that which they had, nor to recover that which they lost; leaving example to all ages and countries, what it is first to let in foreign nations into their dominion, but especially what it is for princes to join in marriage with infidels, as this Vortigern did with Hengist's daughter, which was the mother of all this mischief; giving to the Saxons not only strength, but also occasion and courage to attempt that which they did. Neither was this unconsidered before of the British lords and nobility, who, worthily being therewith offended, justly deposed their king, and enthroned Vortimer his son in his room. By the which Vortimer, being a puissant prince, the Saxons were then repulsed, and driven again into Germany, where they stayed a while till the death of Vortimer, whom Rowena, daughter of Hengist, caused traitorously to be poisoned. Then Vortigern being restored again to his kingdom, through the entreaty of Rowena his wife, sent into Germany again for Hengist, who, eftsoons making his return, came in with a navy of three hundred ships well appointed.¹

Second
return of
Hengist.

(1) So says Hardyng in his Chronicle: Hector Boethius says, "cum numerosâ classe navium:" but M. Westm. and Fordun say, "cum tribus millibus armatorum sibi sociatis."—Ed.

The nobles of Britain, hearing this, prepared themselves on the contrary side in all forceable wise to put them off. But Hengist, through Rowena his daughter, so laboured the king, excusing himself, and saying that he brought not the multitude to work any violence either against him or against his country, but only thinking that Vortimer had yet been alive, whom he minded to impugn for the king's sake, and to take his part. And now, forso much as he heareth of the death of Vortimer his enemy, he therefore committeth both himself and his people to his disposition, to appoint how few or how many of them he would, to remain within his land; the rest should return. And if it so pleased the king to appoint day and place where they might meet and talk together of the matter, both he and his would stand to such order as the king with his council should appoint. With these fair words well contented, the king and his nobles did assign to them both day and place, which was in the town of Ambry,¹ where he meant to talk with them; adding this condition withal, that each part should come without any manner of weapon. Hengist, showing himself well agreed thereto, gave privy intelligence to his side, that each man should carry with him secretly in his hose a long knife, with their watch-word also given unto them, when they should draw their knives, wherewith every Saxon should (and so did) kill the Briton with whom he talked, as is above declared. The British lords being slain, the Saxons took Vortigern the king and bound him; for whose ransom they required to be delivered to them the cities of London, York, Lincoln, Winchester, with other the most strong holds within the land; which being to them granted, they begin to make spoil and havoc of the British nation, destroying the citizens, plucking down churches, killing up the priests, burning the books of the holy Scripture, leaving nothing undone that tyranny could work; which was about the year of our Lord 462. The king, seeing this miserable slaughter of the people, fled into Wales.²

The Saxons.

Dissembling words of the Saxons to deceive the Britons.

"Neme your seces," the watch-word. The nobility destroyed. The king ransomed. The Saxons enter possession of the land. Christian Britons persecuted of the Saxons.

A. D. 462.

This while, Aurelius Ambrosius and Uther Pendragon, brethren to king Constans above mentioned, whom Vortigern wickedly caused to be killed, were in Little Britain.³ To whom the Britons sent word, desiring their aid in helping their country. Aurelius, understanding the woful state of the realm, speedeth him over to satisfy their desire, and to rescue (what in him was) their necessity; who at his first coming eftsoons being crowned for their king, seeketh out wicked Vortigern, the cause of all this trouble and murder of king Constans, his brother. And finding him in Wales, in a strong tower wherein he had immured himself, setteth him and his castle on fire. That done, he moved his power against the Saxons, with whom and with Elle, captain of the South Saxons (who then was newly come over), he had divers conflicts.

Aurelius crowned king of Britain.

Vortigern burned in his tower.

Our old English chronicles make record, that Horsa the brother of Hengist was slain before in the time of Vortimer.⁴ The same also do record that this Hengist was taken prisoner in the field, fighting against Aurelius Ambrosius; who then consulting with his nobles

Horsa slain; Hengist taken.

(1) "Upon the playne of Ambrii, now called Salesbury." Fabian, pp. 66, edit. 1811.—Ed.

(2) Mart. Westmonast. p. 84, edit. Francof. 1601.—Ed.

(3) Armorica, called Little Britain and Bretagne from the settlement there of the British refugees.—Ed.

(4) At the battle of Aylesford, A.D. 455.—Ed.

*The
Saxons.*

Counsel
of Eldad,
bishop of
Gloucester.

Hengist
beheaded.
A. D. 488.

The un-
certainty
of our old
British
stories.

Aurelius
Ambro-
sius, king.

A. D. 497.

Uther
Pendragon.
British king.

The Britons
persecuted
by the
Saxons.

and barons what was to be done with him, the bishop of Gloucester, called Eldad, standing up gave this counsel, saying, that if all men would deliver him, yet he with his own hands would cut him in pieces; alleging the example of Samuel against Agag king of the Amalekites, taken by king Saul in the field, whom the said Samuel caused to be cut in pieces. "Even so," saith he, "do you to this Agag here; that as he hath made many a woman widow, and without children, so his mother may be made this day of him likewise." And so was Hengist taken out of the city¹ by Eldol consul or mayor of Gloucester, and there was beheaded, if truth or credit be to be given to these our old British stories,² whereof I have nothing certainly to pronounce, but that I may suspect the truth thereof; which was about the year of our Lord 488.

A certain ancient written history I have in Latin, compiled in the fourteenth year of king Richard II., and by him caused to be written as the title declareth; which, because it beareth no name of the author, I call it by the name of him of whom I borrowed this book, with many others likewise without name, "Historia Cariana." This history recordeth, that Hengist died in Kent the two and thirtieth year of his reign; which if it be true, then is it false that he was taken at Cuninburgh, and slain in the north. This Aurelius Ambrosius before-mentioned is thought of Polydore Virgil, citing the authority of Bede,³ to descend of the stock of the Romans; which as it is not impossible to be true, so this is certain by the full accord of all our old written stories, that both the said Aurelius and his brother Uther Pendragon, being the sons of Constantine, brother to Audroenus king of Little Britain, were nursed and brought up in England in their tender age, and instructed by Guitelinus, archbishop of London; and, after the murder of Constans their elder brother, were conveyed from hence to Little Britain; whereby it is manifest that they were born in this land; and though their father were a Roman, as Polydore pretendeth, yet likely it is that they were Britons born, and had a Briton to their mother.⁴

After the death of Aurelius, who (as the story saith) was poisoned by the crafty means of Pascentius son of Vortigern (suborning one under the weed of a monk to play the physician, and so to poison him), next succeeded his brother Uther, surnamed Pendragon, about the year of our Lord 497, who, fighting against Osca⁵ and Eosa, took them and brought them to London there to be kept; but they, breaking out of prison, returned into Germany for more aid. In this mean time daily recourse was of Saxons, with great companies coming out of Saxony, with whom the Britons had divers and sundry conflicts, sometimes winning, sometimes losing. Not long after, Osca and Eosa, renewing their power in Germany, in all most speedy haste did return again and join with the other Saxons against the Britons. Here began the state of miserable Britain more and more to decay, while the idolatrous Saxons prevailed in number and

(1) York, according to some chronicles.—Ed.

(2) Ex Henr. Huntingtonensi, Galfrido, et Chronico quodam Cariensi. [Math. Westmonast. p. 92, edit. Francof. 1601.—Ed.]

(3) Bed. Ecc. Hist. lib. i. cap. 16.—Ed.

(4) Ex Historia Cariana. [See Usher, Antiq. p. 241.—Ed.]

(5) Foxe here reads Octa; but as he means the same person whom he calls Osca, at p. 314, that reading is here introduced.—Ed.

strength against the christian Britons; oppressing the people, throwing down churches and monasteries, murdering the prelates, sparing neither age nor person, but wasting Christianity almost through the whole realm. To these miseries it fell, moreover, that Uther their king was sick, and could not come out: notwithstanding, being grieved with the lamentable destruction of his people, he caused his bed to be brought into the camp, where God gave him victory, Osca and Eosa there being slain. After this victory, in short space Uther died of poison (as is said) put into a fountain, whereof the king was wont to drink; about the year of our Lord 516.¹

*The
Saxons.*

About which time and year came in Scupha and Whigarus, two nephews of Cerdic king of West Saxons, with their companies, so violently upon the Britons, that they of the west part of the realm were not able to resist them. Then the merciful providence of Almighty God raised up for them king Arthur, the son of Uther, who was then crowned after him, and victoriously reigned. To this Arthur the old British histories do ascribe twelve great victories against the heathen Saxons; whose notorious and famous conquests mentioned in the British stories I leave as I find them, referring them to the credit of their authors in whom they are found. Notwithstanding, as I do not think contrary, but God, by the aforesaid Arthur, gave to the Britons some stay and quietness during his life, and certain of his successors; so, touching certain of his great victories and conquests, not only over this land, but also over all Europe, I judge them more fabulous, than that any credit should be given unto them; and more worthy to be joined with the Iliads of Homer, than to have place in any ecclesiastical history. After Arthur, the next king of the Britons was Constantine III. After him Aurelius Conanus. Then Vortiporius; after whom followed Malgo, noted in stories to be a Sodomite. And after him the last king of the Britons was Carecius, all given to civil war, execrable to God and man; who being chased out by the Britons themselves, the land fell into possession of the Saxons, about the year of our Lord 586, by whom all the clergy and the christian ministers of the Britons were then utterly driven out: insomuch that Theon, archbishop of London, and Thadioc, archbishop of York, seeing their churches all wasted, and parishes dispersed, with their carriages and monuments, left their sees in Britain, and fled into Cambria, which we now call Wales.² Touching which matter, and touching also the cause of this desolation and ruin of the Britons' kingdom, the first fountain and origin thereof partly before is declared; where was showed in the time of Constantine the Great and Maximian; how these noble princes, with others, achieving their venturous affairs in other countries, took with them great multitudes and armies out of Britain; through the occasion whereof the land was greatly impaired, and deprived of the most chief and principal nobles, being carried away to serve in foreign wars, which was no small cause why the realm of Britain (being so wasted) was the less able to help itself against their enemies.³ Although this was not the chief occasion, but other causes there were greater, wherefore God by his just judg-

*The tales
of king
Arthur.*

*Kings of
Britain.*

*The arch-
bishops of
London,
and of
York, fly
into
Wales.*

(1) Flor. Hist. [M. Westmonast. pp. 96, 97, edit. 1601.—Ed.]

(2) M. Westin. ad ann. 586.—Ed.

(3) See *supra*, p. 312.—Ed.

*The
Saxon.*

ment suffered this plague and overthrow to fall upon that people; as here out of an old author, and partly out of Gildas, I have found it, so I thought to annex it in his own words, first in Latin,¹ then afterward Englishing the same, for the more credit of that which shall be alleged, in tenor as followeth:

The
causes of
the de-
struction
of Bri-
tain.
Remem-
ber the
words of
Gildas,
633 Hist.
Carianæ.

"The nobles of this realm following the princes and captains above named, the vulgar and rascal sort remained behind at home. Who, when they had gotten the rooms and places of the nobles, advanced themselves above that which their dignity required; and through their abundance of riches, being surprised with pride, they began to fall into such and so great fornication, as was never heard of even among the Gentiles. And as Gildas the Historiographer witnesseth, not into this vice only, but also into all manner of wickedness whereto man's nature is inclined: and especially into that which is the overthrow of all good estate, the hatred of the truth, love of lies, embracing of evil instead of goodness, regarding of mischief instead of virtue, receiving of the devil as an angel of light. They anointed kings, not such as could well rule a commonwealth, but those which exceeded all other in cruelty; and if any might be perceived to be somewhat more humble or meek, or to be more inclined to favour the truth than the residue, him did every one hate and backbite as the overthrower and destroyer of Britain. All things, whether they pleased or displeased God, they regarded alike. And not secular men only did this, but also the congregation of the Lord, and their bishops and teachers, without any difference at all. Therefore it is not to be marvelled that such people, so degenerating and going out of kind, should lose that country which they had after this manner defiled."

And thus much hitherto concerning the history of the Britons, till (by the grace of Christ) the order of time shall bring us hereafter to treat of Cadwalla and Cadwallader. Now remaineth it, in returning again to the matter of the Saxons, to discourse particularly, that which before in the table above we have summarily comprehended.

In this order and race of the Saxon kings above specified, which had thus thrust out the Britons, and now divided their land in seven kingdoms, as there were many naughty and wicked kings (whose pernicious examples, being all set on war and bloodshed, are greatly to be detested and eschewed of all true godly princes), so some there were again (although but few) very sincere and good. But no one almost from the first to the last, who was not either slain in war, or murdered in peace, or else constrained to make himself a monk. Such was the rage then, and the tyranny of that time. Whether we should impute it to the corruption of man's nature, or to the just judgment of God's hand, so disposing the matter that, as they had violently and falsely dispossessed the Britons of their right; so they most miserably were not only vexed of the Danes, and conquered at last by the Normans; but also more cruelly devoured themselves, one warring still against another, till they were neither able to help

(1) Nobiliores totius regni prædictos duces sequi fuerunt, et ignobiles remanebant, qui cum vicem nobilium obtinere cõpissent, extulerunt se ultra quod dignitas expetebat. Et ob affluentiam divitiarum superbi cõperunt tali et tante fornicationi indulgere, qualis nec inter gentes audita est. Et, ut Gildas historicus [§ 21] testatur, non solum hoc vitium, sed omnia quæ humane nature accidere solent, et præcipue quod totius boni evertit statum, odium veritatis, amor mendacii, susceptio mali pro bono, veneratio nequitie pro benignitate, exceptatio Sathane pro angelo lucis: ungebantur reges, non propter Dominum (a), sed qui ceteris crudeliores essent. Si quia vero eorum mitior, et veritati aliquatenus proprius videretur, in hunc quasi Britannie subversorem omnia odia telaque torquebantur. Omnia quæ Deo placebant et displicebant æquali lance inter eos pendebantur. Et non solum hoc seculares viri, sed et ipse grex Domini, ejusque pastores, sine discretionem faciebant. Non igitur admirandum est degeneres tales patriam illam amittere, quam prædicto modo maculabant. Ex Historiâ quadam Cariensi. [Biblioth. Patrum (Paris, 1576), tom. iii. col. 585. Gildas, p. 27, edit. Lond. 1818; also Galfrid. Monumet. lib. xii. cap. 6.—Ed.]

(a) "Dominium" is Foxe's reading, "Deum" Geoffrey's.—Ed.

themselves, nor yet to resist others. Of them which are noted for good among these Saxon kings, the first and principal is Ethelbert, or Ethelbriht, the first king in Kent above specified: who by the means of Austin, and partly through his wife named Bertha,¹ first received and preferred the christian faith in all this land of the English Saxons, whereof more followeth hereafter to be said (the Lord so permitting) as place and opportunity shall require. The next place I give to Oswald of Northumberland, who not only did his endeavour in furthering the faith of Christ amongst his people; but also, being king, disdained not himself to stand up, and interpret to his nobles and subjects the preaching of Aidan, preaching Christ to them in his Scottish language. In the same commendation also, like as in the same line, cometh his uncle Edwin king of Northumberland, a good prince and the first receiver of Christ's faith in that land, by the means of his wife, and Pauline, a bishop. Add to these also Sigebert, first christened king of the East Angles, and Sebert, first christened king of Essex: of whom the one was a great furtherer of religion, and setter up of schools; the other, which is Sebert or Serbriht, was nephew to Ethelbert of Kent, under whom he ruled in Essex. By the which Ethelbert, in the time of the said Sebert, the church of Paul's was builded at London, and christian faith much enlarged. Of the same name there was also another Ethelbert king of the East Angles, a good prince; who, by the advice of his council, being persuaded to marriage (though against his will), went peaceably to king Offa for espousage of Ethelreda his daughter; where the good king meaning innocently, through the sinister and devilish counsel of king Offa's wife, was secretly beheaded and made away. Whereupon Offa, through repentance thereof, made the first Peter-pence to be given to St. Peter's church in Rome.

*The
Saxons.*

The first
building
of the
church of
Paul's in
London.

Peter-
pence.

In the catalogue of these good kings is also to be numbered Kenelm king of the Mercians, and Edmund king of the East Angles; of the which two, the first was falsely and abominably circumvented and beheaded, by the means of his cruel sister and his tutor, as he was in his hunting at Corfe castle. The other, who is called king Edmund the Martyr, was slain at Bury, or (as some write) at the castle of Halesdon, by the Danes: upon what occasion, histories do vary. The author of "*Flores Historiarum*" saith,² it was by reason of one Lothbroke, a Dane,³ who, being of the king's blood, and being with his hawk on the sea-side in a little boat, was driven by the force of the weather into the coast of Norfolk, where he, being presented to king Edmund, was retained in the court with great favour; till at length one Berike, the king's falconer, envying and despiteing him for his great dexterity in that faculty, privily did murder him in a wood. This being at last spied, as murder lightly will come out, Berike was set in Lothbroke's boat alone, without all tackling, to be

(1) This Berda, or Bertha, being a Christian, was married unto Ethelbert upon the condition that she should be suffered to enjoy her religion. [He was 'the first Christian' king in Kent.—Ed.]

(2) Page 162, edit. 1601. "Matthæus, *Florilegus* dictus, Westmonasteriensis Monachus ord. Bened., claruit a. 1377. Scripsit '*Historiarum Flores*,' seu *Annales* ab orbe condito ad ann. 1307, ex Matthæo Paris. quoad partem priorem ferè descriptos." Cave.—Ed.

(3) This is the famous Danish sea-king Ragnar Lodbrog, whose true history Mr. Sharon Turner says was better understood by the Frankish than by the British chroniclers. He in reality perished at the hands of Ella, king of Northumberland, whose dominions he had invaded, between 862 and 867. This story is repeated *infra*, vol. II. page 14. This falconer's name was *Bern*.—Ed.

*The
Saxons.*

The mes-
sage of
Inguar to
king Ed-
mund.

Martyr-
dom of
king Ed-
mund.

Whether
kings,
who made
them-
selves
monks,
did well
in so
doing, or
not?

committed unto the sea ; and, as it chanced, was driven into Denmark, who there being seen in Lothbroke's boat, was strictly examined of the party. He then, to excuse himself, falsely said he was slain by the commandment of the king. Upon the occasion whereof, Inguar and Hubba, sons to the said Lothbroke, gathering an army of Danes, invaded first Northumberland ; after that, bursting into Norfolk on every side, sent this message to king Edmund after this tenor, signifying, that king Inguar, the victorious prince (dreaded both by sea and land), as he had subjected divers other lands under him, so, arriving now to the coasts of Norfolk, where he intendeth to winter, chargeth and commandeth him to divide with him his old treasures, and his father's riches, and so to rule under him : which if he would not do, but would contemn his power so strongly furnished with such an army, he should be judged as unworthy both of kingdom and life, etc. The king hearing this message, not a little astonished hereat, calling his council about him, consulted with them, especially with one of his bishops, being then his secretary, what was best to be done ; who, fearing the king's life, exhorteth him by words and divers examples to agree to the message. At this the king awhile holding his peace, at length thereto made answer again in these words, saying, "Go," saith he, "tell your lord, and let him know, that Edmund the christened king, for the love of this temporal life, will not subject himself to a pagan duke, unless before he become a Christian," etc. The messenger, taking his answer, was not so soon out of the gates, as Inguar, meeting him and bidding him to be short in declaring his answer, caused all the king's garrison to be set round about. Some say, that the king flying to Thetford there pitched a field with the Danes ; but the Danes prevailing, the good king from thence did fly to the castle of Halesdon above mentioned ; where he, being pursued of the Danes, was there taken, and at length, being bound to a stake, there, of the raging Danes was shot to death. And thus much for the good kings.

Now as concerning those kings which made themselves monks, which in number be seven or eight, although the example be rare and strange, and much commended of the chroniclers of that time ; yet I cannot rashly assent to their commendation, albeit the case thereof is no matter of our history. First, in altering their estate from kings to monks, if they did it to find more ease, and less trouble thereby, I see not how that excuse standeth with the office of a good man, to change his public vocation for respect of private commodity. If fear of jeopardy and danger did drive them thereunto, what praise or commendation deserve they in so doing ? let the monkish histories judge what they list. Me-seemeth, so much praise as they deserve in providing their own safety, so much they deserve again to be discommended in forsaking the commonwealth. If they did it (as most like it is) for holiness' sake, thinking in that kind of life to serve and please God better, or to merit more toward their salvation than in the estate of a king, therein they were far deceived ; not knowing that the salvation which cometh of God, is to be measured and esteemed, not by man's merits, or by any perfection of life, or by difference of any vocation, more of one than another, but only by the free grace of the gospel, which freely justifieth all them that faithfully believe

in Christ Jesus. But here will be said again; peradventure, in the solitary life of monkery be fewer occasions of evils than in king's courts; wherefore that life serveth more to holiness, and is more to be preferred than the other. To this I answer, to avoid the occasions of evil is good, where strength lacketh to resist: but otherwise, where duty and charge bind to tarry, there to avoid the occasions of evil, where rather they are to be resisted, rather declareth a weakness of the man, than deserveth any praise. As it is truly said of Tully, "Out of Asia," saith he, "to live a good life, is no Godamercy; but in Asia, where so great occasions of evils abound, there to live a good man, that is praiseworthy." With the like reason I may infer, if a man be called to be a king, there not to change the vocation for avoiding of occasions, but rather to resist occasions, and to keep his vocation, declareth a good and perfect man. But of these by-matters hitherto sufficient.

Eccelesiastical History.

These things now thus premised, concerning the order and reign of kings, as is above prefixed; consequently it remaineth to enter the tractation of such things, as, in the time and reign of the aforesaid kings, happened in the church; first putting the reader again in mind of the former persecutions within the realm, partly before touched in the time of the British kings, which especially were three or four, before the coming of Augustine into England.

Four persecutions in Britain before the coming of Augustine into England.

1. The first was under Dioclesian; and that not only in England, but generally throughout all the Roman monarchy, as is above specified. In this persecution Alban, Julius, Aaron, with a great number more of other good christian Britons, were martyred for Christ's name.¹

About the year of our Lord 310.

2. The second persecution or destruction of christian faith, was by the invading of Guanius and Melga, whereof the first was captain of the Huns, the other of the Picts. These two tyrants, after the cruel slaughter of Ursula and other eleven thousand noble virgins, made their road into Britain, hearing the same to be destitute of the strength of men. At which time they made miserable murder of Christ's saints, spoiling and wasting churches, without mercy either of women or children; sparing none.

The persecution of Guanius and Melga, about A. D. 446.

3. The third persecution came by Hengist and the Saxons; who likewise destroyed and wasted the christian congregations within the land, like raging wolves flying upon the sheep, and spilling the blood of Christians, till Aurelius Ambrosius came, and restored again the churches destroyed.

The persecution of Hengist in Britain, A. D. 462.

4. The fourth destruction of the christian faith and religion was by Gormund, a pagan king of the Africans,² who, joining in league with the Saxons, wrought much grievance to the Christians of the land.³ Insomuch that Theon bishop of London, and Thadioc archbishop of York, with the rest of the people, so many as were left, having no place wherein to remain with safety, did fly some to Cornwall, and some to the mountains of Wales, about the year of our

The fourth destruction of christian faith in Britain by Gormund, A. D. 586.

(1) See Usher's "Antiq. Eccles. Brit." pp. 79, 80, edit. 1687.—Ed.

(2) This name is altogether omitted in some accounts, which differ much as to his age and country; some assigning him a large kingdom in Ireland, etc. See Usher "Eccles. Brit. Antiq." pp. 296, 297.—Ed.

(3) This Gormund, as some stories record, leaving his kingdom at home to his brother, said, he would possess no kingdom but which he should win with his sword.

Ecclesiastical History.

Lord 586;¹ and this persecution remained to the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, in the year 595.²

In the reign of this Ethelbert, who was then the fifth king of Kent, the faith of Christ was first received of the Saxons or English men, by the means of Gregory bishop of Rome, in manner and order as here followeth, out of old histories collected and recorded.

Computation of times concerning the continuance and decay of Christ's gospel between the Britons and the Saxons.

First then, to join the order of our history together, the christian faith first received of king Lucius, endured in Britain till this time, near upon the season of four hundred years and odd,³ when by Gormundus Africanus (as is said) fighting with the Saxons against the Britons it was near extinct in all the land,⁴ during the space of about forty-four⁵ years. So that the first springing of Christ's gospel in this land, was A.D. 180. The coming of the Saxons was in the year 449. The coming of Augustine was in the year 596. From the first entering in of the Saxons to their complete conquest, and the driving out of the Britons (which was about the latter time of Cadwallader) were two hundred and forty years. In sum, from Christ to Lucius were one hundred and eighty years. The continuance of the gospel from Lucius to the entering of the Saxons, was two hundred and sixty-nine years. The decay of the same to the entering of Augustine was one hundred and forty-seven years, which being added together make from Lucius to Augustine four hundred and sixteen years; from Christ to Augustine they make five hundred and ninety-six years. In this year then, five hundred and ninety-six, Augustine, being sent from Gregory, came into England; the occasion whereupon Gregory sent him hither was this.⁶

A.D. 596.

Durham in Northumberland.

In the days of Pelagius bishop of Rome, Gregory, chancing to see certain children in the market-place of Rome (brought thither to be sold, out of England), being fair and beautiful of visage, demanded out of what country they were? And, understanding they were heathenish, out of England, he lamented the case of the land, being so beautiful and angelical, so to be subject under the prince of darkness. And asking, moreover, out of what province they were? it was answered, "Out of Deira, a part of Northsaxons;" whereof, as it is to be thought, that which we now call Durham taketh its name. Then he, alluding to the name of Deira; "These people," saith he, "are to be delivered *de Dei ira*," which is, "from God's wrath." Moreover, understanding the king's name of that province to be Alle (above mentioned), alluding likewise to his name, "There," saith he, "ought Alleluja to be sung to the living God." Whereupon he, being moved, and desirous to go and help the conversion of that country, was not permitted of Pelagius and the Romans for that time to accomplish his desire.⁶ But afterward, being bishop himself next

(1) Foxe, at pp. 320, 323, 327, 328, assigns the dates A.D. 570, 568, 550, 586, for this event; the last (being that adopted by M. Westm.) is in each case adopted in the text.—Ed.

(2) Foxe says 589 in the text, and 595 in the margin; probably the 589 should have occupied the place of the 550, and 595 that of the 589. The year A.D. 595 was the year of Augustine's first commission, and the alarm felt by him and his companions confirms the idea that Christianity was then under persecution in Britain.—Ed.

(3) [These are Fabian's expressions.—Ed.] King Lucius died 395 years before the coming of Augustine [i. e. if he died A.D. 201, as stated *supra* p. 311.]

(4) It is not easy to make out more than *ten*, consistently with Foxe's own computations. It has been found necessary to alter some of his numbers in the remainder of this paragraph, they were so plainly incorrect.—Ed.

(5) Bede. Polychron. lib. i. cap. 8. Malmesburiens. de Regib. [p. 17, edit. Francof. 1601.] Henr. Hunt. lib. iii. [p. 320]. Fabian, p. 5, cap. 119, liber Bibliothecæ Jormalensis.

(6) Bede, lib. ii. cap. i. § 90.—Ed.

after Pelagius, he sent thither the foresaid Augustine with other preachers near about to the number of forty. But by the way, (how it happened I cannot say,) as Augustine with his company were passing in their journey, such a sudden fear entered into their hearts, that, as Antoninus saith, they returned all. Others write, that Augustine was sent back to Gregory again, to release them of that voyage so dangerous and uncertain, amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they never knew, nor were able to resist their rudeness. Then Gregory, with pithy persuasions confirming and comforting him, sent him again with letters to the bishop of Arles, willing him to help and aid the said Augustine and his company, in all whatsoever his need required.¹ Also other letters he directed to the foresaid Augustine and to his fellows, exhorting them to go forward boldly to the Lord's work, as by the tenor of the said epistle here following may appear.

Ecclesiastical History.

The Epistle of Gregory to them which went to preach in England.²

Gregory, the servant of God's servants,³ to servants of the Lord. Forso-much as it is better not to take good things in hand, than, after they be begun, to think to revolt back from the same again, therefore now you must needs go forward, dear children, in that good business, which through the help of God you have well begun. Neither let the labour of your journey, nor the slanderous tongues of men appal you, but that with all instance and fervency ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordained you to take in hand; knowing that your great travail shall be recompensed with the greater reward of eternal glory hereafter to come. Therefore, as we send here Augustine your chief back to you again, whom also we have ordained to be your abbot, so do you humbly obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable for your souls, whatsoever at his admonition ye shall do. Almighty God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternal country the fruit of your labour; that, although I cannot labour as I would with you, yet I may be found partaker of your retribution, for that my will is good to labour in the same fellowship together with you. God keep you safe, most dear and well-beloved children!

The bishop of Rome calleth the emperor his lord.

Dated the tenth before the Calends of August, in the fourteenth year of the reign of our pious and most august lord, Maurice Tiberius; the thirteenth year after his consulship. The fourteenth indiction.⁴

Thus they, emboldened and comforted through the good words of Gregory, sped forth their journey till they came at length to the isle of Thanet, lying upon the east side of Kent. Near to the which landing place was then the manory or palace of the king, not far from Sandwich (eastward from Canterbury), which the inhabitants of the isle then called Risborough, whereof some part of the ruinous walls is yet to be seen. The king then reigning in Kent, was Ethelbert, as above appeareth, the fifth king of that province, who, at that time, had married to wife a French woman, being christened, named Bertha;⁵ whom he had received of her parents upon this condition: that he should permit her, with her bishop committed unto her, called Luidhard, to enjoy the freedom of her faith and religion; by the means whereof he was more flexible, and sooner induced to embrace

Augustine and his company cometh to England.

Ethelbert king of Kent.

What goodness cometh to have a good and godly wife.

(1) Given by Bede, lib. i. cap. 24.—Ed.

(2) Bede, lib. i. cap. 23.—Ed.

(3) *Gregorius servus servorum Dei, servus Domini nostri. Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere, quam ab his quæ cepta sunt cogitatione retrorsum redire, etc.* Ex Henr. Hunting. lib. iii.

(4) Bede places Maurice's accession A.D. 582. See Art. Gregory I. Milner's Hist.—Ed.

(5) Daughter of Cherebert, king of Paris. Mezerai dates this marriage A.D. 470.—Ed.

Ecclesiastical History.

the preaching and doctrine of Christ. Thus Augustine being arrived, sent forth certain messengers and interpreters to the king, signifying that such a one was come from Rome, bringing with him glad tidings to him and all his people of life and salvation, eternally to reign in heaven, with the only true and living God for ever, if Ethelbert would so willingly hearken to the same, as he was gladly come to preach and teach it unto him.

The king's answer to Augustine. The king stayeth upon old custom.

The king, who had heard of this religion before by means of his wife, within a few days after cometh to the place where Augustine was, to speak with him; but that should be without the house, after the manner of his law. Augustine against his coming, as stories affirm, erected up a banner of the crucifix (such was then the grossness of that time), and preached to him the word of God. The king answering again, saith in effect as followeth: "Your words and your promises be very fair: nevertheless, because they are to me new, and of uncertain import, I cannot soon start away from my country law, wherewith I have been so long inured, and assent to you. Albeit, yet notwithstanding, for that ye are come (as ye say) so far for my sake, ye shall not be molested by me, but shall be right well entreated, having all things to you ministered necessary for your supportation. Besides this, neither do we debar you, but grant you free leave to preach to our people and subjects, to convert whom ye may to the faith of your religion." When they had received this comfort of the king, they went with procession to the city of Dorobernia, or Canterbury, singing Allelujah with this litany; which then by Gregory had been used at Rome, in the time of the great plague reigning then at Rome, mentioned in old stories. The words of the litany were these: "We beseech thee, O Lord, in all thy mercy, that thy fury and anger may cease from this city and from thy holy house, for we have sinned; Allelujah!"¹

The litany of Augustine.

Miracles wrought by God for the conversion of the land.

Augustine made archbishop.

Thus they, entering into the city of Canterbury, the head city of all that dominion at that time (where the king had given them a mansion for their abode), there they continued, preaching and baptizing such as they had converted, in the east side of the city in the old church of St. Martin (where the queen was wont to resort), unto the time that the king was converted himself to Christ. At length, when the king had well considered the honest conversation of their life, and moved with the miracles wrought through God's hand by them, he heard them more gladly; and lastly, by their wholesome exhortations and example of godly life, he was by them converted and christened in the year above specified, 596, and the thirty-sixth year of his reign. After the king was thus converted, innumerable others came in and were adjoined to the church of Christ; whom the king did specially embrace, but compelled none: for so he had learned, that the faith and service of Christ ought to be voluntary, and not coerced. Then he gave to Augustine a place for the Bishop's see at Christ's Church in Canterbury, and builded the abbey of St. Peter and St. Paul in the east side of the said city, where, after, Augustine and all the kings of Kent were buried; and that place is now called St. Augustine.²

(1) "Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordiâ tuâ, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua à civitate istâ et de domo sanctâ tuâ, quoniam peccavimus; Allelujah!" Bede, lib. i. cap. 26.—Ed.

(2) Bede, lib. i. cap. 25.—Ed.

In this while Augustine sailed into France, unto the bishop of Arles, called Etherius,¹ by him to be consecrated archbishop by the commandment of Gregory; and was so. Also the said Augustine sent to Rome Laurence, one of his company, to declare to Gregory how they had sped, and what they had done in England; sending withal to have the counsel and advice of Gregory concerning nine or ten questions, whereof some are partly touched before.

The tenor of his questions or interrogations, with the answers of Gregory to the same, here follow in English briefly translated.

The questions of Augustine, archbishop of Canterbury, sent to Gregory, with the answers again of Gregory to the same.²

First Interrogation :—" My first question, reverend father, is concerning bishops, how they ought to behave themselves toward their clerks; and of such oblations as the faithful offer upon the altar, what portions or dividends ought to be made thereof?"

Answer :—" How a bishop ought to behave himself in the church, the holy Scripture testifieth (which I doubt not but you know right well), especially in the epistle of St. Paul to Timothy, wherein he laboureth to inform the said Timothy how to behave himself in the house of the Lord. The manner is of the see apostolic to warn and charge all such as be ordained bishops, of all their stipend, or that which is given, to make four portions: one for the bishop, for hospitality and receiving comers-in; another for the clergy; the third for the poor; the fourth for the repairing of churches. But, because your brotherhood, instructed with rules of monastical discipline, cannot live separated from your clerks about you, therefore in the English church (which now through the providence of God is brought to the faith of Christ) you must observe that institution concerning your conversation, which was among the first fathers in the beginning of the primitive church; among whom there was not one which counted anything to be his own property of all that he did possess, but all was common among them."

*Second Interrogation*³ :—" I desire to know and to be instructed, whether clerks that cannot contain, may marry: and if they do marry, whether then they ought to return to the secular state again or no?"

Answer :—" If there be any clerks out of holy orders, which cannot contain, let them have their wives, and take their stipends or wages abroad. For we read it so written of the foresaid fathers, that they divided to every person, according as their need was.⁴ Therefore, as concerning the stipend of such, it must be provided and thought upon. And they must be also holden under

(1) His name was *Virgilius*. See Mr. Stevenson's note on Bede, lib. i. cap. 24.—Ed.

(2) Ex decreto Gregorii primi; lib. concil. tom. ii. [Bede, "Eccles. Hist." lib. i. cap. 27, whence the following translation has been in a few places improved.—Ed.]

(3) Foxe's second question and answer appear in the printed copies of Bede as a portion of the first; his second question, moreover, is rather an explanation of the original, which reads thus in the printed copies—"and how the bishop is to act in the church." Foxe's third, however, is quoted as "the third" by Parker in his "Antiqu. Brit." His sixth and seventh appear as the fifth in the printed copies; and after his seventh question and answer, the following appear as the sixth in the printed copies:—

Augustine's Sixth Question. "Whether a bishop may be ordained without other bishops being present, in case there be so great a distance between them that they cannot easily come together."

Gregory answers,—"As for the church of England, in which you are as yet the only bishop, you can no otherwise ordain a bishop than in the absence of other bishops; for when do any bishops ever come from France, that they may be present as witnesses to you in ordaining a bishop? But we would have you, my brother, to ordain bishops in such a manner, that the said bishops may not be far asunder, to the end that, when a new bishop is to be ordained, there be no difficulty, but that the other bishops whose presence is necessary, may easily come together. Thus when, by the help of God, bishops shall be so constituted in places every where near to one another, no ordination of a bishop is to be performed without assembling three or four bishops. For even in spiritual affairs, we may take example by the temporal, that they may be wisely and discreetly conducted. It is certain, that when marriages are celebrated in the world, some married persons are assembled, that those who went before in the way of matrimony, may also partake in the joy of the succeeding couple. Why then, at this spiritual ordination, wherein by means of the sacred ministry man is joined to God, should not such persons be assembled, as may either rejoice in the advancement of the new bishop, or jointly pour forth their prayers to Almighty God for his preservation?"—Ed.

(4) The gloss upon the [Decreti 2 pars; causa 12; quest. i.: [cap. 8]: parag. i. "Si qui," saith, that this now holdeth not; and allegeth the Extra. "de cler. conjug." [See Decret. Gregor. ix. lib. iii. tit. 3, cap. 1, "Si qui," et cap. 7, "Johannes."—Ed.] Whereby note how the pope's decrees be repugnant to themselves.

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ecclesiastical discipline, to live a godly conversation, to employ themselves in singing psalms, and to refrain their tongue, heart, and body (by the grace of God) from all things unseemly and unlawful. As for those which live in common, to describe what partitions to make, what hospitality to keep, or what works of mercy to exhibit, to such I have nothing to say, but to give of that which aboundeth (as our Master teacheth) in pious and religious works: of that," saith he, "which aboundeth or is overplus, give alms, and behold all things be clean unto you."¹

Third Interrogation :—"Seeing there is but one faith, how happeneth it then the ceremonies and customs of churches to be so diverse? as in the church of Rome there is one custom and manner of mass, and the French church hath another."

Answer :—"The custom of the church of Rome, what it is, you know, wherein you remember that you have been brought up from your youth; but rather it pleaseth it me better, whether it be in the church of Rome, or the French church, where ye find anything that seemeth better to the service and pleasing of God, that ye choose the same, and so infer and bring into the English church (which is yet new in the faith) the best and pickdest things chosen out of many churches; for things are not to be beloved for the place' sake, but the place is to be beloved for the things that be good therein: wherefore such things as be good, godly, and religious, those choose out of all churches, and introduce to your people, that they may take root in the minds of Englishmen."

Note a worthy saying of Gregory.

Fourth Interrogation :—"I pray you, what punishment adjudge you for him that shall steal or pilfer anything out of the church?"

Answer :—"This your brotherhood may soon discern by the person of a thief, how it ought to be corrected. For some there be, that having sufficient to live upon, yet do steal: others there be which steal of mere necessity. Wherefore, considering the quality and difference of the crime, necessary it is, that some be corrected by loss of goods, some by stripes, some others more sharply, and some more easily. Yea, and when sharper correction is to be executed, yet that must be done with charity, and with no fury; for in punishing offenders, this is the cause and end wherefore they are punished, because they should be saved, and not perish in hell-fire. And so ought discipline to proceed in correcting the faithful, as do good fathers in punishing their children, whom they both chasten for their evil, and yet being chastened, they look to have them their heirs, and think to leave them all they have, notwithstanding they correct them sometimes in anger. Therefore this charity must be kept in mind; and in the correction there is a measure to be had, so that the mind never do anything without the rule of reason. You may add, moreover, that those things ought to be restored again, which be stolen out of churches. But God forbid that the church should ever require again with increase, that which is lost in outward things, and to seek her gain out of such vanities."

Fifth Interrogation :—"Item, whether two brethren may marry two sisters, being far off from any part of kindred?"

Answer :—"This in no part of Scripture is forbidden, but it may well and lawfully be done."

Sixth Interrogation :—"Item, to what degree of kindred may the matrimony of the faithful extend with their kindred; or whether is it lawful to marry with the stepmother and other kinsfolks?"

Answer :—"A certain terrene law amongst the old Romans doth permit, that either brother or sister, or the son and daughter of two brethren, may marry together. But by experience we learn, that the issue of such marriage doth never thrive, nor come forward. Also the holy law of God forbiddeth to uncover the turpitude of thy blood or kindred. Wherefore of necessity it must be the third or fourth degree in which the faithful may lawfully marry; for in the second (being an unlawful) they must needs refrain. To be coupled with the stepmother is utterly abominable, for it is written in the law, 'Thou shalt not uncover the turpitude of thy father.' Forsomuch then as it is so written in the law, 'And they shall be two in one flesh;' the son then that presumeth to uncover the turpitude of his stepmother, which is one flesh with his father, what doth he then but uncover the turpitude of his own father? Likewise it was forbidden and unlawful to marry with thy kinswoman, which by her first

In what degree of kindred a man may lawfully marry.

marriage was made one flesh with thy brother;¹ for the which cause John the Baptist also lost his head, and was crowned a martyr: who, though he died not for the confession of Christ, yet, forso much as Christ saith 'I am the truth,' therefore, in that John Baptist was slain for the truth, it may be said his blood was shed for Christ."

Seventh Interrogation:—"Item, whether such as so be coupled together in filthy and unlawful matrimony ought to be separated, and denied the partaking of the holy communion?"

Answer:—"Because there be many of the nation of Englishmen, which being yet in their infidelity, were so joined and coupled in such execrable marriage; the same coming now to faith, are to be admonished hereafter to abstain from the like, and be made to know the same to be a grievous sin: and let them dread the dreadful judgment of God, lest for their carnal delectation they incur the torments of eternal punishment. And yet, notwithstanding, they are not to be secluded there-for from the participation of Christ's body and blood; lest we should seem to revenge those things in them which they, before their baptism, through ignorance did commit. For in his time the holy church doth correct some faults more fervently, some faults she suffereth again through mansuetude and meekness; some wittingly and willingly she doth wink at and dissemble; that many times the evil, which she doth detest, through bearing and dissembling she may stop and bridle. All they therefore which are come to the faith, must be admonished that they commit no such offence. Which thing if they do, they are to be deprived of the communion of the Lord's body and blood. For like as in them that fell through ignorance, their default in this case is tolerable; so in them again it is strenuously to be prosecuted, who knowing they do naught, yet fear not to commit."

A discreet saying of Gregory to be noted.

Eighth Interrogation:—"Item, in this I desire to be satisfied, after what manner I should deal or do with the bishops of France and of Britain?"

Answer:—"As touching the bishops in France, I give you no authority of power over them. For the bishop of Arles hath of old time received the pall of our predecessors, whom now we ought not to deprive of his authority. Therefore, when your brotherhood shall go unto the province of France, whatsoever ye shall have there to do with the bishop of Arles, so do, that he lose nothing of that which he hath found and obtained of the ancient ordinance of our fore elders.² But as concerning the bishops of Britain, we commit them all to your brotherhood; that the ignorant may be taught, the infirm by persuasion may be confirmed, the wilful by authority may be corrected."

Ninth Interrogation:—"Whether a woman being great with child, ought to be baptized? Or, after she hath had children, after how long time she ought to enter into the church? Or else, that which she hath brought forth, lest it should be prevented with death, after how many days it ought to receive baptism? Or after how long time after her child-birth is it lawful for her husband to resort to her? Or else, if she be in her monthly courses after the disease of women, whether then she may enter into the church, and receive the sacrament of the holy communion? Or else her husband, after the lying with his wife, whether is it lawful for him to enter the church, and to draw unto the mystery of the holy communion, before he be washed with water?—All which things must be declared and opened to the rude multitude of Englishmen."

Answer:—"The childing or bearing woman, why may she not be baptized, seeing that the fruitfulness of the flesh is no fault before the eyes of Almighty God? For our first parents in Paradise, after they had transgressed, lost their immortality which they had received before, by the just judgment of God. Then, because Almighty God would not mankind utterly to perish because of his fall (although he lost now his immortality for his trespass), of his benign pity, he left to him, notwithstanding, the fruit and generation of issue. Wherefore the issue and generation of man's nature, which is conserved by the gift of Almighty God, how can it be debarred from the grace of holy baptism?"

(1) By this rule the marriage of king Henry with queen Katherine dowager was unlawful.

(2) [Decreti pars 2; causa.] 25; quæst. 2; cap. 3, "in Galliarum."

(3) The following is the commencement of the ninth answer in the printed copies:—"I do not doubt but that these questions have been put to you, my brother, and I think I have already answered you therein. But I believe you would wish the opinion which you yourself might give to be confirmed by mine also."—Ed.

(4) The following words are here added in the printed copies:—"For it is very foolish to imagine that a gift of grace opposes that mystery in which all sin is blotted out."—Ed.

*Eccelesias-
tical His-
tory.*

"As concerning the churching of women, after they have travailed, whereas ye demand after how many days they ought to go to the church, this you have learned in the old law, that for a man-child thirty-three days, after a woman-child sixty and six days be appointed her to keep in: albeit this you must take to be understood in a mystery. For if she should, the very hour of her travail, enter into the church to give thanks, she committeth therein no sin: for why? the lust and pleasure of the flesh, and not the travail and pain of the flesh, is the sin. In the conjunction of the flesh is pleasure, but in the travail and bringing forth of the child is pain and groaning: as unto the mother of all it is said, 'In sorrow thou shalt travail.' Therefore, if we forbid the woman after her labour to enter into the church, then what do we else but make a crime of the very punishment? For a woman after her labour to be baptized (if present necessity of death doth so require), yea, in the selfsame hour that she hath brought forth; or that which she hath brought forth, in the same hour when it is born, to be baptized—we do not forbid.

Mothers
that
nurse not
their own
children
repre-
hended.

"Moreover, for the man to company with his wife, that he must not do before the child that is born be weaned. But now there is a lewd and naughty custom risen in the condition of married folks, that mothers do contemn to nurse their own children which they have borne, but set them to other women out to nurse, which seemeth only to come of the cause of incontinency; for because they will not contain themselves, therefore they put from them their children to nurse, etc.

"As concerning the woman in her menstruous course, whether she ought to enter the church? To this I answer, she ought not to be forbid. For the superfluity of nature in her ought not to be imputed for any fault, neither is it just that she should be deprived of her access to the church, for that which she suffered against her will. And if the woman did well, presuming in touching the Lord's coat in the time of her bloody issue; why then may not that be granted unto all women infirmed by the fault of nature, which is commended in one person done in her infirmity? Therefore to receive the mystery of the holy communion, it is not forbidden them. Albeit if she dare not so far presume in her great infirmity, she is to be praised; but if she do receive, she is not to be judged: for it is a point of a good mind in some manner to acknowledge faults there, where is no fault, because many times that is done without fault, which cometh of fault—as when we be hungry, we eat without fault, notwithstanding it cometh by the fault of our first father to us, that we are hungry, etc.

"Whereas ye ask, if a man after the company with his wife may resort to the church, or to the holy communion, before he be purged with water? the law given to the old people, commanded that a man (after the company with his wife) both should be purified with water, and also should tarry the sunset before he came to the congregation. Which seemeth to be understood spiritually: for then most true it is, that the man companieth with the woman, when his mind through delectation is led to unlawful concupiscence in his imagination. At that time, before the said fire of concupiscence shall be removed, let the person think himself unworthy the entrance to the congregation, through the viciousness of his filthy will. But of this matter sundry nations have every one their sundry customs; some one way, and some another. The ancient manner of the Romans from our forefathers, hath been, that in such case, first they purge themselves with water, then, for a little, they abstain reverently, and so resort to the church," etc.

After many other words debated of this matter, thus he inferreth:

"But if any person not for voluptuousness of the flesh, but for procreation of children, do company with his wife, that man concerning either the coming to the church, or the receiving the mysteries of the Lord's body and blood, is to be left to his own judgment; for he ought not to be forbid of us to come, who, when he lieth in the fire, will not burn," etc.

There is another question also to these adjoined, with his answer likewise to the same, concerning pollutions in the night: but I thought these at this present to our English ears sufficient.

(1) He speaketh here after the custom of the time.

To return now to the story again: Gregory, after he had sent these resolutions to the questions of Augustine, sendeth moreover to the church of England more coadjutors and helpers; as Mellitus, Justus, Pauline, and Rufinian, with books and such other implements as he thought necessary for the English church. He sendeth, moreover, to the aforesaid Augustine a pall,¹ with letters, wherein he setteth an order between the two metropolitan sees, the one to be at London, the other to be at York. Notwithstanding, he granteth to the said Augustine during his life, to be the only chief archbishop of all the land; and, after his time, then to return to the two foresaid sees of London and York, as is in the same letter contained, the tenor whereof here followeth in his own words, as ensueth.

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The Copy of the Epistle of Gregory, sent to Augustine into England.²

To the reverend and virtuous brother Augustine, his fellow bishop, Gregory the servant of the servants of God. Although it be most certain, that unspeakable rewards of the Eternal King be laid up for all such as labour in the word of the Almighty God; yet it shall be requisite for us to reward the same also with our benefits, to the end they may be more encouraged to go forward in the study of their spiritual work. And forsomuch now, as the new church of Englishmen is brought to the grace of Almighty God, through his mighty help and your travail, therefore we have granted to you the use of the pall, only to be used at the solemnity of your mass: so that it shall be lawful for you to ordain twelve bishops, who shall be subject to your jurisdiction. So that hereafter always the bishop of the city of London shall be consecrated by his own proper synod; and receive the pall of honour from this holy and apostolic see, wherein I here (by the permission of God) do serve. And as touching the city of York, we would have you send also a bishop thither, whom you may think meet to ordain; yet so, that, if that city with other places bordering thereby shall receive the word of God, he shall have power likewise to ordain twelve bishops, and have the honour of a metropolitan; to whom also, if God spare my life, I intend (by the favour of God) to send a pall: this provided, that, notwithstanding, he shall be subject to your brotherly authority. But after your decease, the same metropolitan shall preside so over the bishops whom he ordereth, that he be in no wise subject to the metropolitan of London after you. And hereafter, betwixt these two metropolitans of London and York, let there be had such distinction of honour, that he shall have the precedence, which shall in time first be ordained. But with common counsel, and affection of heart, let them go both together, disposing with one accord such things as be to be done for the zeal of Christ; let them forethink and deliberate together prudently; and what they deliberate wisely, let them accomplish concordly, not jarring, nor swerving one from the other. But as for your part, you shall be endued with authority; not only over those bishops that you constitute, and over the others constituted by the bishop of York; but also you shall have all other priests of whole Britain subject unto you, by the authority of our Lord

(1) "In the Decretals collected, or at least published by the appointment of Gregory IX. in the beginning of the twelfth century, the world is abundantly furnished with accounts of the nature, virtue, necessity of the *pall*, and of the time, manner, and circumstances of using it; where it is decreed, that an archbishop, till he had received his *pall* from the bishop of Rome, could not call a council, bless the chrism, consecrate churches, ordain a clerk, or consecrate a bishop; and that before any archbishop received his *pall*, he should swear fidelity to the bishop of Rome. (Decretal, lib. i. tit. 6, cap. 4 and tit. 8.)

"And whilst it was required, that on the translation of an archbishop, he should not carry his *pall* away with him, but demand a new one, by another canon it was determined that his successor should make no use of the *pall* he left behind; and by another, that every archbishop should be buried in his *pall*. By these ways the church of Rome did, in time, raise a mighty revenue."—Inett's History of the English Church, vol. i. p. 165. Fuller has some characteristic remarks upon this customary adjunct to Rome's empty baubles—*nugas dabil, accipit aurum*. Fuller's Church History, cent. 7, § 38; Rivet, Jesuita Vapulans, cap. x. § 2.—Ed.]

(2) "Reverendissimo et sanctissimo fratri Augustino coepiscopo, Gregorius servus servorum Dei. Cum certum sit, pro omnipotente Deo laborantibus ineffabilia æterni regis præmia reservari, nobis tamen eis necesse est honorum beneficia tribuere, ut in spiritualis operis studio ex remuneratione valeant multiplicius insudare." &c. An entire Latin copy of the epistle may be found in Foxe's edition of 1563, p. 17. See also Bede's Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. 29, whence the above is revised.—Ed.

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Jesus Christ: to the end that through your preaching and holiness of life, they may learn both to believe rightly, and to live purely; and so, in directing their life both by the rule of true faith and virtuous manners, they may attain, when God shall call them, the fruition and kingdom of Heaven. God preserve you in health, most reverend brother.

Gregory calleth the emperor his lord.

The thirteenth before the kalends of July, in the nineteenth year of the reign of our most pious lord and emperor Maurice, the eighteenth year after the consulship of our said lord. The fourth indiction.

Besides this, the said Gregory sendeth also another letter to Melitius concerning his judgment, what was to be done with the idolatrous temples and fanes of the Englishmen newly converted; which fanes he thinketh not best to pluck down, but to convert the use thereof, and so let them stand: and likewise of their sacrifices, and killing of oxen, how the same ought to be ordered, and how to be altered; disputing by the occasions thereof, of the sacrifices of the old Egyptians, permitted of God unto the Israelites, the end and use thereof being altered, etc.¹

A letter of Gregory to Augustine.

He sendeth also another letter to the aforesaid Augustine, wherein he warneth him not to be proud or puffed up for the miracles wrought of God by him, in converting the people of England; but rather to fear and tremble, lest so much as he were puffed up by the outward work of miracles, so much he should fall inwardly through the vain glory of his heart: and therefore wisely exhorteth him to repress the swelling glory of his heart, with the remembrance of his sins rather against God, whereby he rather hath cause to lament than to rejoice for the others. "Not all the elect of God," saith he, "work miracles; and yet have they all their names written in the book of life." And therefore he should not count so much of those miracles done, but rather rejoice with the disciples of Christ, and labour to have his name written in the book of life, wherein all the elect of God be contained, neither is there any end of that rejoicing. And whatsoever miracles it hath pleased God by him to have been done, he should remember they were not done for him, but for their conversion, whose salvation God sought thereby, &c.²

A letter of Gregory to king Ethelbert.

Item, he directed another epistle to king Ethelbert, as is expressed at large in the chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon,³ in the which epistle, first he praiseth God, then commendeth the goodness of the king, by whom it pleased God so to work such goodness to the people. Secondly, he exhorteth him to persist and continue in the godly profession of Christ's faith, and to be fervent and zealous in the same; in converting the multitude; in destroying the temples and works of idolatry; in ruling and governing the people in all holiness and godly conversation, after the godly example of the emperor Constantine the Great. Lastly, comforting him with the promises of life and reward to come, with the Lord that reigneth and liveth for ever; premonishing him, besides, of the terrors and distresses that shall happen, though not in his days, yet before the terrible day of God's judgment. Wherefore he willeth him always to be solicitous for his soul, and suspectful of the hour of his death, and watchful of the judgment, that he may be always prepared for the same, when that judgment shall come. In the end, he desireth him

(1) Bede's Eccles. Hist. lib. i. cap. 30.—Ed.

(2) Id. cap. 31.—Ed.

(3) Lib. 3, [p. 323. Edit. Francof. 1601; and in Bede, "Hist. Eccles." lib. i. cap. 32.—Ed.]

to accept such presents and gifts which he thought good to send unto him from Rome, etc.

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Augustine thus receiving his pall from Gregory, as is above said, and now of a monk being made an archbishop (after he had baptized a great part of Kent), afterward made two archbishops or metropolitans by the commandment of Gregory, as witnesseth Polychronicon, one at London, another at York.¹

Mellitus, of whom mention is made before, was sent specially to the East Saxons in the province of Essex, where, afterwards, he was made bishop of London, under Sebert, king of Essex; which Sebert, together with his uncle Ethelbert, first builded the church and minster of St. Paul, London, and appointed it to Mellitus for the bishop's see. Augustine (associate with this Mellitus and Justus) through the help of Ethelbert assembled and gathered together the bishops and doctors of Britain in a place, which, taking the name of the said Augustine, was called Augustine's Oak. In this assembly he charged the said bishops, that they should preach with him the word of God to the Englishmen, and also that they should among themselves reform certain rites and usages in their church; specially for keeping of their Easter-tide, baptizing after the manner of Rome, and such other like. To this the Scots and Britons would not agree, refusing to leave the custom which they so long time had continued, without the assent of them all which used the same. Here the stories both of Beda,² Cestrensis in Polychronicon, Henry of Huntingdon, Jorنالensis,³ Fabian, and others, write of a certain miracle wrought upon a blind Englishman; whom when the Britons could not help, Augustine, kneeling down and praying, restored the blind man to sight before them all, for a confirmation (as these authors say) of his opinion in keeping of Easter. But concerning the credit of this miracle, that I leave to the authors of whom I had it.

Mellitus
bishop of
London.

The Britons and
Scots used
not the
rites of
Rome.

Then Augustine gathered another synod, to the which came seven bishops of Britain, with the wisest men of that famous abbey of Bangor. But first they took counsel of a certain wise and holy man amongst them what to do; and whether they should be obedient to Augustine or not.⁴ And he said, "If he be the servant of God, agree unto him." "But how shall we know that?" said they. To whom he answered again, "If he be meek and humble of heart, by that know that he is the servant of God." To this they said again, "And how shall we know him to be humble and meek of heart?" "By this," quoth he, "seeing you are the greater number, if he at your coming into your synod rise up, and courteously receive you, perceive him to be an humble and a meek man; but if he shall

Abbey of
Bangor

(1) Polychron. lib. v. cap. 9. Fabian. part 5, cap. 119.

(2) Lib. ii. cap. 2.—Ed.

(3) The following notices of these English chroniclers (much quoted by Foxe) are taken from Cave's *Historia Literaria*.

Ranulphus Higdenus, Anglus, monachus Cestriensis ord. Benedict., claruit anno 1357. Historiam universalem ex aliorum chronicis contextuit, quam à creatione mundi exorsus ad sua tempora deduxit, eamque *Polychronicon* appellavit.

Henricus Huntindoniensis, Anglus, Nicolai presbyteri conjugati filius, Albini Andegavii canonicus Lincolniensis discipulus, ipse etiam canonicus Lincolniensis, ac demum ab Alexandro episcopo Lincolniensi, quem Romam usque comitatus fuerat, archidiaconus Huntindoniensis factus; claruit an. 1150. Scripsit ad Alexandrum Lincolniensem, "*Historia Anglorum ab ipsis gentis primordiis usque ad Stephani regis mortem, ann. 1154,*" quam libris duodecim absolvit.

Johannes Brompton, Anglus, monachus Cisterciensis, deinde cænobii Jorallensis (rectius Jorvalensis) in agro Eboracensi abbas; claruisse videtur circa annum 1198. Extat sub illius nomine chronicon ab anno 588 ad annum 1198.—Ed.

(4) Ex libro Jorallensi, Fabiano, et aliis.

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Ethelfrid king of Northumberland. Brocmaile, consul of Chester. The monastery of Bangor.

A pitiful slaughter of unarmed monks of Bangor.

Whether Augustine or the Britons in this case were more to blame.

contemn and despise you (being as ye are the greater part), despise you him again." Thus the British bishops entering into the council, Augustine, after the Romish manner, keeping his chair, would not remove. Whereat they being not a little offended, after some heat of words, in disdain and great displeasure, departed thence. To whom then Augustine spake, and said, "That if they would not take peace with their brethren, they should receive war with their enemies; and if they disdained to preach with them the way of life to the English nation, they should suffer by their hands the revenge of death." Which not long after so came to pass by the means of Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, who being yet a pagan, and stirred with fierce fury against the Britons, came with a great army against the city of Chester,¹ where Brocmaile, the consul of that city, a friend and helper of the Britons' side, was ready with his force to receive him. There was at the same time at Bangor in Wales an exceeding great monastery, wherein was such a number of monks, as Geoffrey with other authors do testify,² that if the whole company were divided into seven parts, in every of the seven parts were contained not so few as three hundred monks; which all did live by the sweat of their brows, and labour of their own hands, having one for their ruler, named Dino.³ Out of this monastery came the monks to Chester, to pray for the good success of Brocmaile, fighting for them against the Saxons. Three days they continued in fasting and prayer. When Ethelfrid, the foresaid king, seeing them so attentive to their prayers, demanded the cause of their coming thither in such a company, and when he perceived it was to pray for their consul, "Then," saith he, "although they bear no weapon, yet they fight against us, and with their prayers and preachings they persecute us." Whereupon, after that Brocmaile, being overcome, did flee away, the king commanded his men to turn their weapons against the silly unarmed monks, of whom he slew the same time, or rather martyred, twelve hundred, only fifty persons⁴ of that number did fly and escape away with Brocmaile; the rest were all slain. The authors that write of this lamentable murder, declare and say how the fore-speaking of Augustine was here verified upon the Britons; who, because they would not join peace with their friends, he said, should be destroyed of their enemies. Of both these parties the reader may judge what he pleaseth; I cannot see but both together were to be blamed. And as I cannot but accuse the one, so I cannot defend the other. First, Augustine in this matter can in no wise be excused; who, being a monk before, and therefore a scholar and professor of humility, showed so little humility in this assembly, to seven bishops and an archbishop, coming at his commandment to the council, that he thought scorn once to stir at their coming in. Much less would his pharisaical solemnity have girded himself, and washed his brethren's

(1) Bede's words are,—“to the city of Legions, which by the English is called Legacester, but by the Britons more rightly Carlegion;” it was the station of the second Augustan legion. It was called “Carlegion ar Usk,” to distinguish it from “Carlegion ar Dour-dwy” (hod. Chester): it was often called “Chester,” as here, and *infra* vol. ii. p. 5, 25, 37; sometimes “Chester in South Wales,” as *infra* vol. ii. p. 28. To avoid confusion, “Caerleon” has been appropriated to the one, “Chester” to the other city. See Usher, *Brit. Eccl. Ant.* cap. 5.—Ed.

(2) *Galfridus Monumeten*; *Polychron. lib. v. cap. 10. Liber Bibliothecæ Jornalensis. Guil. Malmesburiensis, lib. [I. de Reg. p. 13] Fabian, p. 5, cap. 119, 120. [Bede, lib. ii. cap 2.—Ed.] [Hen. Hunting. p. 325, edit. 1601; Bede, lib. ii. c. 2.—Ed.]*

(3) Bede names this abbot “Dinoth.”—Ed.

(4) Nennius, the British historian, was one of these fifty.—Ed.

feet after their travel, as Christ, our great Master, did to his disciples; seeing his lordship was so high, or rather so heavy, or rather so proud, that he could not find in his heart to give them a little moving of his body, to declare a brotherly and an humble heart. Again, the Britons were as much or more to blame, who so much neglected their spiritual duty, in revenging their temporal injury, that they denied to join their helping labour to turn the idolatrous Saxons to the way of life and salvation, in which respect all private cases ought to give place, and to be forgotten. For the which cause, although lamentable to us, yet no great marvel in them, if the stroke of God's punishment did light upon them, according to the words of Augustine, as is before declared. But especially the cruel king in this fact was most of all to blame, so furiously to fly upon them, which had neither weapon to resist him, nor yet any will to harm him. And so likewise the same or like happened to himself afterward. For so was he also slain in the field by christian Edwin, who succeeded him, as he had slain the Christians before, which was about the year of our Lord 610.¹ But to return to Augustine again, who by report of authors was departed before this cruelty was done; after he had baptized and christened ten thousand Saxons or Angles in the west river, that is called Swale, beside York,² on a Christmas-day, perceiving his end to draw near, he ordained a successor, named Laurence, to rule after him the archbishop's see of Canterbury. Where note by the way, christian reader, that whereas Augustine baptized then in rivers, it followeth there was then no use of fonts.³ Again, if that be true which Fabian saith, that he baptized ten thousand in one day, the rite then of baptizing at Rome was not so ceremonial, neither had so many trinkets at that time, as it hath had since, or else it could not be that he could baptize so many in one day.

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Laurence archbishop after Augustine. Baptizing in rivers, not in fonts, among the old Romans

In the mean season, about this time departed Gregory, bishop of Rome; of whom it is said, that of the number of all the first bishops before him in the primitive time, he was the basest; of all of them that came after him, he was the best. About which time also died in Wales, David, archbishop first of Caerleon, who then translated the see from thence to Menevia, which therefore is called St. David's in Wales.⁴ Not long after this also deceased the aforesaid Augustine in England, after he had sat there fifteen or sixteen years; by the which count we may note it not to be true, what Henry of Huntingdon and others do witness, that Augustine was dead before that battle of Ethelfrid against the monks of Bangor. For if that be true which Polychronicon testifieth of this murder, to be done about the year of our Lord 609, and the coming of Augustine first into the realm to be in the year 596, then Augustine enduring sixteen years, could not be dead at this battle. Moreover, Geoffrey of Monmouth⁵ declareth concerning the same battle, that Ethelbert, the king of

Computation of time examined.

(1) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 12. Polychron. The date 610 refers to the slaughter of the monks.—Ed.
 (2) This more probably took place in *Kent*. "When we find in Camden that the Medway, falling into the Thames, is divided by the isle of Sheppey into two great branches, of which one is called East Swale, and the other West Swale, I see no reason why we should look elsewhere for that river Swale." Heylin, quoted in Fuller's "Appeal to Injured Innocence," p. 394 (edit. Lond. 1840) who himself assents to the conjecture.—Ed.
 (3) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 4.—Ed.
 (4) St. David in Wales, otherwise called Dewie.
 (5) As this author, Geoffrey, archdeacon of Monmouth, is often mentioned by Foxe, we may remark that the opinions as to his fidelity very much vary, and that the fables which abound in his work are not of his own fabrication, but were adopted from Walter, archdeacon of Oxford. "Scriptis de origine et rebus gestis regum Britanniae, xii. libros, qui una cum altis Heidelbergæ,

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Kent, being (as is said) converted by Augustine to Christ's faith, after he saw the Britons to disdain and deny their subjection unto Augustine, neither would assist him with preaching to the English nation—therefore stirred up the foresaid Ethelfrid to war against the Britons. But that seemeth rather suspicious than true, that he being a christian king, either could so much prevail with a pagan idolater, or else would attempt so far to commit such a cruel deed ; but of uncertain things I have nothing certainly to say, much less to judge.

A. D. 610.
A story of John, patriarch of Alexandria.

Mercy may live a maiden, for no man will marry her.

About this present time above prefixed, which is the year 610, I read in the story of Ranulphus Cestrensis (the writer of *Polychronicon*)¹ of John the patriarch of Alexandria, whom for his rare example of hospitality and bountifulness to the poor, I thought no less worthy to have place amongst good men, than I see the same now to be followed of few. This John (being before belike a hard and sparing man) as he was at his prayer, upon a time, it is said, there appeared to him a comely virgin, having on her head a garland of olive leaves, who named herself Mercy, saying to him, and promising, that if he would take her to wife, he should prosper well. This, whether it were true or not, or else invented for a morality, I would wish this flourishing damsel to be married to more than to this John,² that she should not live so long a virgin as now she doth, because no man will marry her. But to return to this patriarch, who after that day (as the story recordeth) was so merciful and so beneficial, especially to the poor and needy, that he counted them as his masters, and himself as a servant and steward unto them : this patriarch was wont commonly twice a week to sit at his door all the day long, to take up matters, and to set unity where was any variance. One day it happened, as he was sitting all the day before his gate, and saw no man come, he lamented that all that day he had done no good : to whom his deacon standing by answered again, that he had more cause to rejoice, seeing he had brought the city in that order and in such peace, that there needed no reconciliation amongst them. Another time, as the said John the patriarch was at service, and reading the gospel in the church, the people (as their used manner is) went out of the church to talk and jangle : he, perceiving that, went out likewise, and sat amongst them ; whereat they marvelled to see him do so. " My children," said he, " where the flock is, there ought the shepherd to be : wherefore either come you in, that I may also come in with you ; or else, if you tarry out, I will likewise tarry out together with you," etc.

The acts of Gregory.

As touching the acts and deeds of Gregory above mentioned, how he withstood the ambitious pride of John, patriarch of Constantinople, who would be the universal priest, and only chief bishop of all others, declaring him to be no less than the forerunner of Antichrist, that would take that name upon him ; and how and with what reasons he answered again the letters of the emperor Maurice in that behalf, sufficient relation is made thereof in the first entry

1587, prodierunt." Vid. Vossius "de hist. Lat." p. 419, edit. 1651; and "Supplementa ad Vos." (Hamb. 1709) p. 711. Archb. Usher has made great use of him. See also Godwin "de Præsulibus," p. 633, edit. Cantabr. 1743.—Ed.

(1) *Polychron.* lib. v. c. 10. He was surnamed "Eleemosynarius," "the Almoner."—Ed.

(2) This John was so bountiful in giving, that he essayed to strive in a manner with the Lord ; whether the Lord should give more, or he should distribute more of that which was given.

and beginning of this history.¹ This Gregory, among many other things induced into the church (the specialties whereof hereafter shall follow, Christ willing, more at large), first began and brought in this title among the Roman bishops, to be called, "Servus servorum Dei;" putting them in remembrance thereby, both of their humbleness, and also of their duty in the church of Christ. Moreover, as concerning his act for the single life of priests, first began and then broken again; also concerning the order of Gregory's Mass-book to be received in all churches, hereof whoso listeth to read more, shall find the same in other places hereafter; namely, when we come to the time of pope Adrian the first.

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The Roman bishops' style, "Servus servorum Dei."

After the death of Gregory above-mentioned, first came Sabinian, who, as he was a malicious detractor of Gregory² and of his works, so he continued not long, scarce the space of two years. After whom succeeded next Boniface III., who, albeit he reigned but one year, yet in that one year did more hurt than Gregory with so much labour, and in so many years, could do good before. For that which Gregory kept out, he brought in, obtaining of Phocas the wicked emperor, for him and his successors after him, that the see of Rome, above all other churches, should have the pre-eminence; and that the bishop of Rome should be the universal head through all churches of Christ in Christendom: alleging for him this frivolous reason, that St. Peter had and left to his successors in Rome, the keys of binding and loosing. And thus Rome first began to take a head above all other churches, by the means of Boniface III., who, as he lacked no boldness nor ambition to seek it, so neither lacked he an emperor fit and meet to give such a gift. This emperor's name was Phocas, a man of such wickedness and ambition (most like to his own bishop Boniface) that, to aspire to the empire, he murdered his own master, the emperor Maurice, and his children. Thus Phocas coming up to be emperor, after his detestable villany done, thinking to establish his empire with friendship and favour of his people, and especially with the bishop of Rome, quickly condescended to all his petitions, and so granted him (as it is said) to be what he would,—the universal and head bishop over all christian churches. But as blood commonly requireth blood again, so it came to pass on the said Phocas; for, as he had cruelly slain his lord and emperor Maurice before, so he, in like manner, of Heraclius (the emperor who succeeded him) had his hands and feet cut off, and so was cast into the sea. And thus wicked Phocas, which gave the first supremacy to Rome, lost his own. But Rome would not so soon lose its supremacy once given, as the giver lost his life: for ever since, from that day it hath holden, defended, and maintained the same still, and yet doth to this present day, by all force and policy possible. And thus much concerning Boniface, whom, by the words of Gregory, we may well call "the runner before antichrist;" for, as

Sabinian, bishop of Rome.

Boniface III. bishop of Rome.

How Rome began to take a head above other churches.

Phocas a traitor and murderer of his emperor.

Blood revenged with blood.

(1) Suprà, p. 40: where, however, Foxe promises to give the said correspondence in this place.—Ed.

(2) Baronius relates from *Sigebert*, that Gregory appeared to Sabinian "per visum" three times, and chode him "pro culpa tenaciæ et hujus derogationis;" and at his fourth appearance "horribiliter increpans, et comminans in capite percussit: quo ille dolore vexatus, non multo post mortem obiit"—a story, which Pagi says Baronius should not have credited. It appears however to be just as worthy of reception as numbers of others proposed and urged upon the belief of the Roman catholic laity. Baron. "Annal." an. 605, § 8.—Ed.

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A style brought in by Boniface.

Ethelbert and Sebert builders of Paul's church. The archbishop's see translated from London to Canterbury.

The monastery of Westminster.

A. D. 616.

Blood revenged with blood.

Edwin first christened king in Northumberland.

The conversion of Edwin to the faith of Christ.

The trouble of Edwin.

Gregory brought in their style, "Servus servorum Dei;" this Boniface brought in their heads first, "Volumus ac mandamus, statuimus ac præcipimus:" that is, "We will and command, we enjoin and charge you," etc.

Mention was made a little before, of Ethelbert, king of Kent, and also of Ethelfrid, king of North-Saxony or Northumbria. This Ethelbert, having under his subjection all the other Saxon kings unto the Humber, after he had first received himself, and caused to be received of others, the christian faith by the preaching of Augustine, confirmed afterward in the same faith, amongst other costly deeds, with the help of Sebert king of Essex, his nephew, then reigning under him, began the foundation of Paul's church within the city of London, and ordained it for the bishop's see of London.¹ For the archbishop's see, which before-time had been at London, was by Augustine and this Ethelbert, at the prayer of the citizens of Canterbury, translated to the said city.² Wherefore such authors as say that Paul's was builded by Sebert say not amiss: which Sebert was the king of Essex, in which province standeth the city of London. This Ethelbert also founded the church of St. Andrew in the city of Dorubrevi in Kent, now called Rochester of one Roſ, distant from Canterbury four and twenty miles. Of this city Justus was bishop, ordained before by Augustine.³ Moreover, the forenamed Ethelbert stirred up a dweller or citizen of London, to make a chapel or church of St. Peter in the west end of London (then called Thorny, now the town of Westminster), which church or chapel was after by Edward the Confessor⁴ enlarged or new builded: lastly, of Henry III. it was newly again re-edified, and made, as it is now, a large monastery. After these christian and worthy acts, this Ethelbert, when he had reigned the course of fifty and six years, changed this mortal life about the year of our Lord, 616; whom some stories say to be slain in a fight between him and Ethelfrid king of North-Saxons.

In the mean time the foresaid Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, after the cruel murder of the monks of Bangor, escaped not long unpaid his hire: for after he had reigned four and twenty years he was slain in the field by Edwin, who succeeded in Northumberland after him.

This Edwin, being the son, not of Ethelfrid (as Geoffrey of Monmouth saith) but rather of Ella (as Giraldus Cambrensis seemeth to witness more truly), was first a paynim or idolater; afterward by Paulinus was christened, and the first christened king in Northumberland. The occasion of which his calling or conversion, as is in sundry stories contained, was this.

Edwin being yet a pagan, married the daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, called Ethelburga, a christian woman, otherwise called Tate. But before this marriage, Edwin being yet young, Ethelfrid the king, conceiving envy against him, persecuted him so sore, that he was forced to fly to Redwald, king of East-Angles, as in the table of the kings is expressed; the which Redwald, what for fear, what with

(1) Fabian, part v. cap. 120.

(2) Malmesburiensis lib. de Pontific. [lib. ii. p. 235]. H. Hunting. lib. iii. [p. 324, edit. 1601.—Ed.]

(3) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 3.—Ed.

(4) This Edward was the third of that name before the conquest.

(5) Sylvester Giraldus, flourished in the court of Henry II.—Ed.

bribes, being corrupted of Ethelfrid, at length privily had intended to have betrayed Edwin. But, as God's will was, Edwin, having warning thereof by a secret friend of his, was moved to fly, and to save himself; being promised also of his friend to be safely conveyed away, if he would thereto agree. To whom Edwin said, "Whither shall I fly, that have so long fled from the hands of mine enemies, through all provinces of the realm? and if I must needs be slain, I had rather he should do it, than another unworthy person." Thus he remaining by himself alone and solitary, sitting in a great study, there appeared unto him suddenly a certain stranger to him unknown, and said, "I know well the cause of thy thought and heaviness. What wouldst thou give him that should deliver thee out of this fear, and should reconcile king Redwald to thee again?" "I would give him," said Edwin, "all that I ever could make." And he said again, "And what if he make thee a mightier king than was any of thy progenitors?" He answered again as before. "Moreover," saith he, "and what if he show thee a better kind and way of life, than ever was showed to any of thine ancestors before thee, wilt thou obey him and do after his counsel?" "Yea," said Edwin, promising most firmly with all his heart so to do. Then he, laying his hand upon his head: "When," said he, "this token happeneth unto thee, then remember this time of thy tribulation, and the promise which thou hast made, and the word which now I say unto thee." And with that he vanished out of his sight suddenly. After this so done, as Edwin was sitting alone by himself pensive and sad, his foresaid friend, which moved him before to fly, cometh to him, bidding him be of good cheer; "For the heart," said he, "of king Redwald, which had before intended thy destruction, is now altered through the counsel of the queen, and is fully bent to keep his promise with you, whatsoever shall fall thereupon." To make the story short, Redwald the king¹ (although Fabian, following Henry of Huntingdon, saith it was Edwin) with all convenient speed assembled a host, wherewith he, suddenly coming upon Ethelfrid, gave battle to him about the borders of Mercia, where Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, with Reignher, Redwald's son, was slain in the field. By reason whereof, Edwin (his enemies now being destroyed) was quietly placed in the possession of Northumberland. All this while yet Edwin remained in his old paganism; albeit his queen, king Ethelbert's daughter, a christian woman (as is above declared),² with Paulinus the bishop, ceased not to stir and persuade the king to christian faith. But he, taking counsel with his nobles and counsellors upon the matter, was hard to be won. Then the Lord, who disposeth all things after his purpose, to bring all good things to pass, sent another trouble upon him, by means thereof to call him: for by affliction God useth commonly to call them whom he will save, or by whom he will work salvation unto others. So his divine wisdom thinketh good to make them first to know themselves, before they come to know him, or to teach him to others. So it was with Paul (who was stricken down before he was lifted up); with Constantine, Edwin, and many more. How long was Joseph in prison

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Marvelous calling of Edwin.

Edwin miraculously delivered.

God calleth commonly by affliction and trouble.

(1) W. Malmesburiensis, lib. de reg. [p. 18.—Ed.]

(2) This queen was Ethelburga, daughter to king Ethelbert, the christened king of Kent.

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before he bare rule! How hardly escaped this our queen now being (queen Elizabeth), by whom, notwithstanding, it hath pleased God to restore this his gospel now preached amongst us! In what conflicts and agonies inwardly in his spirit was Martin Luther, before he came to preach the justification of Christ openly! And so be all they most commonly, which come to any lively feeling or sensible working of Christ the Lord.

Another trouble of Edwin.
A. D. 627.

But to return to Edwin again. The occasion of his trouble was this. Quiceline¹ with Kinegils² his brother, kings of West-Saxons (as above is mentioned in the table of the Saxon kings), conspiring the death of Edwin, now king of Northumberland, upon envy and malice sent upon an Easter day a sword-man, named Eomer, privily to slay the said Edwin.³ This sword-man or cut-throat came to a city beside the water of Derwent in Derbyshire,⁴ there to wait his time; and lastly, found the king smally accompanied, and intended to have run the king through with a sword envenomed. But one Lilla, the king's trusty servant, disgarnished of a shield or other weapon to defend his master, started between the king and the sword, and was stricken through the body, and died; and the king was wounded with the same stroke. And after, he wounded also the third, which was a knight; and so was taken, and confessed by whom he was sent to work that treason. The other knight that was secondly wounded, died; and the king lay long after sick, ere he were healed.⁵

A part of a trusty servant.

Old customs in matters of religion not to be followed, but only truth. Old custom letteth Edwin to be christened.

After this, about Whitsuntide, the king being scantly whole of his wound, assembled his host, intending to make war against the king of West-Saxons, promising to Christ to be christened, if he would give him victory over his enemies: and in token thereof caused his daughter, named Eanfleda, born of Ethelburga, the same Easter day when he was wounded, to be baptized of Paulinus, with twelve others of his family. Thus Edwin proceeded to the battle against Quiceline, and Kinegils with his son Kenwalc, and other enemies; who in the same battle being all vanquished and put to flight, Edwin, through the power of Christ, returneth home victor. But for all this victory and other things given to him of God, as he was in wealth with the world, he forgot his promise made, and had little mind thereof, save only that he, by the preaching of Paulinus, forsook his maumetry; and for his excuse said, that he might not clearly deny his old law, which his forefathers had kept so long, and suddenly be christened without authority and good advice of his council.⁶

A miracle in the conversion of Edwin.

About the same season pope Boniface the fifth sent also to the said Edwin letters exhortatory, with sundry presents from Rome to him, and to Ethelburga the queen: but neither would that prevail.⁷ Then Paulinus seeing the king so hard to be converted, poured out his prayers unto God for his conversion; who the same time had revealed to him, by the Holy Ghost, the oracle above mentioned, which was showed to the king when he was with Redwald, king of the East-Angles. Whereupon Paulinus, coming after to the king

(1) Sometimes called Quichelm or Cwichelm.—Ed.

(2) Sometimes called Cynigils.—Ed.

(3) Polychron. lib. v. cap. 12. Henr. Hunt. lib. iii.

(4) So says Fabian; but Bede calls it "Deruention, the regal city," which Camden says was on the site of a village called "Auldby," (*i. e.* old habitation), six miles from York.—Ed.

(5) Fabian. pt. v. [cap. 130; Bede, lib. ii. cap. 9.—Ed.]

(6) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 9.—Ed.

(7) Ibid. cap. 10, 11.—Ed.

on a certain day, and laying his hand upon the king's head, asked him if he knew that token. The king hearing this, and remembering well the token, was ready to fall down at his feet. But Paulinus, not suffering that, did lift him up again, saying unto him, "Behold, O king, you have vanquished your enemies, you have obtained your kingdom; now perform the third thing, which you promised, that is, to receive the faith of Christ, and to be obedient to him."¹ Whereupon the king, conferring with his council and his nobles, was baptized of Paulinus at York,² with many of his other subjects with him; insomuch that Coifi,³ the chief of the prelates of his old maumetry, armed himself with his idolatrous bishops, and bestrode a stallion, which before, by their old law, they might not do, nor ride but only a mare: and so destroyed he all the altars of the maumetry, and their temple of idols, which was at Godmundham, not far from York. And this was in the eleventh year of his reign.⁴

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The part of a godly bishop exemplified in Paulinus.

Edwin baptized.

From that time forth, during the life of Edwin, which was the term of six years more, Paulinus christened continually in the rivers of Gwennie⁵ and Swala,⁶ in both provinces of Bernicia, and Deira; using the said rivers for his fonts, and preached in the shire of Lindsey, where he builded also a church of stone at Lincoln.⁷

This Paulinus was the first archbishop of York, and as he was of Justus, archbishop of Canterbury, ordained archbishop of the see of York, so he again, after the decease of Justus, ordained Honorius to be archbishop of Canterbury.⁸

Archbishop of Canterbury and York: the one ordaineth the other.

In this time was so great peace in the kingdom of Edwin after his conversion, that a woman laden with gold⁹ might have gone from the one sea-side to the other, and no man molest her. Moreover, by the highway sides, through all his kingdom, he caused by every well or spring to be chained a dish or bowl of brass, to take up water for the refreshing of such as went by the way, which bowls of brass there remained safe, that no man touched them during all the life of the said Edwin. Such was then the tender care and study of christian princes, for the refreshing of their subjects. But that was then the brasen world, which now is grown to iron and lead, called *ætas ferrea*, or rather *plumbea*.

Justice, of a good prince.

Great peace and truth among the people.

This Edwin who first brought in the faith in the north parts, continuing after his baptism six years, at length was slain in battle by Cadwalla, king of the Britons, and by wicked Penda, king of the Mercians, with his son Osfrid also, in the field called Hatfield.¹⁰

A. D. 634.

Paulinus, after the death of godly Edwin, seeing unmerciful Cadwalla or Cadwallo, with his Britons, and wicked Penda, with the idolatrous Mercians, to spoil the land in such sort, as they made no spare neither of age, nor sex, nor religion, was compelled to fly with Ethelburga, the queen, and Eanfleda, her daughter, by water into Kent, where the said archbishop Paulinus remained bishop of

(1) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 12.—Ed.

(2) He was baptized in St. Peter's church at York, which he first caused to be made of wood; which after, by St. Oswald, was builded of stone.

(3) "Coifi" was the title of the chief of the Druids. See Palgrave's "Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth," vol. i. p. 155.—Ed.

(4) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 13.—Ed.

(5) In Fabian it is "Gwevy," p. 112; in H. Hunting. p. 328, "Gleni," sometimes "Glen."—Ed.

(6) Note, Paulinus christened in rivers.

(7) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 14, 16.—Ed.

(8) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 9, 16, 18.—Ed.

(9) Bede (lib. ii. cap. 16) says, "with a new-born babe."—Ed.

(10) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 20. H. Hunting. p. 329; Matt. West. p. 114, edit. Francof. 1601.—Ed

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James, a godly deacon. A deacon then might baptize.

Erpwald, otherwise named Corpwald, king of East Angles, converted to the faith.

Oswald king of Northumberland, A. D. 634.

Strength of prayer overcome armies.

Penda beaten in the field, A. D. 635.

Commendation of king Oswald.

He disdained not to expound and preach the gospel to his people.

Rochester the said space of nineteen years.¹ And so the church of Northumberland lacked a bishop for the space of thirty years after. Notwithstanding he left there one James his deacon, a good man, who continued there baptizing and preaching in the north parts, till that, peace being recovered, and the number of the faithful increasing, the church came again to his stay.²

By means of this Edwin, Erpwald, king of the East-Angles, son to Redwald above-mentioned, was reduced to Christ's faith.³

After the decease of Edwin and his son Osfrid, both slain in battle, reigned Osric and Eanfrid, the one in Deira, the other in Bernicia. Osric was the son of Elfrie, who was uncle to Edwin. Eanfrid was the eldest son of Ethelfrid; for Ethelfrid had three sons, to wit, Eanfrid, Oswald, and Osric. These two kings of Deira and Bernicia, Osric and Eanfrid, being first christened in Scotland, after being kings returned to their idolatry; and so in the year following were slain, one after the other, by the aforesaid Cadwalla and wicked Penda, as in the table above expressed.

After whom succeeded, in Northumberland, the second son of Ethelfrid, named Oswald, having rule on both the provinces, as well Deira as Bernicia. Whereof when the aforesaid Cadwalla, or Cadwalla, the British king, had understanding (who before had made havoc of the Saxons, and thought to have rooted them utterly out of England), he kept king Penda with a mighty host of the Britons, thinking to slay also Oswald, as he had before slain his brother Eanfrid, and king Edwin before them. But Oswald, when he was warned of the great strength of this Cadwalla and Penda, made his prayers to God, and besought him meekly of help to withstand his enemy, for the salvation of his people. Thus after Oswald had prayed for the saving of his people, the two hosts met in a field named Dene-sesburn,⁴ some say Hevenfield,⁵ where was fought a strong battle. But finally, the army and power of Penda and Cadwalla, which were far exceeding the number of Oswald's host, was chased, and most part slain of Oswald. Cadwalla himself, also, was there slain, after he had reigned over the Britons two and twenty years, leaving after him a son, whom Geoffrey calleth Cadwallader, the last king of the Britons.⁶

Of this Oswald much praise and commendation is written in authors, for his fervent zeal in Christ's religion, and merciful pity towards the poor; with other great virtues more. As touching the miracles of St. Oswald, what it pleased the people of that time to report of him, I have not here to affirm. This I find in stories certain, that he, being well and virtuously disposed to the setting forth of Christ's faith and doctrine, sent into Scotland for a certain bishop there called Aidan, who was a famous preacher. The king at what time he was in Scotland banished, had learned the Scottish tongue perfectly: wherefore as this Aidan preached in his Scottish tongue to the Saxons, the king himself interpreting that which he had said,

(1) Ex Flor. Hist. Bede, lib. ii. cap. 20; lib. iii. cap. 14. [Matt. West. p. 114.—Ed.]

(2) Bede. Ibid. Hunting. lib. ii. [p. 336.]

(3) Bede, lib. ii. cap. 15.—Ed.

(4) Supposed by some to be Devilston, or Dilston, in Cumberland.—Ed.

(5) From the prayers offered before the action, as Bede says.—Ed.

(6) Galfridus [lib. xii. cap. 14], Malmesburiensis, Polychron., Historia Jornalensis, Fabian. Foxe's text has been corrected from Fabian in this last sentence. Mf. West. and Fabian make Cadwalla to be succeeded by his son Cadwallus or Cadwalinus, and him (after a reign of 48 years) by Cadwallader, A.D. 683. See *infra*, p. 357.—Ed.

disdained not to preach and expound the same unto his nobles and subjects in the English tongue.

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Moreover, towards the poor and needy his pity and tenderness was such, being notwithstanding of so high and princely calling, that upon a time being then Easter-day, he, sitting with the said Aidan at meat, and served after the manner of kings in silver, there cometh to him one of the servitors, bringing him word that there was a great multitude of poor people sitting in the street, which desired some alms of the king. He, hearing this, commandeth not only the meat prepared for his own table to be carried to them, but also taking a silver platter which stood before him, brake it in pieces, and sent it amongst them, and so relieved his poor subjects, not only with the meat of his table, but with his dishes also. Aidan the bishop, seeing this and marvelling thereat, taketh him by the hand, wishing and praying in this wise: "This hand," saith he, "I pray God may continue, and never putrefy."¹ What the stories say more concerning this hand of Oswald, I intend not to meddle further, than simple, true, and due probability will bear me out. In those days, and partly by the means of the said Oswald, Kinigils, king of the West-Saxons, was converted to Christ's faith; especially through the godly labour of Birinus, who was sent by pope Honorius to preach in England, and was then made bishop of Dorchester.² To whom Quiceline, brother of Kinigils, after he had also received baptism of the said Birinus, gave to him the said city to make there his see. And as Guido³ witnesseth, the said Quiceline gave after to the bishop of Winchester seven miles compass of land, to build there the bishop's see; the which was accomplished and finished by Kenwalc, his son.⁴

His goodness and charity to the poor.

Kinigils, king of the West-Saxons, converted to Christ's faith, A. D. 635 Lands given to Winchester.

Of this Birinus Malmesbury⁵ and Polychronicon, with divers other writers, do report a thing strange and miraculous; which if it be a fable, as no doubt it is, I cannot but marvel that so many authors so constantly agree in reporting and affirming the same.⁶ The matter is this: This Birinus, being sent (as is said) by Honorius to preach in England, promiseth him to travel to the uttermost borders thereof, and there to preach the gospel, where the name of Christ was never heard; thus he, setting forward in his journey, passeth through France, and so to the sea-side; where he found a passage ready, and the wind served so fair, that he was called upon in such haste, that he had no leisure to remember himself to take all things with him which he had to carry. At length, as he was on the sea sailing, and, almost in the middle course of his passage, he remembered himself of a certain relic left behind him for haste, which Honorius had

(1) *Historia Jornalensis*; *Polychronicon*. lib. v. cap. 12.

(2) Now a village, nine miles S.E. of Oxford, whence the see was moved to Lincoln by Renigius, A. D. 1078.—Ed.

(3) "Guido de Columna, Siculus, Edwardi I. à sacrâ expeditione reducis in regnum comes, auctor Chronici libb. 36; item *Historiæ de Regibus Angliæ*, A. C. 1237." Hoffman. Fabian often quotes him; in this case, however, he refers to "the auctor of the floure of hystories." See Appendix.—Ed.

(4) Bede, lib. iii. cap. 7; *Polychron.* lib. v. cap. 13; Fabian, part v. cap. 133, 134. All the English chroniclers represent Kinigils, and not Quiceline, as the person who founded and endowed the two bishoprics, and as Kenwalc's father; so does Foxe himself at pp. 344, 380. See Appendix.—Ed.

(5) Willelmus, Anglus, Somersetensis, cœnobii Malmbsuriensis monachus, ordinis Benedicti, bibliothecarius, et præcentor, claruit circa ann. 1130; obiit anno 1143. De eo hæc nobiliss. Savilius, quo nemo melius judicare poterat, "Inter vetustissimos rerum nostrarum autores, et narrationis fide et judicii maturitate principem locum tenet Gulielmus Malmbsuriensis, homo, ut erat illa tempora, literatè doctus, qui septingentorum plus minus annorum res tantâ fide et diligentia pertexit, ut è nostris prope solus historici munus explevisse videatur." Cave, *Hist. Lit.*—Ed.

(6) *Malmbsuriensis*. lib. de Pontif. Angl.; *Cestrensis*, lib. v.; *Hist. Jornalensis*.

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Birinus walking on the sea with lie and all.

King Oswald slain in the field, A. D. 643.

Penda king of Mercians slain.

Oswy king of Northumberland.

The converting of the Mercians to the faith.

Wolfer first christened king of Mercia, A. D. 661.

The East-Angles reduced to the christian faith.

given him at his coming out. William of Malmesbury calleth it "*Corporalia*;" *Historia Jornalensis* calleth it "*Pallulam super quam corpus Christi consecraret*," which we call a corporas, or such a like thing; and what else enclosed within it, I cannot tell. Here Birinus, in great sorrow, could not tell what to do: if he should have spoken to the heathen mariners to turn their course back again, they would have mocked him, and it had been in vain. Wherefore, as the stories write, he boldly steppeth into the sea, and walking on foot back again, taketh with him that which was left behind, and so returneth to his company again, having not one thread of his garments wet.¹ Of this miracle, or whether I should call it a fable rather, let the reader judge as he thinketh; because it is not written in the Scripture, we are not bound to believe it. But if it were true, it is then to be thought wrought of God, not for any holiness in the man or in the corporas, but a special gift for the conversion of the heathen, for whose salvation God suffereth oft many wonders to be done. This Birinus, being received in the ship again with a great admiration of the mariners, who were therewith converted and baptized, was driven at last by the weather to the coast of the West-Saxons, where *Kinigils* and his brother *Quiciline* above-mentioned did reign: which two kings the same time, by the preaching of Birinus, were converted and made christian men, with the people of the country; being before rude and barbarous. It happened the same time, when the aforesaid king should be christened, that *Oswald* (mentioned a little before) king of Northumberland was then present, and the same day married *Kinigilsus's* daughter, and also was godfather to the king.

Thus *Oswald*, after he had reigned nine years in such holiness and perfectness of life as is above specified, was slain at length in the field called *Marfield*,² by wicked *Penda*, king of the Mercians; which *Penda*, at length, after all his tyranny, was overcome and slain by *Oswy*, brother to *Oswald*, next king after *Oswald* of Northumberland, notwithstanding he had thrice the people which *Oswy* had. This *Penda*, being a paynim, had three sons, *Wolfer*, *Weda*, and *Egfrid*.³ To the second son *Weda*, *Oswy* had before-time married his daughter, by consent of *Penda* his father; the which *Weda*, by help of *Oswy*, was made king of South-Mercia, the which lordship is severed from North-Mercia by the river *Trent*. The same *Weda*, moreover, at what time he married the daughter of *Oswy*, promised to him that he would become a christian man; which thing he performed after the death of *Penda* his father: but afterward, within three years of his reign, he was, by reason of his wife, slain. And after him the kingdom fell to *Wolfer*, the other brother; who, being wedded to *Ermenilda*, daughter of *Ercombert*, king of Kent, was shortly after christened; so that he is counted the first christened king of Mercia. This *Wolfer* conquered *Kenwalc*, king of the West-Saxons, and got the Isle of *Wight*, which after he gave to *Sigbert*, king of the East-Angles, upon condition he would be christened. And thus the East-Angles, which before had expelled *Mellitus* their bishop, as is declared, recovered again the christian faith under *Sigbert* their king, who, by the

(1) Hunting. lib. iii.

(2) Supposed to be *Oswestry*.—Ed.

(3) *Fabian*, part v. chap. 134. *Weda* is more correctly called *Peda* by *Foxe*, pp. 317, 383; *Penda* by *Mat. Westmon.* p. 120; and also in the *Saxon Chronicle*, by *Ingram*. (Lond. 1823.) A. D. 655.—Ed.

means of the aforesaid Wolfer, was reduced and baptized by Finian, the bishop.¹

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But to return again to Oswy, from whom we have a little digressed ; of whom we showed before how he succeeded after Oswald in the province of Bernicia, to whom also was joined Oswin, his cousin, over the province of Deira, and there, with his fellow Oswy, reigned the space of seven years. This Oswin was gentle and liberal to his people, and no less devout toward God ; who, upon a time, had given to Aidan, the bishop above-mentioned, a princely horse with the trappers, and all that appertained thereto, because he should not so much travel on foot, but sometimes ease himself withal.² Thus Aidan, the Scottish bishop, as he was riding upon his kingly horse, by the way meeteth him a certain poor man, asking and craving his charity. Aidan, having nothing else to give him, lighted down and giveth to him his horse, trapped and garnished as he was.³ The king understanding this, and not contented therewith, as he was entering to dinner with the said Aidan, "What meant you, father bishop," said he, "to give away my horse I gave you, unto the beggar? Had not I other horses in my stable that might have served him well enough, but you must give away that which of purpose was picked out for you amongst the chiefest?" To whom the bishop made answer again, saying, or rather rebuking the king : "What be these words, O king," saith he, "that you speak? Why set you more price by a horse, which is but the foal of a horse, than you do by him which is the Son of Mary, yea, which is the Son of God?" He said but this, when the king, forthwith ungirding his sword from about him (as he was then newly come in from hunting), falleth down at the feet of the bishop, desiring him to forgive him that, and he would never after speak a word to him for any treasure he should afterward give away of his. The bishop, seeing the king so meekly affected, he then taking him up, and cheering him again with words, began shortly after to weep, and to be very heavy. His minister asking the cause thereof, Aidan answered in his Scottish language, saying to him : "I weep," saith he, "for that this king cannot live long. This people is not worthy to have such a prince as he is, to reign amongst them." And so, as Aidan said, it came to pass : for not long after, Oswy, the king of Bernicia, disdaining at him, when Oswin either was not able, or not willing to join with him in battle, caused him traitorously to be slain. And so Oswy, with his son Egfrid,⁴ reigned in Northumberland alone.

Oswy and Oswin fellow-kings in Northumberland.

Example of true aims.

Example of humility in a prince.

Oswin traitorously murdered, A. D. 651.

In the time, and also in the house of this Oswy, king of Northumberland, was a certain man named Benedict, who was the bringer-up of Bede from his youth, and took him to his institution when he was but seven years old, and so taught him during his life. This Benedict or Benet, descending of a noble stock and rich kin, and in good favour with Oswy, forsook service, house, and all his kindred, to serve Christ, and went to Rome (where he had been in his lifetime five times), and brought from thence books into monasteries, with other things which he thought then to serve for devotion. This Benedict, surnamed 'Biscop,' was the first that brought in the art and use of

Benedict or Benet, the bringer up of Bede.

The use of glazing first brought into this realm.

(1) This and the preceding sentence contain a confused mixture of three different pieces of history ; see Appendix. See also *infra* p. 354, for the correct statement of the matter.—Ed.

(2) Note the worthy liberality in the king ; and no less in the bishop.

(3) Bedæ Hist. Eccles. Anglor. lib. iii, cap. 14.—Ed.

(4) Rather, "Alfrid."—Ed.

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glazing into this land ; for, before that, glass windows were not known, either in churches or in houses.

O quanta mutatio!

In the reign of the aforesaid Oswy and Egfrid, his son, was Botolph, an abbot, who builded in the east part of Lincoln an abbey.¹ Also Aidan, Finian, and Colman, three Scottish bishops of Northumberland, holy men, who held with the Britons against the Romish order for the keeping of Easter-day. Moreover, Cuthbert, Jaruman, Cedda,² and Wilfrid, lived the same time ; whom as I judge to be bishops of holy conversation, so I thought it sufficient here only to name them. As touching their miracles where-for they were made saints in the pope's calendar, seeing they are not written in the gospel, nor in my creed, but in certain old chronicles of that age, so they are no matter of my faith : notwithstanding, as touching their conversation, this I read, and also do credit, that the clergy, both of Britain and England, at that time plied nothing that was worldly, but gave themselves to preaching and teaching the word of our Saviour, and followed the life that they preached by giving of good example.³ And over that, as our histories accord, they were so void of covetousness, that they received no possessions or territories, but they were forced upon them.

Controversy about Easter-day.

About this season, or not much before, under the reign of Oswy and Oswin,⁴ kings of Northumberland, another synod or council was holden against the Britons and the Scottish bishops, for the right observing of Easter, at Streaneshalch.⁴ At that time Agilbert, bishop of the West-Saxons, came to Northumberland, to institute Wilfrid abbot of Ripon, where this question for Easter-day began to be moved : for Colman, then bishop of Northumberland, followed not the custom of Rome, nor of the Saxons, but followed the British and the Scottish bishops, his predecessors in the same see before. Thus, on the one side, was Colman, the archbishop of York, and Hilda, the abbess of Streaneshalch, which alleged for them the doings and examples of their predecessors, as Aidan and Finian, archbishops of that see of York before them, both godly and reverend bishops, and divers more, who had used always to celebrate the Easter from the 14th day of the first month, till the 20th of the same : and specially, for that St. John the evangelist, at Ephesus, kept and observed that day, etc. On the other side, was Agilbert, bishop of the West-Saxons, James, the deacon of Paulinus, above-mentioned, Wilfrid, abbot of Ripon, and king Alfrid, Oswy's son, with his queen, holding on the same side. The full contents of which disputation here followeth, according as in the story of Bede at large is described, with their reasons and arguments on both sides, as ensueth.⁵ etc.

Disputation between the Roman and Scottish bishops, for the day of Easter, and other ceremonies, A.D. 664.

The question of Easter, and of shaving, and other ecclesiastical matters, being moved, it was determined, that in the abbey which is called Streaneshalch, of the which Hilda, a devout woman, was abbess, a convocation should be had, and this question there determined. To the which place came both the kings, the father and the son, bishop Colman, with his clergy of Scotland, Agilbert, with Agatho and Wilfrid, priests. James and Ronanus were on their sides ;

(a) Rather, "Alfrid."—Ed.

(1) Fabian, part v. chap. 134.

(2) St. Chad.—Ed.

(3) Beda, lib. iv. cap. 5; Polychron.; Jornalsensis; Fabian.

(4) A word which Bede states, means "The Bay of the Lighthouse;" now Whitby in Yorkshire. Fuller's Church History; cent. vii. book 2, § 90; Ingram's Sax. Chron. p. 443.—Ed.

(5) Ex Beda, lib. iii. cap. 25; iv. 23.—Ed.

Hilda the abbess, with her company, was on the Scottish part; and the reverend bishop Cedda was appointed prolocutor for both parties in that parliament. King Oswy began first with an oration, declaring that it was necessary for such as served one God, to live in one uniform order; and that such as looked for one kingdom in heaven should not differ in celebration of the heavenly sacraments, but should rather seek for the true tradition, and follow the same. This said, he commanded his bishop Colman to declare what the rite and custom was in this behalf that he used, and from whence it had its original.

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The king beginning.

Then Colman, obeying his prince's commandment, said :

"The Easter which I observe, I received of my elders that sent me hither a bishop, the which all our forefathers, being men of God, did celebrate in like manner: and lest it should be contemned or despised of any man, it is manifestly apparent to be the very same which the holy evangelist St. John (a disciple especially beloved of the Lord) did accustomably use in all churches and congregations where he had authority."¹

Colman speaketh.

When Colman had spoken many things to this effect, the king commanded Agilbert to declare his opinion in this behalf, and to show the order that he then used, from whence it came, and by what authority he observed the same. Agilbert requested the king that his scholar Wilfrid, a priest, might speak for him; inasmuch as they both were of one opinion herein with the rest of his clergy, and that the said Wilfrid could utter his mind better and more plainly in the English tongue, than he himself could by an interpreter.²

Wilfrid replieth.

Then Wilfrid, at the king's commandment, began on this sort, and said :

"The Easter which we keep, we have seen kept by all in Rome, where the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, did live and teach, did suffer and were buried. The same also is used in Italy and in France; the which countries we have travelled in for learning, and have noted it to be celebrated of them all. In Asia also, and in Africa, in Egypt and in Greece, and finally in all the world, the same manner of Easter is observed that we use, save only by these here present with their accomplices, the Picts and the Britons; the which, being the inhabitants of these two remote islands (and yet they not altogether agreeing), condescend and strive foolishly in this order against the universal world."

Universality alleged.

To whom Colman replied, saying :

"I marvel you will call this order 'foolish' that so great an apostle as was worthy to lie in the Lord's lap, did use, whom all the world doth well know, to have lived most wisely."

Colman again speaketh.

And Wilfrid answered,

"God forbid that I should reprove St. John of folly; who kept the rites of Moses' law according to the letter, the church being yet Jewish in many points, and the apostles not as yet able to abdicate all the observances of the law before ordained of God. As for example, they could not reject images invented of the devil (the which all men that believe on Christ, ought of necessity to forsake and detest), lest they should be an offence to those Jews that were amongst the Gentiles. For this cause did St. Paul circumcise Timothy; for this cause did he sacrifice in the temple, and did shave his head with Aquila and Priscilla, at Corinth: all which things were done to none other purpose, than to eschew the offence of the Jews. Hereupon also said James to Paul, 'Thou seest, brother, how many thousand Jews do believe, and all these be zealous (notwithstanding) of the law. Yet seeing the gospel is so manifestly preached in the world, it is not lawful for the faithful to be circumcised, neither to offer sacrifice of carnal

Wilfrid replieth.

Why Paul circumcised Timothy.

(1) This and the following speeches have been corrected in some places from the original.—Ed.

(2) Agilbert was a Frenchman.—Ed.

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Peter alleged, but no proof thereof.

Peter and John did not agree in the celebrating of Easter.

things to God.' Therefore John, according to the custom of the law, the fourteenth day of the first month at evening, did begin the celebration of the feast of Easter, nothing respecting whether it were celebrated on the Saturday or any other day of the week. But Peter when he preached at Rome, remembering that the Lord did arise from death on the first day after the Sabbath, giving thereby an hope to the world of the resurrection, thought good so to institute Easter as that, after the use and precepts of the law, he waited for the rising of the moon on the fourteenth day of the first month, even as John did; and when that came, if the next day after were Sunday, which then was called the first day after the Sabbath, then did he celebrate the Easter of the Lord that very evening, like as we use to do even at this day. But if Sunday were not the next day after the fourteenth day, but fell on the sixteenth day, or seventeenth, or on any other day unto the twenty-first, he tarried always for it, and did begin the holy solemnity of Easter on the Saturday evening next before. And so it came to pass, that Easter was always kept on the Sunday, and was not celebrated but from the fifteenth moon unto the twenty-first. Neither doth this tradition of the apostle break the law, but fulfil the same. In the which it is to be noted, that Easter was instituted from the fourteenth day of the first month at evening, unto the one and twentieth day of the same month at evening; the which manner all St. John's successors in Asia after his death did follow, and the Catholic church throughout the whole world. And that this is the true Easter, and only of all Christians to be observed, was not newly decreed, but only confirmed, by the council of Nice; as appeareth by the ecclesiastical history⁽¹⁾ Whereupon it is manifest that you [Colman] do neither follow the example of St. John, as ye think, nor of St. Peter, whose tradition you do willingly resist, nor of the law, nor yet of the gospel, in the celebration of Easter. For St. John, observing Easter according to the precepts of the law, kept it not necessarily on the first day after the Sabbath; but you precisely keep it only on the first day after the Sabbath. Peter did celebrate Easter Sunday from the fifteenth day of the moon to the one and twentieth day, but you keep Easter from the fourteenth unto the twentieth day; so that you begin Easter oftentimes the thirteenth day at night, of which manner neither the law nor the gospel maketh any mention. But the Lord, in the fourteenth day, either did eat the old pass-over at night, or else did celebrate the sacrament of the New Testament, in the remembrance of his death and passion. You do also utterly reject from the celebration of Easter, the one and twentieth day, the which the law hath chiefly willed to be observed: and therefore, as I said, in the keeping of Easter, you neither agree with St. John, nor with Peter, nor with the law, nor yet with the gospel."

Then Colman again answered to these things, saying:

Colman again answered.

"Did then Anatolius, a godly man, and one much commended in the afore-said Ecclesiastical History, against the law and the gospel, who writeth that the Easter of our Lord was to be kept from the fourteenth day unto the twentieth? Or shall we think that Columba, our reverend father, and his successors, being men of God, who observed the Easter after this manner, did against the holy Scripture? Whereas some of them were men of such godliness and virtue, as was declared by their wonderful miracles. And I, hereby nothing doubting of their holiness, do endeavour to follow their life, order, and discipline."

Then said Wilfrid;

Wilfrid replieth.

"It is certain that Anatolius was both a godly man, and worthy of great commendation; but what have you to do with him, seeing you observe not his order? For he, following the true rule in keeping his Easter, appointed a circle of nineteen years; the which either you know not, or if you do, you condemn the common order observed in the universal church of Christ. And moreover, the said Anatolius doth so count the fourteenth day, in the observation of Easter, as he confesseth the same to be the fifteenth day at night, after the manner of the Egyptians; and likewise noteth the twentieth day to be, in the feast of Easter, the one and twentieth when the sun had set: the

(1) In the council of Nice, no such matter appeareth.

which distinction—that you know not, by this may appear, for that you keep Easter before the full moon, *i. e.* on the thirteenth day. Or otherwise I can answer you touching your father Columba and his successors, whose order, you say, you follow, moved thereto by their miracles, on this wise, ‘that the Lord will answer to many that shall say in the day of judgment, that in his name they have prophesied and cast out devils, and have done many miracles,’ &c., ‘that he never knew them.’ But God forbid that I should say so of your fathers; because it is much better to believe well of those we know not, than ill. Whereupon I deny not but they were the servants of God; and holy men, which loved the Lord of a good intent, though of a rude simplicity: and I think that the order which they used in the Easter, did not much hurt them, so long as they had none amongst them that could show them the right observation of the same for them to follow. For I think, if the truth had been declared unto them, they would as well have received it in this matter, as they did in others. But you and your fellows, if you refuse the order of the apostolical see, or rather, of the universal church, which is confirmed by the holy Scripture; without all doubt you do sin. And though your forefathers were holy men, is their fewness, being but a corner of an island, to be preferred before the universal church of Jesus Christ, dispersed throughout the whole world? And if Columba your father (and ours also, being a servant of Christ Jesus) were mighty in miracles, is he therefore to be preferred before the prince of the holy apostles? To whom the Lord said, ‘Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.’”

Ecclesiastical History.

The authority of men is not to be stuck to for their doing of miracles.

The example of them that follow not, for lack of teaching, excuseth not them which, being taught, will not follow.

Wilfrid having thus ended his argument, the king said to Colman: “Is it true, that the Lord spake these things to St. Peter?” And Colman answered, “Yea.” Then said the king, “Can you declare any such power that the Lord gave to Columba?” Colman answered, “No.” Then quoth the king, “Do both of you agree and consent in this matter without any controversy, that these words were principally spoken to Peter, and that the Lord gave him the keys of the kingdom of heaven?” And they both answered, “Yea.” Then concluded the king on this wise, “Forsomuch as St. Peter is the door-keeper of heaven, I will not gainsay him; but, in that I am able, I will obey his orders in every point: lest when I come to the gates of heaven, he shut them against me.”

The king concludeth.

Upon this simple and rude reason of the king, the multitude oftsoons consented, and with them also Cedda was contented to give over; only Colman the Scot, being then archbishop of York, in displeasure left the realm, and departed into Scotland, carrying with him the bones of Aidan.² And thus much concerning this matter of Easter.

Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus.

After the decease of Oswy, Egfrid his son was king after him in Northumberland fifteen years. By this Egfrid Cuthbert was promoted to the bishopric of the Isle of Lindisfarne: and Wilfrid, who before had been archbishop of York, was displaced through the means of Theodore archbishop of Canterbury, and Cedda possessed that see.³ Wilfrid, when he was put out, went to Rome, and complained of him to Agatho the bishop,⁴ and was well allowed in some things. But the king and Theodore had there such proctors and friends, that he returned without speeding of his cause. Wherefore he returned into

Egfrid or Edfrid king of Northumberland.

Wilfrid archbishop of York.

(1) Yea, sir, “*Suffragia ecclesiæ non numeranda sunt, sed ponderanda.*”—Aug.

(2) Bede, lib. iii. cap. 25.

(3) Malmesburien. [pp. 263, 266]; Hunting. [p. 336, edit. Franc. 1601.] Fab. cap. 135, [p. 121, edit. 1811.]

(4) Agatho was pope, A.D. 679—682. *L'Art de V. des Dates.*—Ed.

Ecclesiastical History.

South-Saxons converted to christian faith.

The Isle of Wight last converted.

Wilfrid restored to York.
Mercia divided into five bishoprics, A.D. 680.

The wicked sect of Mahomet.

the South-Saxons, and builded an abbey in Selesey, and preached unto the South-Saxons, fifteen years. The king of the South-Saxons at that time was Ethelwold, to whom we declared a little before¹ that Wolfer king of the Mercians gave the Isle of Wight upon condition that he would be christened, and so was he baptized by Birinus;² the said Wolfer being his godfather, and son-in-law,³ both in one day. Wherefore Wilfrid, now being licensed by Ethelwold the king, preached unto his nobles and people of South-Sax, and converted them to Christ. In the mean time of whose baptizing, the rain which before they lacked three years together was given them plentifully, whereby their great famine slacked, and the country was made fruitful, which before was dried up with barrenness;⁴ insomuch that (as in some stories it is said) the people, penured with famine, would go forty together upon the [top of the] rocks [or] by the sea-side, and taking hands together, would throw themselves down, [or into] the sea.⁵ Moreover, whereas they lacked before the art of fishing, the foresaid Wilfrid taught them how with nets to fish.

And thus by process have we discoursed from time to time how and by what means the idolatrous people were induced to the true faith of Christ; of whom the South-Saxons with the Isle of Wight were the last.

After Egfrid, who was slain in the straits of Scotland, next succeeded Alfrid his brother, and bastard son to Oswy, and reigned eighteen or nineteen years in Northumberland. This Alfrid restored again the foresaid Wilfrid to the see of York, whom his brother had before expelled and put in Cedda. Notwithstanding, the same king within five years after expelled the said Wilfrid again, and so went he to Rome; but at length by Osred his successor was placed again in the archbishopric of York, and Cedda was by Theodore ordained bishop of Mercia. The which province of Mercia the said Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, by the authority of the synod holden at Hatfield, did after divide into five bishoprics; that is, one to Chester, the second to Worcester, the third to Lichfield, the fourth to Cederna⁶ in Lindsey, the fifth to Dorchester, which was after translated to Lincoln.

Near about this time in the year of our Lord 666, the detestable sect of Mahomet began to take strength and place.⁷ Although Polychronicon, differing a little in years, accounteth the beginning of this sect somewhat before, but the most diligent searchers of them which write now, refer it to this year, which well agreeth with the number of that beast signified in the Apocalypse, χξς, that is, 666. Of this Mahomet came the kingdom of Agarens (whom he after named Saracens), to whom he gave sundry laws, patched of many sects and religions together; he taught them to pray ever to the

(1) See above, p. 348.—Ed.

(2) Brompton mentions Birinus as having officiated on this occasion.—Ed.

(3) There is no authority for this: Wolfer became "patrinus" to Ethelwold, but no more: possibly our author was thinking of the baptism of Kinigis, *supra* pp. 347, 348.—Ed.

(4) H. Hunting. lib. iii. p. 334.—Ed.

(5) Bede, lib. iv. 13; whence several words wanting in the text are supplied, to make the sense clear.—Ed.

(6) Called "Cedema" in Fabian, p. 122. "Lindeseia apud Sideneiam," Sidnacester apud Lindenses olim celebrem. (Wilkins, Concil. Magnæ Brit. tom. i. p. 51.) "About this time (678) Egfride founded another bishopric at Sydnacester in Lincolnshire, near the Humber."—Inett's History of the English Church, vol. i. p. 90.—Ed.

(7) Mahomet himself died A.D. 632.—Ed.

south; and as we keep the Sunday, so they keep the Friday, which they call the day of Venus. He permitted them to have as many wives as they were able to maintain; to have as many concubines as they listed; to abstain from the use of wine, except on certain solemn days in the year; to have and worship only one God omnipotent, saying that Moses and the prophets were great men, but Christ was greater, and greatest of all the prophets, as being born of the Virgin Mary by the power of God, without man's seed, and at last was taken up to heaven; but was not slain, but another in his likeness for him; with many other wicked blasphemies in his law contained. At length this kingdom of the Saracens began to be conquered of the Turks, and in process of time wholly subdued to them.¹

But now to return again to the time of our English Saxons. In this mean season Theodore was sent from Italy into England by Vitalian the pope, to be archbishop of Canterbury, and with him divers other monks of Italy, to set up here in England Latin service, masses, ceremonies, litanies, with such other Romish ware, &c. This Theodore, being made archbishop and metropolitan of Canterbury, began to play the "Rex," placing and displacing the bishops at his pleasure. As for Cedda and Wilfrid, archbishops of York, he thrust them both out, under the pretence that they were not lawfully consecrated; notwithstanding they were sufficiently authorized by their kings, and were placed against their wills. Wherefore Wilfrid, as is before touched, went up to Rome, but could have no redress of his cause. Yet to show what modesty this Wilfrid used against his enemy, being so violently molested as he was, because the words of his complaint are expressed in William of Malmesbury, I thought here to express the same both for the commendation of the party, and also for the good example of others, in case any such there be whom good examples will move to well-doing. This Wilfrid therefore, having such injury and violence offered unto him by the hands of Theodore, although he had just cause to do his uttermost, yet in prosecuting his complaint how he tempered himself, what words of modesty he used, rather to defend his innocency than to impugn his adversary, by this his suggestion offered up to the bishop of Rome may appear; whose words in effect were these. "How it chanceth that Theodore the most holy and reverend archbishop (myself being alive in the see, which I, though unworthy, did rule and dispose) hath of his own authority, without the consent of any bishop (neither having any simple voice agreeing to the same), ordained three bishops, I had rather pass over in silence than to stir any further therein, because of the reverence of that man; and no less thought I it my duty so to do. The which man, for that he hath been directed by the see apostolical, I will not, nor dare not, here accuse," etc.² Thus the cause of the said Wilfrid, albeit it was sufficiently known in the court of Rome,³ to be well allowed for just and innocent, yet it was not then

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Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury.

(1) Ex Polychron.; Giraldo Cambriensi; Stephano Cantuariensi.

(2) "Quid autem acciderit, ut Theodorus sanctiss. archiepiscopus (me superstitie in sede, quam licet indignus dispensabam) absque consensu cujuslibet episcopi ex sua auctoritate (mea humilitate non acquiescente) ordinaverit tres episcopos: omittere magis quam urgere, pro ejusdem viri reverentia, concedet. Quem quidem, pro eo quod ab hac apostolicæ sedis summitate directus est, accusare non audeo," &c. Guli. Malmesburiensis, lib. i. de gestis pontif. Anglorum. [p. 196, edit. 1601.—Ed.]

(3) The cause of an archb. of York's death, according to the metrical relation in that rare volume, the "Missale ad usum Eccles. Eboracensis," (Parisiis, 1533) is remarkable on several accounts. We

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redressed: in such estimation was this Theodore then among the Romans.¹ Upon this controversy of these two bishops I may well here infer the words of William of Malmesbury, not unworthy in my mind to be noted, which be these in his story. "In the which Theodore," saith he, "the weak and miserable infirmity of man be seen and also lamented; considering, that although a man be never so holy, yet in the same man is found something, whereby it may be perceived that he hath not utterly put off all his stubborn conditions," etc.²

A.D. 673. In the time of this Theodore, and by the means of him, a provincial synod was holden at Thetford,³ mentioned in the story of Bede:⁴ the principal contents whereof were these:

1. That Easter-day should be uniformly kept and observed through the whole realm, upon one certain day, videlicet prima, 14 luna mensis primi.⁵

2. That no bishop should intermeddle within the diocese of another.

3. That monasteries consecrated unto God should be exempt, and free from the jurisdiction of the bishops.

4. That the monks should not stray from one place (that is, from one monastery to another), without the license of their abbot; but to keep the same obedience which they promised at their first entering.

5. That no clergyman should forsake his own bishop, and be received in any other place, without letters commendatory of his own bishop.

6. That foreign bishops and clergymen coming into the realm,⁶ should be content only with the benefit of such hospitality, as should be offered them: neither should intermeddle any further within the precinct of any bishop, without his special permission.

7. That synods provincial should be kept within the realm twice a year.⁷

8. That no bishop should prefer himself before another, but must observe the time and order of his consecration.

9. That the number of bishops should be augmented, as the number of the believers increaseth.⁸

10. That no marriage should be admitted, but that which was lawful; no incest to be suffered; neither any man to put away his wife for any cause, except only for fornication—after the rule of the gospel. And these be the principal chapters of that synod, &c.

A.D. 681. In the next year following⁹ was the sixth general council kept at

give it as prosaically printed, but without the contractions, and without being answerable for some offences against grammar, intelligibility, &c.

"Eboracum præsul reddit, pontis casus nullum lædit de tot turbæ millibus. In octavis Penthecostes quidam malignanter hostes in eum pacifice. Et ut ipsum privent vita celebrantes achonita propinant in calice Toxicatura prophanis ille potus ille panis, per quem perit toxicum. Ambo præsul amplexeratur ut per unum moriatur et vivat per reliquum. Vivis moriturque quidem; sed non agunt circa idem fermentum et azima. Corpus obit præ fermento, azimorum alimento vegetatur anima. Virus bibit nocuum, risumque perpetuum brevi mercans lachryma. Mortem subit optimam dum sacando victimam, fit et ipse victima. O Wilhelme, martyr Christi, per eundem quem bibisti salutaris calicem, fer solamen mundo tristi, et quem tibi placuisti nobis placia iudicem." As the volume, from which this extract is made, is so rare that Sir H. Nicholas (p. 94) doubts whether any perfect copy exists, but in the library of St. John's Col. Cambridge, its introduction may be excused. The 8th of June is the day dedicated to the archbishop's memory, and his troubles seem to have had much in common with those of Wilfrid.—Ed.

(1) Bede, lib. v. c. 20.

(2) "Ubi videri et doleri potest humana miseria, quod videlicet quantumlibet quis sanctitate polleat, non ad plenum pervicaces mores exuat," &c. Guli. Malmes. de gestis pontif. Anglorum lib.; Polychron. lib. v. cap. 19.

(3) "Hertford," according to Bede, who has "Herudford." The exact words in the first canon, as given by Bede, and Mat. West. (p. 122, edit. 1601) are, "dominica post decimam quartam lunam primi mensis." Both these writers give "Herudford" or "Hertford," anno 673, as the seat of this council; though *Thetford* is very briefly mentioned by Hen. Hunting. p. 318. Mr. Soames, "Hist. of the Anglo-Saxon Church," thinks Hertford was decidedly the place.—Ed.

(4) Bede, lib. iv. cap. 5.

(5) *i. e.* on the Sunday after the fourteenth moon of the first month.—Ed.

(6) Bishops and clergymen, when travelling.—Bede.—Ed.

(7) Altered to once a year, on the calends of August, at Clovesho.—Ed.

(8) This canon was thrown out.—Ed.

(9) Rather, in the year following the council of Hatfield; see p. 354.—Ed.

Constantinople, whereat this Theodore was also present¹ under pope Agatho: where marriage was permitted to Greek priests, and forbidden to the Latin. In this council the Latin mass was first openly said by John bishop of Porto, the pope's legate, before the patriarch and princes at Constantinople, in the temple of St. Sophia.

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After the decease of Alfrid king of Northumberland (from whom it was digressed) succeeded his son Osred, reigning eleven years, after whom reigned Kenred two years, and next Osric after him eleven years.

A.D. 705.

In the time and reign of these four kings of Northumberland, king Iva or Ina reigned in West-Sax; who, succeeding after Cadwallader the last king of Britons,² began his reign about the year of our Lord 689, and reigned with great valiantness over the West-Saxons the term of thirty-seven years: concerning whose acts and wars maintained against the Kentish-Saxon and other kings, because I have not to intermeddle withal, I refer the reader to other chroniclers.

The kingdom of the Britons ceaseth.

About the sixth year of the reign of this Ina, or Ine, Polychronicon³ and others make mention of one Cuthlacus, whom they call St. Cuthlake, a confessor, who, about the four-and-twentieth year of his age, renouncing the pomp of the world, professed himself a monk in the abbey of Repingdon;⁴ and, the third year after, went to Crowland, where he led the life of an anchorité. In the which isle and place of his burying was builded a fair abbey, called afterward, for the great resort and gentle entertainment of strangers, "Crowland the courteous."⁵ But why this Cuthlake should be sainted for his doings, I see no great cause; as neither do I think the fabulous miracles reported of him to be true: as where the vulgar people are made to believe that he enclosed the devil in a boiling pot, and caused wicked spirits to erect up houses; with such other fables and lying miracles. Among which lying miracles also may be reckoned that which the stories mention in the eleventh year of the reign of Ina to be done of one Brithwald or Drithelme, who, being dead a long season, was restored to life again, and told many wonders of strange things that he had seen, causing thereby great alms and deeds of charity to be done of the people: and so he, disposing of his goods given in three parts, went to the abbey of Melrose, where he continued the rest of his life.⁶

St. Cuthlake a popish saint.

Crowland the Courteous.

Lying miracles.

Moreover, about the sixteenth year of the said Ina, Ethelred king of Mercia, after he had there reigned thirty years, was made a monk, and, after, abbot of Bardney.

King Ethelred made abbot of Bardney.

(1) Some think this a mistake, arising from the circumstance of two different councils having been held much about the same time; namely, this at Constantinople, and another at Heddfeld (see Bede, lib. iv. c. 17) under the presidency of Theodore of Canterbury, and upon the same subject—the heresy of Eutyches. There were several Asiatic bishops of the name of Theodorus present at the Constantinopolitan council, and some deputies from *England*, among whom, in 681, *this* Theodore might have been present. (See Dupin's Rec. Eccles. Hist. vol. vi. p. 66.) Malmesbury states of pope Agatho, that he assembled a council of fifty bishops, etc. "in basilica Salvatoris, quæ appellatur *Constantiniana*," p. 263, edit. Francof. 1601. According to Labbé, Concill. (tom. vi. c. 579) a council was held at Rome in the Basilica Constantiniana in 680, under Agatho, having reference to disputes with England. For the subsequent remark about the permission of marriage, the 13th canon of the Quinisext council (A.D. 691) is probably alluded to. "Labbe. Concill." tom. vi. col. 1147.—Ed.

(2) The English historians distinguish between Cadwallader, the last king of the Britons, and Ceadwalla, king of the West-Saxons, whom they state to have been a lineal descendant of Cerdic. See *suprà*, p. 346, note (6).—Ed.

(3) Polychron. lib. v. cap. 21.

(4) Repton in Derbyshire.—Ed.

(5) Ingulph Hist. p. 872, edit. Franc. 1601; and Matt. West. p. 135.—Ed.

(6) What strange sights this Brithwald or Drithelme did see after his death, read the ninth book of Henry Huntingdon. [Huntingdon's History was written in twelve books. "Quatuor posteriores in duobus codicibus MSS. Bibliothecæ Lambethanæ asservantur. Nempe Nonus agit 'de Sanctis Angliæ eorumque miraculis,' ad verbum fere ex Bedæ historiâ translatus." Cave.—Ed.]

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Lying miracles.

Lying miracles reproved. Malmesbury commended for his style.

Aldelm, bishop; Swithin, bishop.

St. John of Beverley. A.D. 721.

Another lying fable of St. Egwin.

And about the eighteenth year of the reign of Ina died the worthy and learned bishop Aldelm, first abbot of Malmesbury, afterwards bishop of Sherborne, of whom William of Malmesbury writeth plentifully with great commendation;¹ and that not unworthily, as I suppose: especially for the noble praise of learning and virtue in him above the rest of that time (next after Bede); as the great number of books and epistles, with poems by him set forth, will declare. Although, concerning the miracles which the said author ascribeth to him; as first, in causing an infant of nine days old to speak at Rome, to declare² pope Sergius, who was then suspected the father of the said child; also in hanging his casule upon the sunbeams; item, in making whole the altar-stone of marble brought from Rome; item, in drawing a-length one of the timber pieces, which went to the building of the temple in Malmesbury; item, in saving the mariners at Dover—as concerning these and such other miracles, which William of Malmesbury to him attributeth, I cannot consent to him therein; but think rather the same to be monkish devices, forged upon their patrons to maintain the dignity of their houses. And as the author was deceived (no doubt) in believing such fables himself, so may he likewise deceive us, through the dexterity of his style and fine handling of the matter; but that further experience hath taught the world now-a-days more wisdom, in not believing such practices. This Aldelm was bishop of Sherborne; which see after was united to the see of Winchester: in which church of Winchester the like miracles also are to be read of bishop Adelwold and St. Swithin, whom they have canonized likewise for a saint.

Moreover, near about the five and twentieth of Ina, by the report of Bede,³ St. John of Beverley, who was then archbishop of York, died, and was buried at the porch of the minster of Deirwood or Beverley. In the which porch it is recorded in some chronicles,⁴ that as the said John upon a time was praying, being in the porch of St. Michael in York, the Holy Ghost, in the similitude of a dove, sat before him upon the altar, in brightness shining above the sun. This brightness being seen of others, first cometh one of his deacons running unto the porch, who, beholding the bishop there standing in his prayers, and all the place replenished with the Holy Ghost, was stricken with the light thereof, having all his face burnt, as it were, with hot burning fire. Notwithstanding, the bishop by and by cured the face of his deacon again, charging them (as the story saith) not to publish what he had seen during his life time. Which tale seemeth as true as that we read in Polychronicon about the same time done of St. Egwin, abbot of Evesham and bishop of Worcester (then called Wiets);⁵

(1) Guli. Malmesb. lib. v. de Pontif. [Foxe must have obtained this from MSS. as the fifth book does not appear in the later edition of this writer. It will be found in Gale's collection, tom. iii. and a strong eulogium upon Aldhelm in the secular part of Malmesbury's history, p. 13. See also Fabian, pt. vi. p. 159.—Ed.]

(2) "Declare" obsolete for "to clear, to free from obscurity." Johnson: it seems to be used here sensu forensi; for "declarior" (according to Jacob's Law Dict.) is an action, whereby we pray something to be declared in *our* favour. Malmesbury says—"Infantem allatum, vix dum novem a matre dierum, baptismi lavacro prius innovavit [Aldelmus], seiscitatus est deinde publicè, utrum vulgi opinio conveniret veritati de patre. Pusiolus in vocem absolutissimam conatus, nodum dubietatis abruptit, sanctum et immaculatum esse Sergium, nunquam illum mulieri communicasse." Fabian says, "the child answered unto certain questions and clered the bishop of Rome of that crime."—Ed.

(3) Bede says A. D. 721, lib. v. cap. 2—6. (4) Ex Historiâ Jornalessi "de Regibus Northumb."

(5) Fabian, part vi. c. 141, has "Wykcies," but Palgrave has "Huiccas." See "Hist. Anglo-Sax." p. 83.—Ed.

who upon a time, when he had fettered both his feet in irons fast locked for certain sins done in his youth, and had cast the key thereof into the river, afterward a fish brought the key again into the ship, as he was sailing homeward from Rome.¹

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But to leave these monkish phantasies, and return to the right course again of the story: in the time of this foresaid Ina, began first the right observing of Easter-day to be kept of the Picts and of the Britons. In the observation of which day (as is largely set forth in Bede and Polychronicon²) three things are necessary to be observed: first, the full moon of the first month, that is, of the month of March; secondly, the Dominical letter; thirdly, the equinoctial day, which equinoctial was wont to be counted in the Eastern nations, and especially among the Egyptians, to be about the seventeenth day of March. So that the full moon on the equinoctial day, or after the equinoctial day, being observed, the next Dominical day following that full moon is to be taken for Easter-day. Wherein are diligently to be noted two things: first, the fulness of the moon must be perfectly full, so that it be the beginning of the third week of the moon, which is the fourteenth or fifteenth day of the moon. Secondly, it is to be noted, that the said perfect fulness of the moon, beginning the third week, must happen either in the very evening of the equinoctial day, or after the equinoctial day: for else, if it happen either on the equinoctial day before the evening, or before the equinoctial day, then it belongeth to the last month of the last year, and not to the first month of the first year, and so serveth not to be observed.³

A general rule serving for the observation of Easter-day.

This rite and usage in keeping Easter-day being received in the Latin church, began now to take place among the Picts and Britons, through the busy travail of Theodore and Cuthlake, but namely⁴ of Egbert the holy monk,⁵ as they term him, and of Ceolfrid abbot of Jarrow⁶ in Northumberland, who wrote to Narcamus, or Naitonus the king of Picts, concerning the same: who also among other things writeth of the shaven crowns of priests, saying, that it was as necessary for the vow of a monk, or the degree of a priest, to have a shaven crown for restraint of their lust, as for any christian man to bless him against spirits, when they come upon him.⁷ The copy of which letter, as it is in Bede, I have here annexed, not for any great reason therein contained, but only to delight the reader with some pastime, in seeing the fond ignorance of that monkish age. The copy of the letter thus proceedeth.⁸

Why priests' crowns were shaven.

Of the Shaving of Priests: copied from a Monkish Letter of Elfrid [or Ceolfrid] to King Naiton, for the Shaving of Priests' crowns.

Concerning the shaving of priests (whereof also you desired me to write unto you), I exhort you that it be decently observed, according to the christian faith. We are not ignorant indeed that the apostles were not all shaven after one manner, neither doth the catholic church at this day agree in one uniform manner of shaving, as they do in faith, hope, and charity. Let us consider the former time of the patriarchs, and we shall find that Job (an example of patience), even in the very point of his afflictions, did shave his head; and so

Much said, nothing proved.

(1) Ranulphus in Polychron. lib. v. cap. 23 [citing Malmesbury, p. 284.—Ed.]

(2) Bede, lib. v. cap. 21, de Gestis Angl.; Polychron. lib. v. cap. 22.

(3) This rule of Easter seemeth to be taken out of the book of Numbers. And they going out of Ramisee the fifteenth day of the first month, the next day after held their Easter, etc.

(4) See *supra*, p. 1, note (1).—Ed.

(5) Ingram's Sax. Chron. A.D. 716.—Ed.

(6) Malm. p. 22.—Ed.

(7) Bede de Gest. lib. v. cap. 21.—Ed.

(8) The following translation has been revised from the original.—Ed.

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Diversity of rites hurteth not the church.

Why priests and monks be shaven in the crown.

The shaving of the crown what it representeth.

Simon Magus shaven, as he saith.

The difference between the shaving of Peter and Simon Magus.

proved also, that in the time of his prosperity, he used to let his hair grow. And Joseph an excellent doctor and executor of chastity, humility, piety, and other virtues, when he was delivered out of prison and servitude, was shaven:¹ whereby it appeareth, that whilst he abode in prison he was unshaven. Behold, both these, being men of God, did use an order in the habit of body one contrary to the other, whose consciences notwithstanding within did well agree in the like grace of virtues. But to speak truly and freely, the difference of shaving hurteth not such as have a pure faith in the Lord, and sincere charity towards their neighbour: especially for that there was never any controversy amongst the catholic fathers about the diversity thereof; as there hath been of the difference of the celebration of Easter, and concerning matters of faith. But of all these shavings that we find, either in the church or elsewhere, there is none in mine opinion so much to be followed and embraced, as that which he used on his head, to whom the Lord said, 'Thou art Peter,'² and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it: and I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' And contrariwise there is no shaving so much to be abhorred and detested, as that which he used, to whom the said St. Peter said, 'Thy money perish with thee: because thou thinkest to possess the gift of God by money, therefore thy part and lot is not in this word.' Neither ought we to be shaven on the crown, only because St. Peter was so shaven, but because Peter was so shaven in remembrance of the Lord's passion. Therefore we that desire by the same passion to be saved, must wear the sign of the same passion with him upon the top of our head, which is the highest part of our body. For as every church, because it is made a church by the death of the Saviour, doth use to bear the sign of the holy cross on the forehead, that it may the better by the defence of that banner be kept from the invasions of evil spirits;³ and by the often admonition thereof be taught to crucify the flesh with the concupiscence of the same; in like manner it behoveth such as have the vows of monks, and degrees of the clergy, to bind themselves with a stricter bit of continency for the Lord's sake. And as the Lord bare a crown of thorns on his head in his passion, whereby he took and carried away from us the thorns and pricks of our sins; so must every one of us, by shaving our heads, show ourselves willing patiently to bear, and willingly to suffer the mocks and scorns of the world for his sake; and that we expect to receive the crown of eternal life, which God hath promised to all that love him; and that, for the gaining thereof, we condemn both the adversity and the prosperity of this world.⁴ But the shaving which Simon Magus used, what faithful man doth not detest, together with his magical art? the which at the first appearance hath a show of a shaven crown, but if you mark his neck, you shall find it curtailed in such wise, as you will say, it is rather meet to be used of the Simonites, than of Christians. Such, indeed, of foolish men be thought worthy of the glory of the eternal crown; whereas indeed for their ill living, they are worthy not only to be deprived of the same, but also are doomed to eternal punishment. I speak not this against them that use this kind of shaving, and live catholically in faith and good works; for surely I believe there be divers of them be very holy and godly men; amongst the which is Adamnan, the abbot and worthy priest of the Columbians: who, when he came ambassador from his country unto king Aldfrid, desired greatly to see our monastery; where he declared a wonderful wisdom, humility, and religion both in his manners and words. Amongst other talk, I asked him, "Why, holy brother, do you, that believe to come to the crown of life that shall never have an end, use, by a habit contrary to your belief, the image of a crown on your head, which is terminated or rounded? And if you seek," quoth I, "the fellowship of St. Peter, why do you use the fashion of his crown whom St. Peter did accurse, and not of his rather with whom you desire to live eternally?" Adamnan answered, saying, "Know right well, brother, that though I use Simon's manner of shaving, after the custom of my country, yet notwithstanding do I detest, and with all my heart abhor, his infidelity; and I desire to imitate the footsteps of the most

(1) How proveth he that the apostles Job and Joseph were shaven?

(2) See how these shavelings would father their shaving upon Peter, which is neither found in Scripture, nor any approved story, but only in painted clothes.

(3) How doth the sight of the cross defend churches from evil spirits, when it cannot keep them from evil priests?

(4) If shaving of the crown doth teach men patience in suffering, how cometh it that we see none more waspish and ireful than these shorn generations of monkish vipers?

blessed prince of the apostles as far forth as my littleness will extend." Then said I "I believe it is so : but then let it be apparent that you imitate those things which the apostle Peter did from the bottom of your heart, by using the same upon your face, that you know he did : for I suppose your wisdom understandeth, that it is right decent to differ in the trimming your face or shaving, from him whom in your heart you abhor : and contrariwise, that, as you desire to imitate the doings of him whom you desire to have a Mediator between God and you,¹ so it is meet you imitate the manner of his apparel and shaving." Thus much said I to Adamnan, who seemed then well to like our churches ; and showed how much he had profited from seeing the statutes of our churches, when, returning into Scotland, he by his preaching brought numbers of that nation over to the catholic observance of the pascal time ; though he was not yet able to gain the consent of the monks in the island of Hii,² over whom he presided. He endeavoured also to have reformed their manner of shaving, if he had been able. And now, O king, I exhort your wisdom to labour with your people, over whom the King of kings and Lord of lords hath made you governor, to imitate likewise in all these points the catholic and apostolic church. So shall it come to pass, that at the end of this your temporal kingdom, the most blessed prince of the apostles shall open to you and yours the gates of the heavenly kingdom, together with the other elect of God.³ The grace of the Eternal King preserve you, most dearly beloved son in Christ, long time to reign over us, to the peace of us all.

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In outward habit Christians ought not to resemble wicked doers. The Scottish monks and the English monks differ in their shaving.

When this letter was read before king Naiton with other of his learned men, and diligently translated into his proper language, he seemed to rejoice very much at the exhortation thereof ; insomuch that, rising up from among his noblemen, he kneeled on the ground, and gave God thanks that he had deserved to receive so worthy a present out of England ; and so caused forthwith, by public proclamation, the circles or revolutions of nineteen years to be written out, learned, and observed throughout all the provinces of the Picts, suppressing the erroneous circles or revolutions of eighty-four years that had been used there. For all the ministers of the altar and all monks were shaven on the crown ; and all the people rejoiced for having been put under the new discipline of the most blessed prince of the apostles, St. Peter, and under his protection.⁴

By this monkish letter above-prefixed (void of all Scripture, of all probation and truth of history) thou mayest note, gentle reader, how this vain tradition of shaven crowns hath come up, and upon how light and trifling occasion : which in very deed was none other but the dreaming phantasies of monks of that time, falsely grounded upon the example of Peter, when by no old monument of any ancient record they can ever prove either Peter or Simon Magus to have been shaven. Moreover, in the said letter also is to be noted, how the Scottish clergy at that season, did wear no such priestly crowns as our English churchmen then did.

A note to admonish the reader.

But to cut off this matter of shaving (more worthy to be laughed at than to be storied), let us now again return where we left at king Iva or Ina, of whom William of Malmesbury and Fabian in his chronicle do record,⁵ that when the foresaid Ina had ruled the West-Saxons by the term of thirty-seven years, by the importunate persuasion and subtle policy of his wife Ethelburga he was allured to go to Rome, there to be made a monk. Which Ethelburga, after she had a long

(1) There is but one Mediator between God and man, Christ Jesus.

(2) Icombkil or Iona.—Ed.

(3) If Peter shall let the elect of God into heaven, Christ then serveth in little stead.

(4) Bede, *ibid.*—Ed.

(5) Fabian, part v. cap. 141 ; Guil. Malmesb. de Reg. p. 15.—Ed.

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A.D. 724. Ethelburga, the queen, persuadeth her husband to be a monk.

The crafty head of a woman.

King Ina, resigning his kingdom, goes to Rome, and becomes a monk.

Ethelburga, the queen, made nun of Barking.

Peterpence first granted and paid to Rome.

The laws made by king Ina for his people.

Celulf, king of Northumberland. Bede.

time laboured him to leave the world, and could not bring about her purpose; upon a season, when the king and she had rested them in a fair palace richly hanged, and were upon the morrow thence departed, she, by her commandment, caused the palace to be replenished with all kind of filth and dung, and hogs and wild beasts therein to be laid, as well in the chambers, as other houses of office; and in their own chamber where they did lie, there was a sow laid with her young pigs. And when she knew that this palace was thus deformed, being a certain space out of the town, she besought the king to visit the said palace. And when she had brought him thereunto, she said to him, "I pray you, my lord, behold now this house, where are now the rich tapets and clothes of gold and silk, and other rich apparel, that we left here this other day? And where be the delicacies and pleasant servitors and costly dishes, that you and I lately were served with? Be not all these passed and gone? My lord," said she, "in like manner shall we vanish away, as suddenly as you see these worldly things be passed; and our bodies, which now be delicately kept, shall fall and turn into the filth of the earth. Wherefore have in mind my words that before-time to you I have often showed and told, and busy you to purchase that palace that ever shall endure in joy, without transmutation."

By means of these and other words the queen turned so the king's mind, that shortly after he resigned the governance of his kingdom unto Ethelard his nephew; and, for the love of Christ, took on him the habit of a poor man, and, setting apart all the pomp and pride of this wicked world, associated himself in the fellowship of poor men, and travelled to Rome with great devotion, when he had been king of West-Saxons (as before is said) thirty-seven years. After whose departing, the said Ethelburga, his wife, went unto Barking, seven miles from London, where, in the nunnery of Barking, before of Erkenwald [bishop of London] founded, she continued and ended the rest of her life, when she had been abbess of the place a certain time. The said Malmesbury in his story also testifieth, that this Ina was the first king that granted a penny of every fire-house through his dominion to be paid unto the court of Rome; which afterward was called Romescot, or Peterpence,¹ and long after was paid in many places of England.

This Ina, like as for his time he was worthy and valiant in his acts, so was he the first of the Saxon kings (that I read of) which set forth any laws to his country: the rehearsal of which laws, to the number of fourscore and odd, were not unprofitable here to be inserted, together with other laws of the West-Saxon kings after him, before the time of William the Conqueror; in case it were not for the length and prolixity of this present volume.² And thus much concerning the reign of Ina, king of the West-Saxons, by the way. Now to repair again to the course of Northumberland kings, something intermitted.

Next unto the foresaid Osric, followed Celulf, whom he had adopted, brother to Kenred above-specified.³ This Celulf, as he was himself learned, so were in his time divers learned men then flourishing

(1) Matt. West. pp. 137, 149; the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 1095.—Ed.

(2) See *infra*, vol. II. p. 89.—Ed.

(3) See above, p. 357.—Ed.

in England, among whom was Bede, who unto the same king Celulf offered his story, intituled, "*Anglorum Historia*," not only to be ratified by his authority, but also to be amended, as Malmesbury writeth,¹ by his knowledge and learning.

And forsomuch as I have here entered into the mention of Bede, a man of worthy and venerable memory; because of the certifying of the truth of that man, and for that I see all writers (as touching his life) do not agree, some saying that he was no Englishman born: I thought so much to report of him, as I find by his own words testified of himself in the latter end of his Ecclesiastical History of England, offered to the said Celulf above-mentioned, the words of whom be these.

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A.D. 729
The life of Bede briefly described.

"Thus much, by the help of God, I, Bede, the servant of Christ, and priest of the monastery of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul at Wiremuth and Gurwum,² have compiled and digested concerning the ecclesiastical history of Britain, and especially of the English nation." And so the same Bede, proceeding further in his narration, declareth that he, being born³ in the territory of the said monastery, being of the age of seven years, was committed of his parents and friends, to the tuition and education of Benedict (of whom above relation is made),⁴ and afterward of Ceolfrid, abbots of the aforesaid monastery. In the which place or monastery he, continuing from that time forth, all his life long gave himself and all his whole study to the meditating of holy Scripture. Whatsoever time or leisure he had from his daily service in the church, that he spent either in learning or teaching, or writing something. About the nineteenth year of his age he was made deacon; in the thirtieth year of his age he was made priest. From the which time, to the age of nine-and-fifty years, he occupied himself in interpreting the works of the ancient fathers for his own use and the necessity of others; and in writing of treatises, which came in all to the number of seven-and-thirty volumes, which he digested into threescore-and-eighteen books.

The number of the works and books written by Bede.

Some say that he went to Rome, either there to defend his books to be consonant to catholic doctrine; or else, if they should be found faulty, to amend and correct the same, as he should thereto be commanded. Albeit the reporter of his life dare not certainly affirm that ever he was at Rome;⁵ but that he was invited and

(1) Malms. p. 21, edit. 1601. Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England is addressed "*Gloriosissimo Regi Ceolwulpho*."—Ed.

(2) These were in reality two monasteries, the former at the place now called Monks-Wearmouth, on the river Wear, opposite Sunderland; the latter a little below Gateshead, on the river Tyne, at a place afterward called Jarrow. They were both of the Benedictine order, which produced such harmony between them, that they were called one monastery. This led W. Malmesbury into the error of saying that they were opposite to each other, on the banks of the Wear. The above information is taken from Dr. Giles's Life of Bede, prefixed to his translation of Bede.—Ed.

(3) The venerable Bede was born near Durham, in a village now called Jarrow, near the mouth of the Tyne. "About a mile to the west of Jarrow there is a well called Bede's well, to which, as late as the year 1740, it was a prevailing custom to bring children troubled with any disease or infirmity; a crooked pin was put in, and the well laved dry between each dipping. My informant has seen twenty children brought together on a Sunday to be dipped in this well; at which, also, on Midsummer-eve, there was a great resort of neighbouring people." Brand's Pop. Antiq. Lond. 1813, vol. ii. p. 270, quoted in Dr. Giles's Life of Bede.—Ed.

(4) Suprà, p. 349. This Benedict, master to Bede, was the first that brought in the use of glass windows into England. Also, the said Benedict brought from Rome with him John, the archchanter, who first taught in England to sing in the choir after the manner of Rome.

(5) "An Beda Romam profectus sit, ut Sergius Papa per litteras petiit, quas refert Malmesburiensis in lib. i. de Reg. Angl. cap. 3, Ceolfrico Abbati scriptas, et ex eo Baronius, recte arbitraturs Card. Doctiss. Bedam illuc se non contulisse: cum in fine suæ Epitome cunctum ab infantia tempus vitæ suæ in sui monasterii habitatione peractum a se affirmet. Mabillonius (sæculo III.

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called thither to come, both it is manifest in stories, and also this epistle of pope Sergius doth sufficiently prove; declaring moreover in what price and estimation Bede was accepted, as well in the court of Rome, as in other places besides. The epistle of Sergius sent to Ceolfrid thus proceedeth, in tenor and form as followeth, in Latin.

The Epistle of Pope Sergius, sent to Ceolfrid,¹ Abbot of Wiremuth Abbey; requiring Bede to be sent up to him to Rome, for the fame of his worthy learning.

An epistle of pope Sergius.

Sergius episcopus servus servorum Dei, Celfrido religioso abbati, sal. Quibus modis ac verbis clementiam Dei nostri, atque inenarrabilem providentiam possumus effari, et dignas gratiarum actiones pro immensis ejus circa nos beneficiis persolvere, qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis positos ad lumen scientiæ perducit? *Et infra.* Benedictionis gratiam, quam nobis per præsentem portitorem tua devota misit religio, libenti et hilari animo sicuti ab ea directa est, nos suscepisse, cognosce. Opportunis igitur ac dignis amplectendæ tuæ solitudinis petitionibus arcissima devotione satisfacientes, hortamur Deo dilectam religiositatis tuæ bonitatem, ut, quia exortis quibusdam ecclesiasticarum causarum capitulis, non sine examinatione longius innotescendis, opus nobis sunt ad conferendum arte literaturæ imbuti, sicut decet Deo devotum auxiliatorem sanctæ matris universalis ecclesiæ obedientem devotionem huic nostræ exhortation non desistas accommodare: sed absque aliqua immoratione religiosum Dei famulum Bedam, venerabilem monasterii tui presbyterum, ad limina apostolorum principum Dominorum meorum Petri et Pauli amatorum tuorum ac protectorum, ad nostræ mediocritatis conspectum non moreris dirigere. Quem, satisfaciente Domino sanctis tuis precibus, non diffidas prospere ad te redire (peracta præmissorum capitulorum cum auxilio Dei desiderata solennitate). Erit enim, ut confidimus, etiam cunctis tibi creditis profuturum, quicquid ecclesiæ generali claruerit per ejus præstantiam impertitum, etc.

The famous learning of Bede.

So notable and famous was the learning of this foresaid Bede, that the church of Rome (as by this letter appeareth) both stood in need of his help, and also required the same, about the discussing of certain causes and controversies appertaining to learning. Moreover, the whole Latin church at that time gave him the mastery in judgment and knowledge of the holy Scriptures. In all his explanations, his chiefest scope and purpose did ever drive to instruct and inform his reader, simply, and without all curiousness of style, in the sincere love of God and of his neighbour. As touching the holiness and integrity of his life, it is not to be doubted: for how could it be, that he should attend to any vicious idleness, or had any leisure to the same, who, in reading and digesting so many volumes, consumed all his whole cogitations in writing upon the Scriptures? For so he testifieth of himself in the third book of Samuel, saying in these words; "If my treatises and expositions," saith he, "bring with them no other utility to the readers thereof, yet to myself they conduce not a little thus; that while all my study and cogitation was set

Bede commended for integrity of life.

Benedict. parte 1, in elogio historico Bedæ ait nonnihil suspicionis esse in ea epistola, quod vix Beda presbyter ordinatus sit ante mortem Sergii, et quia libris scribendis vacare cæpit a tempore suscepti presbyteratus, quibus factum est, ut fama ipsius ad posteros spargeretur. Henschenius vero ad diem 27 mensis Maii in vita venerabilis Bedæ dicit, totam illam epistolam supposititiam apparere. Existimo tamen eam ab aliquo Sergii Papæ successore datam, qui cum paulo post demortuus fuerit, Ceolfridus Bedam Romam mittendum esse non existimavit." Pagii Crit. in Baron. an. 701, § 2. Mr. Stevenson, in his Introduction to the recent edition of Bede (Lond. 1838), supposes that Bede's name has been introduced into the letter by Malmesbury (whereas, the request of Sergius was general, that some one, "quendam," might be sent), and that hence arose the story of Bede's invitation and actual journey to Rome.—Ed.

(1) G. Malm. p. 22.—Ed.

upon them; in the meanwhile, of slippery enticements and vain cogitations of this world I had little mind." Thus in this travail of study he continued till the age of sixty-two years. At length, drawing to his latter end, being 'sick seven weeks together, besides other occupiyings of his mind, and other studies which he did not intermit, he translated also the Gospel of St. John into English. At length, with great comfort of spirit, he departed this life, pronouncing many comfortable sayings to them that stood about him, upon Ascension-day, the same year¹ when Nothelm was instituted archbishop of Canterbury. And thus much concerning the story of Bede.

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St. John's Gospel translated into English by Bede.

A.D. 735.

This Celulf, king of Northumberland, afore-mentioned, after he had reigned eight years, was made a monk in the abbey of Farne, otherwise called Lindesfarne, or Holy Island;² where, by his means, license was given to the monks of that house to drink wine or ale, which before, by the institution of Aidan above-mentioned, drank nothing but milk and water. After whom succeeded Edbert, his cousin, brother to Egbert the same time being archbishop of York; who brought again thither the pall that his predecessors had foregone, since the time that Paulinus had left the see, and fled to Rochester, as is before declared. The said Egbert also erected a noble library in York, whose example I wish other bishops now would follow.

Celulf, a king, made a monk.

Edbert, king of Northumberland.

About the beginning of the reign of this Edbert was Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury, who collected a great synod of bishops and prelates A.D. 747, in the month of September, near to the place called Clovesho.³ In the which synod assembled these decrees were enacted.⁴

A.D. 747. Cuthbert, archbishop of Canterbury.

First, That bishops should be more diligent in seeing to their office, and in admonishing the people of their faults.

2. That they should live in a peaceable mind together, notwithstanding they were in place dissevered asunder.

3. That every bishop once a year should go about all the parishes of his diocese.

4. That the said bishops, every one in his diocese, should monish their abbots and monks to live regularly: and that prelates should not oppress their inferiors, but love them.

5. That they should teach the monasteries which the secular men had invaded, and could not then be taken from them, to live regularly.

(1) The year *before*, according to M. Westmon. p. 139; and the Saxon Chron. A.D. 734.—Ed.

(2) This is hardly correct, *Farne* being the largest of the group of islands, now denominated from it the *Farne Islands*, upon the coast of Northumberland, and at no great distance from Lindisfarne. Raine's "St. Cuthbert, with an account of the state in which his remains were found," etc. (Durham, 1828), p. 21. Bede represents it in the same way; Hist. Eccles. iv. 27. Hegge, in allusion to the dietary change which Ceolwolf introduced, remarks, "A welcome man you may be sure to that monastery!" "Legend of St. Cuthbert," by Robert Hegg. See also Hovedeu, "Annal." p. 418, edit. 1601.—Ed.

(3) "Clovesho" is supposed by some to be Cliff, near Gravesend, in Kent. Fuller's Church History, cent. viii. b. 2, § 21; Wilkins, Concil. Mag. Brit. tom. i. pp. 94—100. But Johnson thinks that this must have been "Abbyndon in Berks, of old written Sheafs-ham, perhaps for Clofs-ham" (See "Ind. Nom. Loc." at the end of "Chron. Sax."); and not Cliffe in Kent, on account of the insalubrity of the climate, etc. "Collection of Eccles. Laws Canons," etc. vol. i. an. 673, § 7. Bishop Gibson is of the same opinion, and argues from the book of Albbington, which says, that it was anciently written "Shovesham," probably a corrupt reading for "Clovesham;" and adds, "Hic sedes regia: hic, cum de regni præcipuis et arduis tractaretur negotiis, concursus fiebat populi." An annual synod was appointed to be held at this place on the Calend of August by the seventh canon of the council of Thetford, supra p. 356. It is no doubt of importance to remark, that Foxe has represented the decrees to be in number thirty-one, whereas, in Wilkins and in Labbé, tom. vi. col. 1573—85, the thirtieth finishes the list. Guil. Malmesb. has numbered them in the same way as Foxe, p. 197, edit. 1601.—Ed.

(4) Ex Malmesb. lib. "De Gestis Pontif. Anglo."

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6. That none should be admitted to orders, before his life should be examined.
7. That in monasteries the reading of holy Scripture should be more frequented.
8. That priests should be no disposers of secular business.
9. That they should take no money for baptizing infants.
10. That they should both learn and teach the Lord's Prayer and Creed in the English tongue.
11. That all should join together in their ministry after one uniform rite and manner.
12. That in a modest voice they should sing in the church.
13. That all holy and festival days should be celebrated at one time together.
14. That the Sabbath-day be reverently observed and kept.
15. That the seven hours canonical every day be observed.
16. That the rogation-days, both the greater and lesser, should be observed.¹
17. That the feast of St. Gregory, and St. Augustine our patron, should not be omitted.
18. That the fast of the four times should be kept and observed.
19. That monks and nuns should go regularly apparelled.
20. That bishops should see these decrees not to be neglected.
21. That the churchmen should not give themselves unto drunkenness.
22. That the communion should not be neglected of the churchmen.
23. Item, that the same also should be observed of laymen, as time required.
24. That laymen first should be well tried before they entered into monkery.
25. That alms be not neglected.
26. That bishops should see these decrees to be notified to the people.
27. They disputed of the profit of alms.
28. They disputed of the profit of singing psalms.
29. That the congregation should be constituted after the ability of their goods.
30. That monks should not dwell among laymen.
31. That public prayer should be made for kings and princes.

Boniface, an Englishman, archbishop of Mentz.

These decrees and ordinances being thus among the bishops concluded, Cuthbert the archbishop sendeth the copy thereof to Boniface; which Boniface, otherwise named Winfrid, an Englishman born,² was then archbishop of Mentz, and after made a martyr, as the popish stories term him.

Ethelbald, king of Merceland.

This Boniface, being (as is said) archbishop of Mentz in the time of this aforesaid synod, wrote a letter to Ethelbald, king of Merceland; which Ethelbald was also present in the same synod, of whom Bede maketh mention in his history, calling him proud Ethelbald, and the greatest of the Saxon kings in his time. First, this Ethelbald, after the departing of Celulf into his monkery, invaded and spoiled the country of Northumberland. Moreover, he exercised mortal and horrible war a long space with Cuthred, otherwise of some named Cuthbert, king of West-Saxons: furthermore he, with other Saxon kings, so impugned the Britons, that from that time they never durst provoke the Saxons any more. At length the said Cuthred, refusing the intolerable exactions³ of proud Ethelbald, doth encounter with him in battle; where, notwithstanding the great power that Ethelbald had to him adjoined, of the Mercians, of the East-Saxons, of the East-Angles, and of the men of Kent; yet the said Cuthred, through God's power, and the means of a certain valiant warrior,

(1) The rogation-days had not then that superstition in them which they had afterward.

(2) At Crediton, in Devonshire, about A.D. 680. He was archbishop of Mentz A.D. 745—755. *L'Art de Ver. des Dates.*—Ed.

(3) Hoveden, "*Annales*," p. 408; *Matth. West.* p. 140; *Sax. Chron.* by Ingram, p. 67, Lond. 1823.—Ed.

called Edelhim, a consul, overthrew the pride of Ethelbald, after a sore and terrible conflict. Which Ethelbald, notwithstanding, repairing his power again the next year after, renewed battle with the foresaid Cuthred; in the which battle Ethelbald (after he had reigned one and forty years in Mercia) was slain by one Beornred, who after reigned in that dition but a small time. For Offa, nephew to the said Ethelbald, expelled the said Beornred, and succeeded king in that province of Mercia, where he reigned nine and thirty years; of whom more followeth hereafter (the Lord Jesus speeding therein our purpose) to be declared, as place and time shall require. In the mean season, not to forget the before-mentioned letter of Boniface, archbishop of Mentz, sent unto this Ethelbald; I thought the same not unworthy here to be inserted (at the least the effect thereof), not so much for the author's sake, as for that some good matter, peradventure, may be picked thereout for other princes to behold and consider.

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Edelhim, a strong and valiant warrior.

Pride overthrown.

The copy and tenor of the Letter of Boniface,¹ Archbishop of Mentz, and Martyr of God (an Englishman), sent to Ethelbald, King of Mercia, freely and yet charitably admonishing him of his Adulterous Life, and Oppression of Churches.

Regi et filio charissimo, et in Christi amore cæteris regibus Anglorum præferendo Ethelbald, Bonifacius archiepiscopus legatus Germanicus Romanæ ecclesiæ perpetuam in Christo charitatis salutem. Confitemur coram Deo, qui novit an vere atque ex animo dicam: quia quando prosperitatem vestram, et fidem, et bona opera audimus, lætamur: quando autem aliquid adversum vel in eventu bellorum, vel de periculo animarum, de vobis cognoscimus, tristamur. Audivimus enim quod eleemosynis intentus, furta et rapinas prohibes, et pacem diligis, et defensor viduarum et pauperum es, et inde grâcias Deo agimus. Quod vero legitimum matrimonium spernis, si pro castitate faceres, esset laudabile: sed quia in luxu et adulterio et cum sanctimonialibus volutaris, est vituperabile et damnabile. Nam et famam gloriæ vestræ coram Deo et hominibus confundit, et inter idolatras constituit, quia templum Dei violasti. Quapropter fili charissime pœnitere, et memorare oportet, quam turpe sit, ut tu qui multis gentibus, dono Dei dominaris, ad injuriam ejus sis libidinis servus. Audivimus præterea quod optimates pene omnis gentis Merciorum tuo exemplo legitimas uxores deserant, et adulteras et sanctimoniales constuprent. Quod quam sit peregrinum ab honestate, doceat vos alienæ gentis institutio. Nam in antiqua Saxonia ubi nulla est Christi cognitio, si virgo in materna domo, vel maritata, sub conjugæ fuerit adultera, manu propria stangulatam cremant, et supra fossam sepultæ corruptorem suspendunt, aut cingulo tenus (vestibus abscissis) flagellant eam castæ matronæ et cultellis pungunt; et de villa in villam missæ occurrunt novæ flagellatrices, donec interimant. Insuper et Vinuli,² quod est foedissimum genus hominum, hunc habent morem, ut mulier viro mortuo se in rogo cremantis pariter arsuræ præcipitet. Si ergo gentiles Deum ignorantes, tantum zelum castitatis habent, quid tibi convenit fili charissime, qui christianus et rex es? Parce ergo animæ tuæ: parce multitudini populi tui pereuntis exemplo tuo: de quorum animabus redditurus es rationem. Attende et illud, quid si gens Anglorum (sicut in Francia, et Italia, et ab ipsis Paganis nobis impropertur) spretis legitimis matrimoniis per adulteria deficit, nascituraque sit ex ea commixtione gens ignava et Dei contemptrix, quæ perditis moribus patriam pessundet: sicut Burgundionibus et provincialibus, et Hispanis contigit, quos Saraceni multis annis infestarunt propter peccata præterita? Præterea nunciatum est nobis, quod multa privilegia ecclesiarum et monasteriorum auferens, ad hoc audendum duces tuos exemplo provoces. Sed recogita quæso prius. quam terribilem vindictam Deus in anteriores reges exercuit, ejusdem culpæ

Nihil factum quod non factum prius.

(1) Malmesbury, p. 28; and in Wilkins' Concil. tom. i. pp. 87—90, more at length.—Ed.

(2) In Malmes. "Winedi;" in Wilkins "et apud Persas."—Ed.

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conscios, quam in te arguimus. Nam Celredum prædecessorem tuum, stupratorem sanctimonialium et ecclesiasticorum privilegiorum fractorem, splendide cum suis comitibus epulantem spiritus malignus arripuit: et sine confessione et viatico, cum diabolo sermocinanti et legem Dei detestanti, animam extorsit. Osredum quoque regem Deiorum et Berniciorum, earundem culparum reum, ita effrænatum egit, ut regnum et juvenilem ætatem contemptibili morte amitteret. Carolus quoque princeps Francorum, monasteriorum multorum eversor, et ecclesiasticarum pecuniarum in usus proprios commutator, longa torsione et verenda morte consumptus est.

And a little after :

Quapropter fili charissime, paternis et obnixis precibus deprecamur, ut non despicias consilium patrum tuorum, qui pro Dei amore celsitudinem tuam appellare satagunt. Nihil enim boni regi salubrius, quam si talia commissa cum arguuntur, libenter emendentur, quia per Salomonem dicitur: qui diligit disciplinam, diligit sapientiam. Ideo, fili charissime, ostendentes consilium justum, contestamur et obsecramus per viventem Deum, et per filium ejus Jesum Christum, et per Spiritum Sanctum, ut recorderis quam fugitiva sit vitæ præsens, et quam brevis et momentanea delectatio spurcæ carnis: et quam ignominiosum sit ut brevis vitæ homo mala exempla in perpetuum posteris relinquat. Incipe ergo melioribus moribus vitam componere, et præteritos errores juventutis corrigere, ut hic coram hominibus laudem habeas et in futuro æterna gloria gaudeas. Valere celsitudinem tuam, et in bonis moribus proficere, optamus.

The corrupt life of nuns noted.

In this epistle here is to be seen and noted, first, the corruption and great disorder of life which alway, from time to time, hath been found in these religious houses of nuns; whose professed vow of co-acted chastity hath yet never been good to the church, nor profitable to the common-wealth, and least of all to themselves. Of such young and wanton widows St. Paul in his time complaineth,¹ which would take upon them the wilful profession of single life, which they were not able to perform, but falling into damnable luxury, deserved worthily to be reprehended. How much better had it been for these lascivious nuns not to have refused the safe yoke of christian matrimony, than to entangle themselves in this their superstitious vow of perpetual maidenhood, which neither was required of them, nor they were able to keep! Secondly, No less are they also to be reprehended, who maintained these superstitious orders of unprofitable nuns and of other religions. In the number of whom was this foresaid Boniface, otherwise called Winfrid; who, although in this epistle he doth justly reprehend the vicious enormities both of secular and of religious persons, yet he himself is not without the same, or rather greater, reprehension; for that he gave the occasion thereof in maintaining such superstitious orders of such lascivious nuns and other religious, and restraining the same from lawful marriage. For so we find of him in stories, that he was a great setter-up and upholder of such blind superstition, and of all popery. Who, being admitted by pope Gregory II. archbishop of Mentz, and endued with full authority legantine over the Germans,² brought divers countries there under the pope's obedience, held many great councils, ordained bishops, builded monasteries, canonized saints, commanded relics to be worshipped, permitted religious fathers to carry about nuns with them a-preaching. Amongst all others he founded the great monas-

The popish acts and doings of Boniface arch-bishop of Mentz.

(1) 1 Tim. 5.

(2) Boniface was first patronized and sent forth by Gregory II.; again by Gregory III., who made him a titular bishop, gave him the metropolitan's pall, and appointed him legate of the holy see: he was made archbishop of Mentz by pope Zachary. L'Art de Ver. des Dates.—Ed.

tery of Fulda¹ in Germany, of English monks, into the which no women might enter but only Leoba and Tecla, two English nuns. Item, by the authority of the said archbishop Boniface, which he received from pope Zachary, Childeric, king of France, was deposed from the right of his crown, and Pepin, betrayer of his master, was confirmed, or rather intruded in.² From this Boniface proceeded that detestable doctrine which now standeth registered in the pope's decrees, Dist. 40, cap. "Si Papa." Which in a certain epistle of his is this: that in case the pope were of most filthy living, and forgetful or negligent of himself, and of the whole of Christianity, in such sort, that he led innumerable souls with him to hell, yet ought there no man to rebuke him in so doing, for he hath (saith he) power to judge all men, and ought of no man to be judged again.

In the time of this archbishop, pope Gregory II. also Gregory III. and pope Zachary, and before these also pope Constantine I., wrought great masteries against the Greek emperors Philippicus and Leo III., and others, for the maintaining of images to be set up in churches.³ Of whom Philippicus lost both his empire and also his eyes: Leo for the same cause likewise was excommunicated of Gregory III. This Gregory III.⁴ (so far as I can conjecture) was he that first wrote the four books of Dialogues in Greek (falsely bearing the name of Gregory I.⁵); which books, afterward, Zachary his successor translated out of Greek into Latin. Item, the said Gregory III. first brought into the mass-canon the clause for relics, beginning "Quorum solennitates hodie in conspectu," &c. Item, he brought into the said canon the memorial, the offering and sacrifice for the dead; like as Zachary brought in the priests' vesture and ornaments, and as the foresaid Constantine also, was the first that gave his feet to be kissed of the emperors.⁶ But to turn again into the course of our English story.

In the time of this Edbert, king of Northumberland, Sigebert or Sebright reigned in West-Saxony, a man of so cruel tyranny to his subjects (turning the laws and customs of his forefathers after his own will and pleasure), that when he was somewhat sharply advertised by one of his nobles, an earl called Cumbra, to change his

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The monastery of Fulda in Germany builded by Boniface. Childeric deposed, and Pepin intituled.

Images in churches. Philippicus for holding against images lost his empire and his eyes, A.D. 715.

Sigebert king of West-Saxons.

(1) A.D. 744. Centuriatores Magdeb. cent. viii. cap. 10. coll. 448 and 485, edit. Basil, 1624.—Ed.

(2) Baronius, as quoted by Labbe, (Concil. Gen. tom. vi. col. 1493) will fully support this statement, and the passage would be worth citing for its lively style, had we room. See "Mariani Scoti Chronicon," col. 395, edit. 1559; and Bellarmin. "de Rom. Pont." lib. ii. ca. 17.—Ed.

(3) In 727 Leo the Isaurian, surnamed Iconomachus, began to oppose the worship of images in the church: and a rupture commenced between this Greek emperor and the see of Rome, under pope Gregory II., which laid a foundation for the temporal power of the Roman prelate, which in a few years was effectually established.—Ed.

(4) Rather Gregory the second. "De Dialogis dubitatum est an Gregorii primi legitimus fœtus essent; et sane Chemnitius animadvertit Italici prodigiis plenos esse, nec in orationis genere, nec in rebus ipsis cum Gregorii reliquis scriptis congruere: et fortasse sunt Gregorii illius qui a Græcis "Dialogus" est cognominatus, quod cognomen (ait Cedrenus ad an. Leonis 10) ob suas lucubrations adeptus est; quas lucubrations, dialogos istos fuisse verosimile est. Is autem fuit Gregorius secundus, qui vivebat an. 726. Baronius et F. Duceus, qui ejus epistolas de imaginibus Græce et Latine ediderunt, anal. tom. ix. contendunt, Græcos, qui "Dialogi" nomen huius secundo tribuerunt, utrumque Gregorium 1 et 2 confudisse, et in eo fuisse deceptos; quod tamen nullo argumento vel levisimo probant. Fuisse opinionem quorundam virorum doctorum, autorem "Dialogorum" esse Gregorium 2, Possevinus etiam fatetur; quod firmatum videtur auctoritate Photii in biblioth. (cod. 252), qui "Zachariam Pontif. Rom. Gregorii δαδδοχον ait curasse, ut in linguam Græcam converterentur. At Zacharias fuit Greg. 2, immediatus successor Gregorii the third].—Ed.

(5) The Dialogues attributed to Gregory I. seem to be his genuine production: vide Oudin, "Comment. de Scripp. Eccles." tom. i. col. 1506; and "Alex. Natalis Hist. Eccles." vol. x. p. 93, edit. 1787. See Clarke's "Succession of Sacred Literature," vol. ii. p. 360.—Ed.

(6) "Autorem citat Baronius Anastasium Bibliothecarium. (p. 93, edit. Mogunt. 1602.) Hoc primum est exemplum hujus submissionis, nondum injunctæ, sed sponte delatæ, ab illo Imperatore, quem æternum opprobrium domus sue agnoscunt ipsi, qui hoc ejus factum laudant historici." Riveti "Jesuita vapulans," cap. 28, § 31.—Ed.]

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Sigebert slain.

Cruel tyranny with like cruelty revenged.

Kenulph king of West-Saxons, A.D. 748.

Murder revenged with murder.

Offa king of Mercia, A.D. 755.

An untruth noted in the story of Fabian. The primacy of Canterbury removed to Lichfield.

manners, and to behave himself more prudently toward his people ; he there-for maliciously caused him to be put to cruel death. Where-upon the said king Sigebert, continuing his cruel conditions, by his subjects conspiring against him was put from his kingly dignity, and brought into such desolation, that, wandering alone in a wood without comfort, he was there slain even by the swineherd of the said earl, whom before he had so wrongfully murdered, as partly is above touched ; whereby is to be seen the cruel tyranny of princes never to prosper well, without the just revenge both of God and man.

This Sigebert being slain, in his place succeeded Kenulph,¹ in the year of our Lord 748 ; who, with the agreement of the West-Saxons, was one of the chief doers against Sigebert his master. This Kenulph kept strongly his lordship against Offa, and against the power of all his enemies, till at length, after that he had reigned (as Fabian saith) one and thirty years, he, resorting to a paramour which he kept at Merton, was there beset, and likewise slain by the train and means of a certain kinsman of the foresaid Sigebert, named Clito or Cliton,² in revengement of king Sigebert's death.

Moreover, in the reign of the foresaid Edbert, king of Northumberland, and in the eighth year of Kenulph, king of West-Saxons ; Offa, after he had slain the tyrant Beornred, who before had slain Ethelbald, king of Mercia and uncle to this foresaid Offa, reigned king of that province.

Of this Offa are told many notable deeds ; which, because they concern rather political affairs, and do not greatly appertain to the purpose of this ecclesiastical history, I omit here to recite ; as his wars and victories against Edbert, king of the Northumbers, as also against Ethelred, king of East-Angles. Item, against Eadbert, king of Kent, otherwise called Pren, whom (as Fabian saith) he took prisoner, and led bound with him to Mercia. Malmesbury witnesseth otherwise this to be done not by Offa, but by Kenulph ; as, Christ willing, hereafter shall appear. After these victories, Offa had such displeasure unto the citizens of Canterbury, that he [seized the] lands of Lambrieth archbishop of Canterbury, and removed the archbishop's see (by the agreement of pope Adrian) unto Lichfield.³ He also chased the Britons or Welshmen into Wales, and made a famous dike between Wales and the utter bounds of Mercia, or middle England, which was called Offdike,⁴ and builded there a church, which long time after was called Offkirke. This Offa also married one of his daughters to Brightric that was a king of West-Saxons. And, for that in his time was variance between him and the Frenchmen, inso-much that the passage of merchants was forbidden ; therefore he sent Alcuin,⁵ a learned man, unto Charlemagne, then king of France, to commune the means of peace ; which Charlemagne had, after that, the said Alcuin in great favour and estimation, and afterwards made him abbot of Tours, in France.

About the latter time of the reign of Offa, king of Mercia, Ethel-

(1) Roger Hoveden, p. 408, edit. 1601; and the Saxon Chron. A.D. 755.—Ed.

(2) "Cynewulf was desirous of expelling a prince called Cyneard, who was the brother of Sebright." Saxon Chron.; Fabian, p. 139.—Ed.

(3) The archbishop had invited Charlemagne to invade Britain, and withstand Offa. A slight transposition has been made in this sentence.—Ed.

(4) Called to this day "Offa's Dyke."—Palgrave's History of the Anglo-Saxons, p. 84.—Ed.

(5) This Alcuin is commended for his learning next to Aldelm and Bede above all Saxons [He died at Tours, A.D. 804. Cave.—Ed.]

bert being then king of East-Angles (a learned and a right godly prince) came to the court of Offa, provoked by the counsel of his nobles to sue for the marriage of his daughter, well-accompanied like a prince, with his men about him. Whereupon the queen, conceiving a false suspicion, and fearing that which was never minded, that Ethelbert with his company, under the pretence and made-matter of marriage, was come to work some violence against her husband and the kingdom of Mercia; so she persuaded with king Offa and certain of her council that night, that the next day following Offa caused him to be trained into his palace alone from his company, by one called Guimbert; who took him and bound him, and there struck off his head; which forthwith he then presented to the king and queen. And thus the innocent king Ethelbert was wrongfully murdered, about the year of our Lord 793; but not without a just revenge at God's hands. For, as the story recordeth,¹ the foresaid queen, worker of this villany, lived not three months after, and in her death was so tormented, that she was fain to bite and rend her tongue in pieces with her own teeth. Offa, understanding at length the innocence of this king, and the heinous cruelty of his fact, gave the tenth part of his goods to holy church; and on the church of Hereford, in the remembrance of this Ethelbert, he bestowed great lands. Moreover, he builded the abbey of St. Alban's, with certain other monasteries besides. And so afterward he went up to Rome for his penance, where he gave to the church of St. Peter a penny through every house in his dominion, which was called commonly Rome-scot or Peter-pence, paid to the church of St. Peter; and there at length was transformed from a king to a monk, about the year of our Lord 794 (with Kenred king of Northumberland above-mentioned²); although some stories deny that he was a monk.³

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Vain suspicion and wicked counsel of a woman.

Cruel murder of Ethelbert, king of East-Angles, revenged.

Offa and Kenred of kings made monks at Rome.

After Offa king of Mercia, when he had reigned nine and thirty years, succeeded his son Egfert, who reigned but four months, of whom thus writeth the aforesaid Alcuin:⁴ "This noble young man died not so much for offences of his own, as for that his father had spilled much blood to confirm him in his kingdom."

Egfert king of Mercia.

The father's fault punished in the child.

Next to which Egfert succeeded Kenulph in the said kingdom of Mercia; which Kenulph keeping and retaining the hatred of Offa his predecessor against the men of Kent, made war upon them, where he took Eadbart their king, otherwise called Pren, whom he bound and led prisoner to Mercia. Notwithstanding, shortly after being mollified with princely clemency in the town of Winchcombe, where he had builded the same time a church, upon the day when he should dedicate the same in the presence of thirteen bishops, and of Cuthred, whom he had placed in the same kingdom of Canterbury before, and ten dukes, and many other great estates, king Kenulph brought the said Eadbart king of Kent out of prison into the church, where he enlarged him out of imprisonment, and restored him to his place again. At the sight whereof, not only Cuthred the aforesaid king

Eadbart king of Kent taken prisoner.

The church of Winchcombe builded by king Kenulph. Eadbart king of Kent released out of prison.

(1) Ex Hist. Jorنالensi et Malmesburiensi.

(2) Foxe here confounds Offa, king of Mercia, with Offa, king of Essex, who nearly a century before turned monk and went to Rome (see *supra*, p. 318, note (10)), with Kenred, king of Mercia (see *sup.* p. 317, and *infra* p. 376, 384).—Ed.

(3) Foxe has not inserted him in the list in p. 384.—Ed.

(4) "Non arbitror quod nobilissimus juvenis Egfertus propter peccata sua mortuus sit: sed quia pater suus, pro confirmatione regni ejus, multum sanguinem effudit," etc. Alcuinus Osberto patricio; [in G. Malmes. p. 33.—Ed.]

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A place of Fabian doubted.

Pope Stephen the second.

The donation of Pepin falsely taken to be the donation of Constantine

Organs.

Pope Paul I. Images again maintained by the pope against the emperor.

Pope Stephen III. The council of Constantinople (the seventh general) condemned of the

rejoiced, but also all the estates and people being there present made such an exclamation of joy and gladness, that the church (and not only the church, but also the streets) rang withal. At which time such bountifulness of gifts and jewels was then bestowed, that from the highest estate to the lowest, none departed without something given, according as to every degree was thought meet. Although Fabian¹ referreth this story to king Offa, yet causes there be why I assent rather unto Malmesbury² and to Polychronicon, which attribute the same to Kenulph the second king of Mercia after Offa.

A little before, in speaking of certain bishops of Rome, mention was made of pope Constantine I., pope Gregory II., pope Gregory III., and of pope Zachary who deposed Childeric, and set up Pepin the French king. Next after this Zachary, in order, followed pope Stephen II., to whom the aforesaid Pepin, to gratify again the see of Rome for this their benefit showed to him, gave and contributed to the said see of Rome the exarchate, or principedom, of Ravenna,³ the kingdom of the Lombards, and many other great possessions of Italy, with all the cities thereto adjoining unto the borders of Venice. And this donation of Pepin, no doubt, if the truth were rightly tried, should be found to be the same, which hitherto falsely hath been thought to be the donation of Constantine. For else, how could it be that the exarchate of Ravenna could belong all this while to the emperors of Constantinople, if Constantine, before, had given it and all Italy to the empire of the see of Rome.

To this Pepin, as witnesseth Polychronicon,⁴ was sent first into France the invention of the organs out of Greece, by Constantine V. emperor of Constantinople, A. D. 757.

Next to this Stephen II. succeeded Paul I., who, following his predecessors, thundered out great excommunication against Constantine V. the emperor of Constantinople, for abrogating and plucking down images set up in temples. Notwithstanding this, Constantine, neglecting the pope's vain curses, persevered in his blessed purpose, in destroying idolatry till the end of his life. Then came to be pope Constantine II., a layman,⁵ and brother to Desiderius the king of Lombardy; for the which cause he was shortly deposed, and thrust into a monastery, having his eyes put out.

In whose stead succeeded Stephen III., who ordained⁶ after, that no layman should be pope; condemning, moreover, the council of Constantinople (the seventh general)⁷ for heretical, because in that council the worshipping of images was reproved and condemned. Contrary to the which council, this pope not only maintained the filthy idolatry of images in christian temples, but also advanced their veneration, commanding them most ethnically to be incensed. At this

(1) Part vi. chap. 151.—Ed.

(2) P. 33. Mat. Westmon. p. 150, and the Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 794, call the released king "Eadbert."—Ed.

(3) Anastasii de vitis Rom. Pontiff. p. 126, edit. Mogunt. 1602; Labbe, tom. vi. coll. 1628.—Ed.

(4) Ex Polyc. lib. v. cap. 25.

(5) Anastasius de vit. Pontiff. p. 131.—Ed.

(6) In a council held at Rome, April 12th, A. D. 769.—Ed.

(7) The council here referred to was held A. D. 754, under the auspices of Constantine Copronymus: it was attended by 338 bishops, who passed a strong sentence against image-worship: it was considered and called by the orthodox party the "Seventh General Council;" but the Romish church rejects its claims to be so considered, and sets up instead the second Nicene Council, held in A. D. 787 in favour of image-worship, as the true "Seventh." See Binii Not. in Labb. Conc. Gen. tom. vi. col. 1661.—Ed.

time Charlemagne, a little before mentioned, began to reign, by whom this pope caused Desiderius the Lombard king to be deprived.

Then in this race of popes, after this Stephen III. cometh Adrian I., who likewise, following the steps of his fathers the popes, added and attributed to the veneration of images more than all the others had done before, writing a book for the adoration and utility proceeding of them, commanding them to be taken for laymen's calendars;¹ holding moreover a synod at Rome against Felix, and all others that spake against the setting up of such stocks and images. And as Paul I., before him, made much of the body of Petronilla,² St. Peter's daughter, so this Adrian clothed the body of St. Peter all in silver, and covered the altar of St. Paul with a pall of gold. This pope Adrian was he, whom we declared, in the former part of this treatise,³ to ratify and confirm by revelation the order of St. Gregory's mass, above the order of St. Ambrose's mass: for unto this time, which was about the year of our Lord 780, the liturgy of St. Ambrose was more used in the Italian churches. The story whereof, because it is registered in Durandus, Nauclerus, and Jacobus de Voragine, I thought here to insert the same to this especial purpose, for the reader to understand the time when this usual mass of the papists began first to be universal and uniform, and generally in churches to be received.⁴ Thus it followeth in the story by the fore-said authors set forth. Jacobus de Voragine, in the life of pope Gregory I., telleth a tale concerning this matter.

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pope for, condemn-
ing images.

The pope also ordained "gloria in excelsis" to be sung in the mass at St. Peter's altar by the cardinals.

Pope Adrian I. Images maintained by the pope to be laymen's calendars.

The body of St. Peter clothed in silver.

"In times past," saith he, "when the service which Ambrose made was more frequented and used in churches than was the service which Gregory had appointed, the bishop of Rome, then called Adrian, gathered a council together; in the which it was ordained, that Gregory's service should be observed and kept universally. Which determination of the council Charles the emperor did diligently put in execution, while he ran about by divers provinces, and enforced all the clergy, partly with threatenings, and partly with punishments, to receive that order. And as touching the books of Ambrose's service, he burnt them to ashes in all places, and threw into prison many priests that would not consent and agree unto the matter. Blessed Eugene the bishop, coming unto the council, found that it was dissolved three days before his coming. Notwithstanding, through his wisdom he so persuaded the lord pope, that he called again all the prelates that had been present at the council, and were now departed by the space of three days. Therefore when the council was gathered again together, in this all the fathers did consent and agree, that both the mass-books of Ambrose and Gregory should be laid upon the altar of blessed St. Peter the apostle, and the church doors diligently shut, and most warily sealed up with the signets of many and divers bishops. Again, that they should all the whole night give themselves to prayer, that the Lord might reveal, open, and show unto them by some evident sign or token, which of these two services he would have used in the temples. Thus they, doing in all points as they had determined, in the morning opened the church doors, and found both the missals or mass-books open upon the altar: or rather, as some say, they found Gregory's mass-book utterly plucked asunder, one piece from another, and scattered over all the church.⁵ As touching Ambrose's book, they only found it open upon the altar in the very same place where they before laid

The order of the Romish mass-book when it came in.

Note well the practice of prelates, in planting their popish mass.

(1) In "Epist. ad Car. M. pro Synodo Nic. II." apud Labbe, tom. vii. col. 960. This device is, however, much older than the times of Adrian, or even Augustine. See "Eusebii Præp. Evang." lib. iii. cap. 7.—Ed.

(2) Vide Martini Poloni Chron. col. 138, Basil, 1559; and the Lect. Var. on p. 128, prefixed to "Anastasi Hist. de vitis Rom. Pontiff," edit. Mogunt. 1602.—Ed.

(3) Suprà, p. 341.—Ed.

(4) Ex Durando [rationale Divin. Offic. lib. v. cap. 2, § 5.—Ed.] Nauclero [Chron. vo. n. gen. 28, p. 705, edit. Colon. 1579.—Ed.] Jacob de Voragine, in vita Greg.

(5) Atque tamen ipsi commentum placet. Terent. [Andr. 1, 3, 20.]

Ecclesiastical History. it. This miracle pope Adrian, like a wise expounder of dreams, interpreted thus; that as the leaves were torn and blown abroad all the church over, so should Gregory's book be used throughout the world. Whereupon they thought themselves sufficiently instructed and taught of God, that the service which Gregory had made, ought to be set abroad and used throughout the world, and that Ambrose's service should only be observed and kept in his own church of Milan, where he sometime was bishop.

Thus hast thou heard, brother reader, the full and whole narration of this mystical miracle, with the pope's exposition upon the same; which seemeth to be as true as that which Daniel¹ speaketh of, how the idol Bel did eat up all the meat that was set before him all the night. Concerning the which miracle, I need not admonish thee to smell out the blind practices of these night-crows, to blind the world with forged inventions instead of true stories. Albeit to grant the miracle to be most true and infallible, yet as touching the exposition thereof, another man beside the pope percase might interpret this great miracle otherwise, as thus: that God was angry with Gregory's book, and therefore rent it in pieces, and scattered it abroad; and the other as good, lay sound, untouched, and at the least so to be preferred. Notwithstanding, whatsoever is to be thought of this miracle with the exposition thereof, thus the matter fell out, that Gregory's service only had the place, and yet hath to this day, in the greatest part of Europe; the service of Ambrose being excluded. And thus much touching the great act of pope Adrian for the setting up of the mass; by the relation whereof, yet this knowledge may come to the reader, at least to understand how that commonly in christian nations abroad, as yet no uniform order of any missal or mass-book was received, as hath been hitherto discoursed.

Now, from the popes to return again to the emperors, from whence we digressed: like as Pepin, the father of Charlemagne (as hath been before sufficiently told), had given to the papal see all the principedom of Ravenna, with other donations and revenues and lands in Italy; so this Charlemagne, following his father's devotion, did confirm the same; adding moreover thereunto, the city and dominion of Venice, Istria, the dukedom of Forojulien,² the dukedoms of Spoleto and Benevento, and other possessions more, to the patrimony of St. Peter, making him the prince of Rome and Italy. The pope again, to recompense his so gentle kindness, made him to be intituled "Most Christian King," and made him "Patricium Romanum;" moreover, ordained him only to be taken for emperor of Rome. For these and other causes more, Charlemagne bare no little affection to the said Adrian above all other popes; as may well appear by this letter of Charlemagne sent to king Offa, what time the said Offa (as is above prefixed) sent to him Alcuin for entreaty of peace: whereto the aforesaid Charlemagne answereth again to the message of Offa in a letter, the contents whereof be these:—

The tenor of a Letter sent by Charlemagne to King Offa,³ answering to his request concerning the Treaty of Peace between them.

Letter of Charlemagne to king Offa. Carolus Rex Francorum et Longobardorum, patricius Romanorum, viro venerando et fratri charissimo Offæ regi Merciorum salutem. Primo gratias

(1) See "Bel and the Dragon," in the Apocrypha.—Ed.

(2) Austriæ Civitas, or Ciudad di Friuli, an ancient town of Italy, in the Venetian territory.—Ed.

(3) In G. Malmesb. p. 32.—Ed.

agimus Omnipotenti Deo de Catholicæ fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabilibus paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero, qui pro amore Dei et salute animarum suarum beatorum apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui religioni non servientes, sed lucra sectantes, inveniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta solvant telonia. Negotiatores quoque volumus ut ex mandato nostro patrociniū habeant in regno nostro legitime, et si in aliquo loco injusta affligantur oppressione, reclamant se ad nos vel nostros iudices, et plenam justitiā jubemus fieri. Cognoscat quoque dilectio vestra, quod aliquam benignitatem de dalmaticis nostris vel palliis ad singulas sedes episcopales regni vestri vel Ethelredi direximus in eleemosynam domini apostolici Adriani, deprecantes ut pro eo intercedi jubeatis, nullam habentes dubitationem beatam illius animam in requie esse, sed ut fidem et dilectionem ostendamus in amicum nobis charissimum. Sed et de thesauro humanarum rerum, quem Dominus Jesus gratuita pietate concessit aliquid per metropolitanas civitates; direximus vestræ quoque dilectioni unum baltheum, et unum gladium, et duo pallia serica, etc.

Ecclesiastical History.

The cause why this Charlemagne writeth so favourably of Adrian, partly is touched before; partly also it was because Caroloman his elder brother being dead, his wife called Bertha,¹ with her two children, came to Adrian, to have them confirmed in their father's kingdom; whereunto the pope, to show a pleasure to Charlemagne, would not agree, but gave the mother with her two children, and Desiderius the Lombard king with his whole kingdom, his wife and children, into the hands of the said Charlemagne, who led them with him captive into France, and there kept them in servitude during their life.

How the pope heareth the cry of poor widows and orphans.

Thus Charlemagne being proclaimed emperor of Rome, through the preferment of pope Adrian I. and pope Leo III. (who succeeded next after him), the Empire was translated from the Grecians about the year of our Lord 800 unto the Frenchmen, where it continued about one hundred and two years, till the coming of Conrad and his nephew Otho, which were Germans; and so hath continued after them among the Almaines unto this present time.² This Charlemagne builded so many monasteries as there are letters in the row of "A B C;" he was beneficial chiefly to the church-men; also merciful to the poor; in his acts valiant and triumphant; skilled in all languages. He held a council at Frankfort, where was condemned the council of Nice, and [the empress] Irene, for setting up and worshipping images, etc.

The Empire translated from Greece to France, A.D. 800.

A.D. 794.

Concerning which council of Nice, and things there concluded and enacted (because no man shall think the detesting of images to be any new thing now begun), thus I find it recorded in an ancient history of Roger Hoveden, called "Continuaciones Bedæ:" his words

(1) This assertion seems incorrect; but this portion of the history is rather perplexed. According to the statement of Anastasius, Desiderius, king of the Lombards, made the application to Adrian, "ut ipsos antefati Carolomanni filios reges ungeret;" etc. (in Baron. Annal. an. 772, § 9) and the wife of Caroloman was Gilberga, not Bertha. (Pagii Crit. an. 770, § 7.) The mistake arose, apparently, from Bertha, the mother of Caroloman and Charlemagne, having travelled into Italy, her meeting Caroloman at Saluzzo, and effecting a reconciliation between the two brothers; but this occurred under the previous pontificate of Stephen III. The general statement of Pagii is: "Gravissimum fuit hoc anno Hadriano papæ cum Desiderio Longobardorum regis dissidium; hic enim, ut de Carolo Francorum rege, qui divortium cum filia ejus Desiderata fecerat, ultionem sumeret, Gilbergam Carolomanni regis conjugem, ejusque filios in fidem suscepit, eosque adversus Carolum regem per novum pontificem consecrari reges tentavit," etc. Crit. ad an. 772, § 2, and 770, § 3.—Ed.

(2) Conrad duke of Franconia was chosen emperor A.D. 911, Otho duke of Saxony having declined the honour on account of his great age: Conrad's authority, however, was not recognised in Italy. Conrad was succeeded in 919, by Henry I., son of Otho, just mentioned; and he was succeeded by his son Otho I., A.D. 936, who was crowned emperor at Rome by John XII. A.D. 962. Otho I. was evidently 'nepos,' i.e. grandson (not "nephew") to Otho, duke of Saxony, (not "Conrad.") See infra, vol. ii. pp. 43, 71. "Nephew," however, is often used for "grandson." See supra, p. 89, note (2).—Ed.

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Images written against, as contrary to the true faith. The bishops and princes of England against images.

Kings of Northumberland.

Edbert made a monk.

A.D. 757.

be these:—"In the year of our Lord 792 Charles the French king sent a book containing the acts of a certain synod, unto Britain, directed unto him from Constantinople; in the which book (lamentable to be told) many things inconvenient, and clean contrary unto the true faith, are there to be found; especially for that, by the common consent of almost all the learned bishops of the East church, not so few as three hundred, it was there agreed, that images should be worshipped: which thing the church of God hath always abhorred. Against which book Albinus² wrote an epistle, substantially grounded out of the authority of holy Scripture, which epistle with the book the said Albinus, in the name and person of our bishops and princes, did present to the French king."

And thus much by the way of Romish matters: now to return again to the Northumberland kings, where we left at Edbert, which Edbert (as is before declared) succeeded after Ceolulph, after he was made monk. And likewise the said Edbert also, following the devotion of his uncle Ceolwolp and of Kenred before him,³ was likewise shorn monk, after he had reigned twenty years in Northumberland; leaving his son Osulph after him to succeed. About which time, and in the same year when Ceolulph deceased in his monastery, which was the year of our Lord 764, divers cities were burnt with sudden fire, as the city of Venta,⁴ the city of London, the city of York, Doncaster, with divers other towns besides.⁵ In the first year of his reign (which was the year of our Lord 757), Osulph being innocently slain, next to him followed Mull, otherwise called Adelwald, who likewise, being slain of Alcred, after he had reigned eleven years departed. After, Alcred, when he had reigned ten years, was expelled out of his kingdom by his people. Then was Ethelbert, otherwise named Edelred,⁶ the son of the foresaid Mull, received king of Northumberland; which Ethelbert or Edelred, in like sort, after he had reigned five years was expelled. After whom succeeded Alfwold, who, likewise, when he had reigned eleven years was unjustly slain. So likewise after him his nephew, and the son of Alcred, named Osred, reigned one year, and was slain. Then the foresaid Ethelbert, the son of Mull, after twelve years' banishment, reigned again in Northumberland the space of four years, and was slain. The cause whereof (as I find in an old written story) was that, forsaking his old wife, he married a new. Concerning the restoring of whom, Alcuin writeth in this manner: "Benedictus Deus qui facit mirabilia solus. Nuper Edelredus, filius Edelwaldi de carcere processit in solium, et de miseria in majestatem, cujus regni novitate detenti sumus ne veniremus ad vos," etc. And afterward the same Alcuin again speaking of his death, writeth unto king Offa in these words: "Sciat veneranda dilectio vestra

(1) "Anno 792 Carolus Rex Francorum misit synodalem librum ad Britanniam, sibi a Constantinopoli directum. In quo libro (heu prohi dolor), multa inconvenientia et veræ fidei contraria reperiuntur, maxime quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum non minus quam 300 vel eo amplius episcoporum unanimi assertione confirmatum sit, imagines adorari debere: quod omnino ecclesia Dei exaceratur. Contra quod scripsit Albinus epistolam ex autoritate divinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam, illamque cum eodem libro ex persona episcoporum ac principum nostrorum, regi Francorum attulit." Hoveden. [Page 405, edit. Francof. 1601.—Ed.]

(2) This Albinus was Alcuin above mentioned.

(3) See *supra*, p. 371, note (2).—Ed

(4) Winchester.—Ed.

(5) Roger Hoveden, lib. contin. post Bedam. ["Rogerus de Hoveden, Eboracensis, Henrici II. domesticus, postea primarius theol. prof. in Acad. Oxon.; claruit a. 1198. Scripsit "Annaliū Anglicanorum libros 2," ab a. 731 (quo desit Beda) usque ad a. 1202." Cave.—Ed.]

(6) *Ethelred*, in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 774; which agrees better with what follows in the Latin quotations from William of Malmesbury.—Ed.

quod dominus Carolus amabiliter et fideliter sæpe mecum locutus est de vobis, et in eo habetis fidelissimum amicum. Ideo et vestrae dilectioni digna dirigit munera, et per episcopales sedes regni vestri; similiter et Edelredo regi, et ad suas episcoporum sedes direxit dona. Sed heu proh dolor, donis datis et epistolis in manus missorum, supervenit tristis legatio per missos qui de Scotia per nos reversi sunt, de infidelitate gentis, et nece regis. Ita Carolus retracta donorum largitate in tantum iratus est contra gentem illam, ut ait, perfidam et perversam, et homicidam dominorum suorum, pejorem eam paganis æstimans, ut nisi ego intercessor essem pro ea, quicquid eis boni abstrahere potuisset, et mali machinari, jam fecisset," etc.

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THE KINGDOM OF NORTHUMBERLAND CEASETH.

Thus, as you have heard, after the reign of king Edbert before-mentioned such trouble and perturbation was in the dominion of Northumberland, with slaying, expulsing, and deposing their kings one after another, that after the murdering of this Edelred above-specified none durst take the government upon him, seeing the great danger thereupon ensuing. Insomuch that the foresaid kingdom did lie void and waste, the space of three-and-thirty years together; after the term of which years, this kingdom of Northumberland, with the kingdoms also of the other Saxons besides, came altogether into the hands of Egbert, king of West-Saxons, and his progeny; which monarchy began A.D. 827, and in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of the said Egbert; whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) hereafter. Of this troublesome and outrageous time of Northumberland people speaketh also the said learned man Alcuin, otherwise called Albinus, in the same country born, writing out of France into England, and complaining of the same in divers of his letters; as first to Offa, where he thus writeth: "Ego paratus eram cum muneribus Caroli regis ad vos venire, et in patriam reverti. Sed melius visum est propter pacem gentis meæ in peregrinatione remanere, nesciens quid fecissem inter eos, ubi nullus securus esse vel in salubri consilio proficere potest. Ecclesia sancta a paganis vastata, altaria perjuriis fœdata, monasteria adulteriis violata, terra sanguine Dominorum et principum fœdata," etc. Moreover, the said Alcuin, writing to the foresaid Edelred a little above mentioned, after the same tenor reporteth: "Ecce ecclesia sancti Cutberti sacerdotum Dei sanguine aspersa (omnibus spoliata ornamentis), locus cunctis in Britannia venerabilior, paganis gentibus datur ad deprædandum. Et ubi primum, post decessum S. Cutberti ab Eboraco,¹ Christiana religio in nostra gente sumpsit exordium, ibi miseriæ et calamitatis cœpit initium," etc. Item, writing to Osbert a noble peer of the Mercians, complaining on the same matter, he saith: "Regnum nostrum Northumbrorum pene periit, propter intestinas dissensiones, et fallaces conjurationes," etc. Item, in another place the said Alcuin, writing to Adelard archbishop of Canterbury, complaineth moreover: "Hoc dico propter flagellum, quod nuper accidit partibus insulæ nostræ, quæ prope trecentis et quadraginta annis a parentibus inhabitata est nostris. Legitur in libro Gildæ sapientissimi Britonum, quod iidem Britones, propter

Alcuin, otherwise called Albinus.

Troubles of the kingdom of Northumberland, described by Alcuin.

(1) G. Malmesb., p. 26, according to the edit. 1601, says, "post decessum Sancti Paulini;" which is the correct reading in both respects, Paulinus having left York, and died in Kent. Bede, "Hist. Eccles. Angl." ii. 20; iii. 14.—Ed.

Ecclesiastical History.

avaritiam et rapinam principum, propter iniquitatem et injustitiam judicium, propter desidiam prædicationis episcoporum, propter luxuriam et malos mores populi, patriam perdidere. Caveamus hæc eadem vitia nostris temporibus inolescere, quatenus benedictio divina nobis patriam conservet in prosperitate bona quam nobis misericordissima pietate perdonare dignatus est," etc.

How it rained blood in York.

Over and besides, the same author, Alcuin, writing unto the foresaid Edelred, king of Northumberland, maketh record of a strange sight which he himself did see, the same time, in the city of York,—it rained blood :¹ whereof his words which he wrote concerning the same, unto the said king Edelred, be these : " What signifieth the rain-blood which in time of Lent, in the city of York, the chief city of that dominion, and in the church of St. Peter the chief of the apostles, we ourselves did see to fall from the church top (the element being clear) out of the north parts of the temple," etc. This wondrous sight, testified by Malmesbury, is thought of Fabian to happen in the second year of the reign of Brightric,² (as with the time doth well agree), which was the year of our Lord 786, and is thought of some expositors to betoken the coming of the Danes into this land, who entered shortly after [; and again in] about seven years, in the ninth year of the reign of Brightric, king of the West-Saxons. Which Brightric, in defence thereof, sent forth his steward of his household with a small company, which shortly was slain : but by the strength of the said Brightric and the other Saxon kings, they were compelled to void the land for that time, which was in the year 787.³ To this Brightric king Offa, as is aforesaid, gave his daughter Edelburga, or Edburga, to wife, by whom he at length was poisoned ; besides certain other of his nobles, upon whom the said queen before him had practised the same wickedness. Who then, after that, fled over to Charlemagne, into France ; where she, being offered for her beauty to marry either to him or his son, because she choosed rather his son, married neither the one, nor yet the other, but was thrust into a monastery ; where she, then playing the harlot with a monk, was expelled from thence, and ended her life in penury and misery.

Brightric king of West-Saxons.

Edelburga, daughter to Offa, poisoned her husband.

Wickedness revenged.

Irene.

A. D. 784.

In the mean time, while this Edelburga was thus working her feats in England, Irene, empress of the Greeks, was as busy also for her part at Constantinople : who first, through the means of pope Adrian, took up the body of Constantine V., emperor of Constantinople, her own husband's father ; and when she had burned the same, she caused the ashes to be cast into the sea, because he disannulled images. Afterwards, reigning with her son Constantine the Sixth, son to Leo the Fourth (whom also we declared before to be excommunicated for taking away images), being at dissension with him, she caused him to be taken and laid in prison ; who afterward through

(1) " Quid significat pluvia sanguinis, quam quadragesimali tempore in Eboraco civitate, quæ caput est totius regni, in ecclesia beati principis apostolorum vidimus, de borealibus partibus domus (sereno aere) de summitate minanter cadere ? Nonne potest putari, a borealibus partibus venire sanguinem super terram ? " Ex Historia Malmesburiensi. The text of Foxe differs slightly from the edition of Malmesbury (p. 258) which we have before us ; and he must indeed have consulted a MS. copy ; the first printed edition not having appeared till 1596, some years after Foxe's death.—Ed.

(2) Bertric or Beortric.—Ed.

(3) The first arrival of the Danes was in Wessex, A. D. 787, the third year of Brightric, and to this Foxe's account chiefly refers : the second was seven years after, in Northumberland, in the tenth year of Brightric, A. D. 794. See Polychronicon (referred to by Fabian) and Chronicon Sax. ; also *infra*, vol. ii. p. 5, margin. The words inserted in brackets make the text more correct.—Ed.

power of friends being restored to his empire again, at last she caused the same her own son to be cast into prison, and his eyes to be put out so cruelly, that within short space he died.¹ After this the said Irene empress, with the counsel of Tarasius bishop of Constantinople, held a council at Nice, where it was decreed, that images should again be restored unto the church; which council after was repealed by another council holden at Francfort by Charlemagne. At length she was deposed by Nicephorus (who reigned after), and was expelled the empire; who, after the example of Edelburga above-mentioned, condignly punished for her wickedness, ended likewise her life in much penury and misery.

Eccelesiastical History.

Images restored by Irene. The second council at Nice, A.D. 787. Wickedness of Irene rewarded.

About the time when the foresaid Brightric was poisoned by Edelburga his wife, died also king Offa, which was about the year of our Lord 795, or (as some say) 802. After which Offa (as is aforesaid) succeeded Egbert; then Kenulph: after whom succeeded Kenelm his son,² who in his younger age was wickedly murdered by his sister Quendrida³ and Askebert, about the year of our Lord 819, and in the church of Winchcombe was counted for a holy martyr. After him succeeded his uncle Ceolulph, whom Bernulph in the first year of his reign expelled, and reigned in his place. Who likewise, in the third year of his reign, was overcome, and expelled by Egbert king of the West-Saxons, and afterward slain by the East-Angles. And the kingdom of Mercia also ceased, and came into the hands of the West-Saxons.

Kenelm king of Mercia innocently slain.

Ceolulph and Bernulph, kings of Mercia. The kingdom ceased.

Hitherto I have brought (as thou seest, good reader) the confused and turbulent reigns of these seven Saxon kings, who, after the expulsion of the Britons, ruled and reigned asunder in sundry quarters of this land together, unto this present time of Egbert king of the West-Saxons, by whom it pleased God to begin to reduce and unite all these scattered kingdoms into one monarchical form of dominion. Wherefore, as in the aforesaid Egbert beginneth a new alteration of the commonwealth here in this land among the Saxons, so my purpose is (the Lord willing), with the same Egbert to enter a new beginning of my third book, after a brief recapitulation first made of such things as in this second book before are to be collected and noted, especially touching the monasteries builded, the kings who have entered the life and profession monastic; also queens and queens' daughters, who the same time professed solitary life in monasteries, which they or their ancestors had erected.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE PRECEDING STORY, CONCERNING THE SEVEN KINGDOMS OF THE SAXON KINGS, ABOVE MENTIONED.

And thus hast thou, gentle reader, concerning the seven kingdoms of these Saxons, ruling all together in England, the course and order of their doings briefly described and discoursed unto thee, in such order, as the matter being so intricate, in such confusion and diversity of things incident together, would permit: following especially in this story hitherto the line of the Northumberland kings, as the

(1) "Scelus plane execrandum," observes Baronius (ad an. 796, § 8) "nisi (quod multi excusant) justitiæ eam zelus ad id faciendum excitasset, quo nomine eadem post hæc meruit commendari."

—Ed.

(2) See Saxon Chronicle by Ingram, p. 86, and note 3.—Ed.

(3) G. Malmes. p. 88; and Fabian, p. 147.—Ed.

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Unjust dealings of men justly rewarded.

Paul's church.

The first altar and cross set up in England.

other stories most follow the line of West-Saxon kings. The which seven kingdoms of these said Saxons, after they had untruly expulsed and chased out the Britons from their land, like as they never were in quietness among themselves (reigning thus together) till the time of this Egbert; so also, after the reign of Egbert, the whole realm being reduced into one regiment, no less were they impugned and afflicted by the Danes continually from time to time, till the last conquest of William the Norman. Thus it pleased God (ever lightly¹⁾ to revenge with blood bloody violence, and the unjust dealings of men with just and like retribution. But of this let the christian reader consider, as God's grace shall work in him. In the mean time we, as much as in us did lie, satisfying the part of an historian, have thus hitherto set forth and declared concerning these seven foresaid kingdoms: first, the names and lineal descent of the kings severally by themselves, as by the table precedent may appear: then, what were the doings and acts of the same; how first being pagans, they were converted to the christian faith; what things in their time happened in the church; how many of them, of kings were made monks; how devout they were then to holy church and to the churchmen, and especially to the church of Rome. But the churchmen then were much otherwise in life, than afterward they declared themselves to be. Through which devotion of the said kings, first came in the Peter-pence or Rome-scots in this realm, as by Ina first in his dominion, then by Offa in his lordship, and afterwards by Ethelwulph were brought in and ratified through the whole realm: where also is to be noted, that by the foresaid kings and queens of the said Saxons the most part of the greatest abbeys and nunneries in this realm, were first begun and builded; as partly, by the names of some, here follow to be seen.

First, the church or minster of St. Paul in London was founded by Ethelbert king of Kent, and Sebert king of Essex, about the year of our Lord 604.²

The first cross and altar within this realm was first set up in the north parts in Hevenfield,³ upon the occasion of Oswald king of Northumberland fighting against Cadwalla, where he, in the same place, set up the sign of the cross, kneeling and praying there for victory.⁴

The church of Winchester was first begun and founded by Kinegils or Cynegils, king of the West-Saxons, having seven miles about it: after, finished by his son Kenwalc, where Wine of Englishmen was first bishop, A. D. 663.⁵

The church of Lincoln first founded by Paulinus bishop, A. D. 629.⁶

The church of Westminster began first by a certain citizen of London, through the instigation of Ethelbert king of Kent, which before was an isle of thorns,⁷ A. D. 614.

The common schools first erected at Cambridge, by Sigebert king of East-Angles, A. D. 636.

(1) "Lightly," i. e. commonly. Todd's Johnson.—Ed.

(2) Bede, ii. 3; Saxon Chron. A. D. 604.—Ed.

(3) Heofonfeld. Bede, iii. 2.—Ed.

(4) Polychron. lib. v. cap. 12. an. 635.

(5) Guliel. Malm. lib. De Gestis Pont. Ang. [lib. ii. p. 241, edit. 1601. "Tandem rex, qui Saxonum linguam tantum noverat, pertæsus barbaræ loquelæ subintroducitur in provinciam alium suæ linguæ episcopum, vocabulo *Wini*, et ipsum in Gallia ordinatum." Bede Hist. Eccles. Angl. lib. iii. cap. 7. See *suprà*, pp. 347, 348.—Ed.]

(6) See *suprà*, p. 345.—Ed.

(7) Bede. [Fabian, part v. chap. 120.—Ed.]

The abbey of Cnobhershurg builded by Fursej the hermit, *Ecclesiastical History.*
A.D. 637.¹

The monastery of Malmesbury by one Meydulph, a Scot, about the year of our Lord 640: afterward enlarged by Agilbert bishop of Winchester.

The monastery in Gloucester, first builded by Osric king of Mercia,² as Cestrensis saith; but, as William of Malmesbury writeth,³ by Wolfer and Ethelred, brethren to Kineburga abess of the same house. A.D. 679.

The monastery of Melrose, by the flood of Tweed, by Aidan a Scottish bishop.

The nunnery of Heortheu, by Heiu, who was the first nun in Northumberland.⁴

The monastery of Hertsey⁵ by Oswy king of Northumberland; who also, with his daughter Elfrida, gave possessions for twelve monasteries in the parts of Northumberland, A.D. 656.

The monastery of St. Martin in Dover, builded by Whitred king of Kent.

The abbey of Lestinghen⁶ by Ceadda (whom we call St. Ced) through the grant of Oswald, son to St. Oswald, king of Northumberland, A.D. 651.

The monastery of Whitby, called otherwise Steaneshalch, by Hilda, daughter to [Hereric] the nephew of Edwin king of Northumberland, A.D. 657.⁷

Item, another monastery called Hacanos,⁸ not far from the same place, builded by the said Hilda the same year.

The abbey of Abingdon, builded by Cissa⁹ king of South-Sax, A.D. 666.

Item, an abbey in the east side of Lincoln, called Icanno,¹⁰ by St. Botulph,¹¹ A.D. 654.

The monastery in Ely, founded by Etheldred, or Etheldrida, daughter of Anna king of East-Angles, and the wife of Egfrid, king of Northumberland, A.D. 674.

The monastery of Chertsey in Southery, founded by Erkenwald, bishop of London, A.D. 674: thrown down by the Danes; after redified by king Edgar.

Item, the nunnery of Barking, edified by the said Erkenwald, bishop of London, about the same time.

The abbey of Peterborough, called otherwise Modehamsted, founded by king Ethelred,¹² king of the Mercians, A.D. 675.

(1) Bede Hist. Eccles. iii. 19. "Suffolciensium Burg-castell illud est." Usher. "Brit. eccles. Antiq." p. 501, edit. Lond. 1687. It is at this day called *Burgh-castell* in Suffolk, where the rivers Garien and Waveney mingle waters. "Cressy's Church-history of Brittainy," book xv. chap. 6, § 11.—Ed.

(2) Higden calls him "Subregulus Merciorum:" he was nephew to Ethelred, king of Mercia, and his viceroy in those parts: probably he had much to do with superintending the building. See Tanner's "Not. Mon." Higden states that Kineburga was *Osric's* sister, and was by him made the first abbess: Foxe himself follows this statement in page 384.—Ed.

(3) G. Malm. p. 27, edit. 1601.—Ed.

(4) Bede, lib. iv. cap. [23, and note. According to Capgrave, Bega, vulgarly S. Bees, was the nun's name. Cressy's "Church-history of Brittainy," book xv. ch. 21, § 1. At Hartlepoole. Tanner.—Ed.] (5) Fabian, p. 119.—Ed. (6) Lastingham, near Whitby. Tanner. Bede, iii. 23.—Ed.

(7) This Hilda was first converted to the faith by Paulina, a godly and learned woman (Bede says by Paulinus, the bishop: lib. iii. cap. 23.—Ed.): out of her monastery came five bishops.

(8) Hackness, a place in Whitby-Strand, thirteen miles from Whitby (according to Bede), and three from Scarborough. See Tanner's "Not. Mon."—Ed. (9) Fabian, p. 120, edit. 1811.—Ed.

(10) Or "Icanhoe." See "Saxon Chronicle," A.D. 654. Supposed by some writers to be Boston, i. e. Botulph's town: Cressy's "Church-history of Brittainy," book xv. ch. 22, § 7.—Ed.

(11) Polych. lib. v. cap. 16.

(12) Foxe says "Ethelbald," erroneously, as his own date shows: see Tanner.—Ed.

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Bardney abbey, by Ethelred king of the Mercians, A.D. 700.

Glastenbury, by Iva or Ina king of the West-Saxons; and after, repaired and enriched by king Edgar, A.D. 701.

Ramsey in the time of king Edward, by one Ailwin a nobleman, A.D. 973. King Edgar builded in his time forty monasteries; who reigned, A.D. 901.

The nunnery of Winburne builded by Cuthburga sister to Ingil-sus, king Ina's brother, A.D. 717.¹

The monastery of Sealesey by the isle of Wight, by Wilfrid archbishop of York, A.D. 678.

The monastery of Winchcombe by Kenulph king of the Mercians, A.D. 797.

St. Alban's builded by Offa king of the Mercians, A.D. 755.

The abbey of Evesham by Egwin, bishop [of Worcester,] A.D. 691.

Ripon in the north by Wilfrid, archbishop, A.D. 709.

The abbey of Ethelinge², by king Alured, or Alfred, A.D. 891.

The nunnery of Shaftesbury by the same Alfred, the same year.

Thus ye see what monasteries, and in what time, began to be founded by the Saxon kings, newly converted to the christian faith, within the space of two hundred years; who, as they seemed then to have a certain zeal and devotion to God-ward, according to the leading and teaching that then was, so it seemeth again to me, two things to be wished in these foresaid kings; first, that they which began to erect these monasteries and cells of monks and nuns, to live solely and singly by themselves out of the holy state of matrimony, had foreseen what danger, and what absurd enormities might, and also did, thereof ensue, both publicly to the church of Christ, and privately to their own souls: secondly, that unto this their zeal and devotion had been joined like knowledge and doctrine in Christ's gospel, especially in the article of our free justification by the faith of Jesus Christ; because of the lack whereof, as well the builders and founders thereof, as they that were professed in the same, seem both to have run the wrong way, and to have been deceived. For albeit in them there was a devotion and zeal of mind, that thought well in this their doing, which I will not here reprehend, yet the end and cause of their deeds and buildings cannot be excused, being contrary to the rule of Christ's gospel; forsomuch as they did these things seeking thereby merits with God, and for remedy of their souls, and remission of their sins, as may appear testified in their own records, whereof one here I thought to set forth for probation of the same. Read this chart (if it please thee, gentle reader) of king Ethelbald's donation, given to churches and religious persons; which Ethelbald was the builder (as is said³) of Peterborough. The words of his record and instrument be these.

The Donations and Privileges granted and given by King Ethelbald to religious men of the Church.⁴

Plerumque contingere solet, pro incerta temporum vicissitudine, ut ea quæ multarum fidelium personarum testimonio consilioque roborata fuerint,

(1) M. Westmon. an. 720.—Ed.

(2) Matt. Westmon. p. 176, edit. 1601.—Ed.

(3) See *suprà*, p. 381, note (12).—Ed.

(4) *Ex chronica Guliel. Malmesb. lib. i.* [p. 29. Where the document slightly differs from that which Foxe here gives: some trifling emendations have therefore been made from Malmesbury.—Ed.]

Two things to be wished in them that first builded monkish monasteries.

The article of free justification not known.

fraudulenter per contumaciam plurimorum, et machinamenta simulationis, sine ulla consideratione rationis, periculose dissipentur, nisi autoritate literarum, testamento chirographorum, æternæ memoriæ committantur. Quapropter, ego Ethelbaldus rex Merciorum, pro amore cœlestis patriæ et remedio animæ meæ, studendum esse prævidi, ut eam pro bona opera liberam efficere in omni vinculo delictorum. Quoniam enim mihi omnipotens Deus per misericordiam clementiæ suæ, absque ullo antecedente merito, sceptra regiminis largitus est, ideo libenter ei, ex eo quod dedit, retribuo. Hujus rei gratia hanc donationem, me vivente, concedo, ut omnia monasteria et ecclesiæ regni mei a publicis vectigalibus, et operibus, et oneribus absolvantur; nisi instructionibus arcium, vel pontium, quæ nulli relaxari unquam possunt. Præterea, habeant famuli Dei propriam libertatem in fructibus sylvarum et agrorum, et in captura piscium, ne munuscula præbeant vel regi, vel principibus, nisi voluntaria; sed liberi Deo serviant, etc.

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By the contents hereof may well be understood (as where he saith, "Pro amore cœlestis patriæ, pro remedio animæ, pro liberatione animæ, et absolutione delictorum," etc.) how great the ignorance and blindness of these men was, who, lacking no zeal, only lacked knowledge to rule it withal; seeking their salvation not by Christ only, but by their own deservings and meritorious deeds. Which I recite not here to any infamy or reprehension of them, but rather to put us in mind and memory, how much we, at this present, are bound to God for the true sincerity of his truth, hidden so long before to our fore-ancestors, and opened now unto us by the good will of our God, in his Son Christ Jesus. This only lamenting by the way, to see them to have such works, and to lack our faith; and us to have the right faith, and to lack their works. And this blind ignorance of that age, thus above pre-noted, was the cause not only why these kings builded so many monasteries upon zealous superstition, but also why so many of them, forsaking their orderly vocation of princely regiment, gave themselves over to monastical profession, or rather wilful superstition. Concerning the names and number of which kings that were professed monks, is sufficiently in the story before declared: the names of whom we showed to be seven or eight, within the space of these two hundred years. Such was then the superstitious devotion of kings and princes in that age; and no less also to be noted in queens and kings' daughters, with other noble women of the same age and time; the names of whom it were too long here to recite:¹ as Hilda, daughter to [Hereric] the nephew of Edwin king of Northumberland, abbess of Ely: Ercongota with her sister Ermenilda, daughters of Ercombert king of Kent, which Ercongota was professed in St. Briget's order in France: Item, Ethelberga, wife and queen to Edwin king of Northumberland, and daughter of Ethelbert king of Kent, which was also in the same house of St. Briget made a nun: Item, Etheldreda, whom we term St. Eldred [or Audrey], wife to Egfrid king of Northumberland, [and daughter of Anna, king of East-Angles]; who, being married to two husbands, could not be obtained to give her consent to either of them, during the space of twelve years, but would needs live a virgin, and was professed nun at Ely.² Sexburga, [another] daughter of king Anna, and wife of Ercombert king of Kent, was abbess at Ely. Werburga was the daughter of Wolfer

A brief catalogue of queens and kings' daughters which, leaving their estate were made nuns. Hilda. Ercongota. Ermenilda.

Ethelberga.

Etheldreda.

Sexburga.

Werburga.

(1) Several inaccuracies have been corrected in the following list.—Ed.
(2) G. Malm's. p. 89. Saxon Chron. p. 49.—Ed.

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Kinedreda and Kineswida.
Elfrida.
Mildreda.
Milburga.
Milguida.
Kineburga.
Elfreda.
Alfrida.
Wulfrida.
Editha.

king of Mercians, and made nun at Ely. Kinedreda, sister of king Wolfer, and Kineswida her sister were both nuns professed. Elfrida, daughter of Oswy king of Northumberland, was abbess of Whitby: Elfreda, [another] daughter of king Oswy, and wife of Peda son of king Penda, likewise enclosed herself in the same profession and vow of Romish chastity.¹ Mildreda, Milburga, and Milguida, all three daughters of Merwald,² king of West-Mercians, entered the profession and vow of nunnish virginity. Kineburga wife of Alfrid king of Northumberland, and sister³ to Osric king of Mercians, and daughter of king Penda, was professed abbess of the monastery in Gloucester. Likewise Alfrida wife to king Edgar, and Editha daughter to the said Edgar, with Wolfride her mother, etc. All which holy nuns with divers more the Romish Catholics have canonized for saints, and put the most part of them in their Calendar, only because of the vow of their chastity solemnly professed. Concerning which chastity, whether they kept it or no, little I have to say against them, and less to swear for them. But whether they so kept it or not, if this gift of chastity which they professed were given them of God, worthy small praise was it in them to keep it: and if it were not given them, I will not say here of them so much, as hath been said by some others, which sufficiently have painted out to the world the demeanour of these holy votaries. But this I will say, that although they kept it never so perfectly, yet it is not that which maketh saints before God, but only the blood of Christ Jesus, and a true faith in him.

Likewise remaineth that, as we have declared the devotion of these noble women, who professing monastic life, have cast off all worldly dignity and delights: so we should also entreat of such noblemen, who among the Saxon kings in like zeal of devotion, have given over themselves from the world (as they thought) unto the contemplative life of monkish profession. The names of whom as in the catalogue of the Saxon kings before is described, be these, to the number of nine.

A Table of such Saxon Kings as were after made Monks.

Kings made monks.

1. Kinigilsus, or Cynegils, king of West-Saxons.
2. Ina, king of West-Saxons.
3. Ceolulf, king of Northumberland.
4. Edbert, king of Northumberland.
5. Ethelred, king of Mercia.
6. Kenred, king of Mercia.
7. Offa, king of East-Saxons.
8. Sebbi,⁴ king of East-Saxons.
9. Sigebert, king of East-Angles.

Of which kings and their doings what is to be judged, look, gentle reader, before.

By these histories it is apparent, what mutations, what perturbations, and what alterations of state have been in this realm of Britain, first from British kings, to Romans; then to British again; afterward to the Saxons. First, to seven altogether reigning; then to

(1) Bede (lib. iii. cap. 21, 24) calls these two daughters of Oswy respectively "Eanfleda" and "Alfreda."—Ed.

(2) Malmsh. and Higden; who also describe Merowald as brother to Wolfer and Ethelred. Hence Foxe is mistaken p. 317, note (10).—Ed.

(3) Rather "aunt." See above, p. 381, note (2).—Ed.

(4) Bede, Hist. Eccles. Angl. lib. iv. cap. 11.—Ed.

one, etc. And this alteration not only happened in the civil government, but also followed in the state ecclesiastical: for, as in the Britons' time, the metropolitan see was in London, so in the Saxons' time, after the coming of Augustine, it was removed to Canterbury: the catalogue and order of which metropolitans, from the time of Augustine to Egbert, is thus, as in the history of William of Malmesbury it is described.¹

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The Names and Order of the Archbishops of Canterbury from Augustine, to the time of King Egbert.

A.D.	Years	A.D.	Years
596 1. Augustine.....	16	634 5. Honorius	25
604 2. Laurentius.....	5	654 6. Deusdedit	9
619 3. Mellitus	5	668 7. Theodore	22
624 4. Justus	3		

Hitherto from Augustine all the Archbishops of Canterbury were Italians and Foreigners.

A.D.	Years	A.D.	Years
693 8. Berctuald ² (English)	37	768 13. Lambright or Lambert ⁴	27
731 9. Tatwine	3	793 14. Ethelard ⁵	13
735 10. Nothelm.....	5	803 15. Ulfred	28
742 11. Cuthbert ³	17	830 16. Feologild ⁶	3 months
759 12. Bregowine	3	830 17. Celnoth.....	41

During the course of these seventeen archbishops of Canterbury, in Rome passed in the mean time four and thirty popes, of whom partly heretofore we have declared.

And thus much touching the time of the seven kingdoms of the Saxons, ruling together in England, from the reign of Hengist unto Egbert, the first king and monarch of the whole land, after the expulsion of the Britons.

Now remaineth (by the grace of Christ) in the next book following, to prosecute the order of such kings, as, principally reigning alone, had this realm in their possession, from the time of Egbert king of West-Saxons, to the coming of William, the Norman conqueror; comprehending therein the rest of the next three hundred years, with the acts and state of religion, as in that space was in the church: wherein may appear the declining time of the church, and of true religion; preparing the way to Antichrist, which not long after followed. For here is to be noted, that during yet this mean

(1) The dates of the accession of the archbishops are taken from Richardson's Godwin "De Præsulibus, &c."—Ed.

(2) In his time the monastery of St. Martin was builded in Dorobernia, by Witred, and his brother, kings of Kent.

(3) This Cuthbert after his death forbade all funeral exequies or lamentation for him to be made; William of Malm. de Vitis [Pontiff. Angl. p. 198.—Ed.]

(4) [He is named in Florence of Worcester "Iainbertus" (p. 574), and "Eanbert" in the Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 763.—Ed.] In his time king Offa translated the metropolitan see from Canterbury to Lichfield by the grant of pope Adrian, being overcome with apostolical argument, as saith Flor. Historiar.; that is, with money. [The words in this historian are: "nam verisimilibus apost. sedem argumentis tam diu fatigaverat, sicut pro variis occupationibus de facili Rom. Pontifices trahuntur ad consensum, obtinuit quod petebat," etc. p. 143, edit. Francof. 1601. William of Malmesbury speaks more plainly, p. 198; and the account in Wilkins (Concill. Mag. Brit. tom. i. p. 152) will fully support the interpretation of Foxe.—Ed.]

(5) This Ethelard by his epistles to pope Leo III., obtained the metropolitan see [to be restored] again to Canterbury. [Ethelard also went in person to Rome.—Ed.]

(6) Flor. Wigornien. p. 681.—Ed.

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time, Satan (as is said) was bound up from his raging and furious violence; counting from the time of Constantine, to the next loosing out of Satan, which was foretold by the revelation of St. John above-mentioned to be a thousand years; whereof in the order of the history (Christ granting) more shall be said hereafter.

END OF BOOK THE SECOND